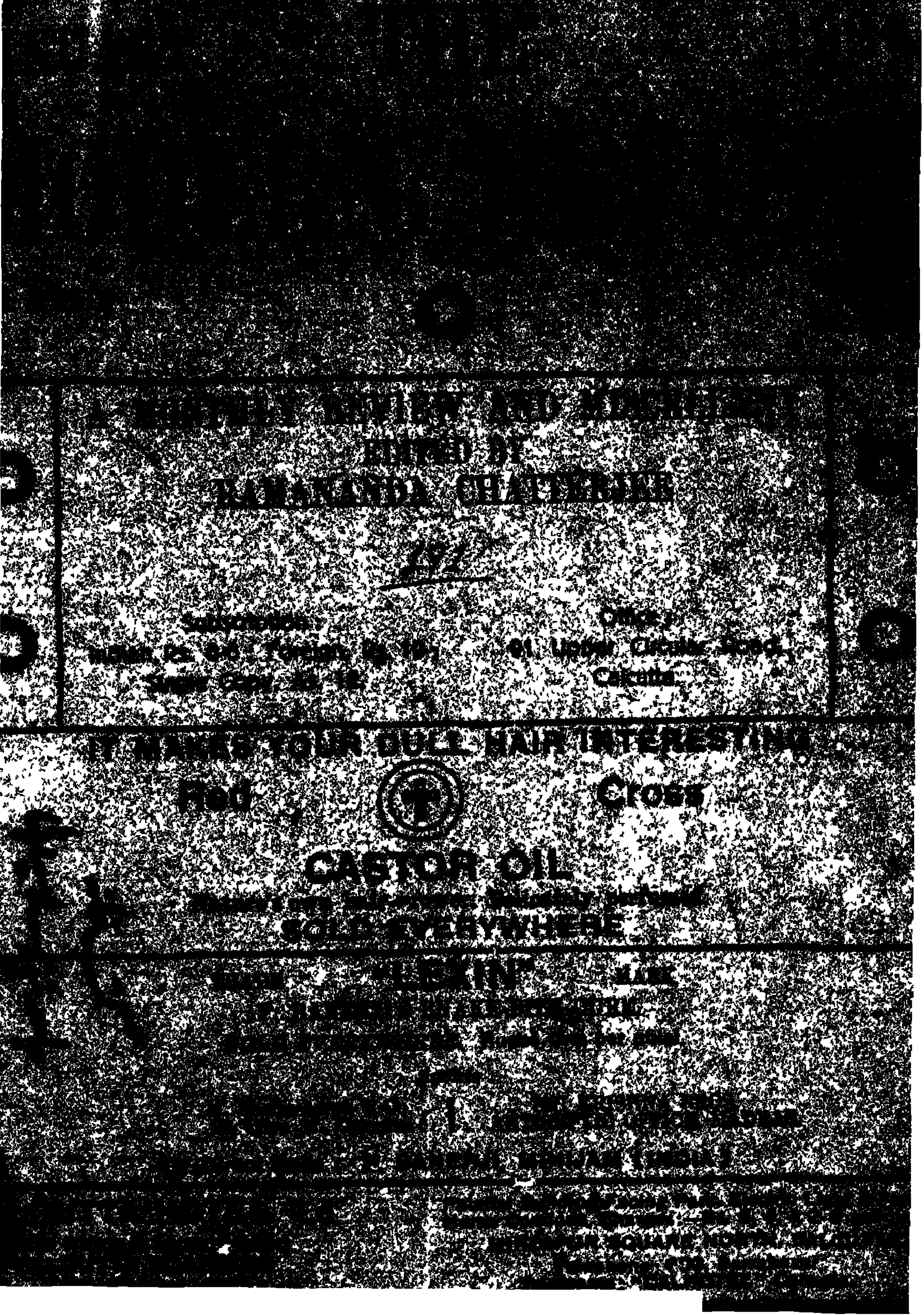

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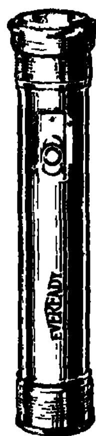
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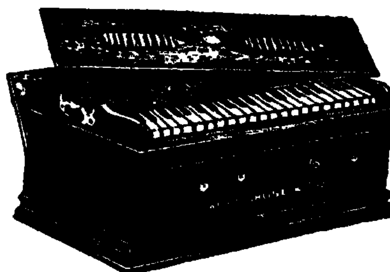
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SERVANTS IN BRITAIN

Illustrated with Photographs Specially Taken for the Purpose by the Author

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

THE British make admirable servants. That has been my experience, as it has been the experience of many of my American friends who, like myself, have had to spend years in Britain in pursuit of journalism or other avocations.

I have had in my employ, during the fourteen or fifteen years which I have spent in London, servants who came from one or another of the English counties. I have also been served by Scotswomen, Welshwomen and Irishwomen whom economic necessity took to the metropolis.

I cannot of course, say that I found all these persons uniformly efficient or honest. Some proved to be slackers, or untrustworthy or both, and one or two downright malicious.

On the third or fourth day of my first visit to London as I was returning from a luncheon given to me by W. T. Stead at the Holborn Restaurant, near the office of the *Review of Reviews* in Bank Buildings, Kingsway, I saw smoke pouring out of a window of the small hotel at which I was putting up. I rushed in and told the manager who lost no time in telephoning for the fire department. Fortunately, I was able to reach my room in time to save my luggage. It transpired upon enquiry that the hotel proprietor had given notice to one of the servants to leave his employ, and she had tried to get even with him by pouring kerosene on a bed, touching a match to it, and setting the place on fire.

Then there was the old lady whom I shall call Sarah, whom I found just opening the door to leave laden with two heavy bundles,



An English Maid in her Evening Dress

one carried in each hand. "Where are you going? and why? and what are you taking?"

I asked her, surprised at the manner of her departure and remembering that she had brought practically nothing with her when she came in the first place

Not expecting me to return when I did and foiled in her design to get away during my absence, Sarah was struck dumb She could not pluck up the courage to prevent me from examining the bundles she was taking away with her I found them filled with loot of every description, gathered up from my belongings which she had decided to make her own It seemed that she had made the round of the house and appropriated anything of a light nature that appealed to her fancy I made her replace them and leave at once, keeping a sharp eye on her until she was out of the house.

She was followed, a little later, by a woman who gave the impression of being intelligent, though unaccustomed to domestic service and quite untrained, but willing She soon developed a tendency to sit in a comfortable chair and read trashy novelettes which certain British publishers delight in broadcasting, rather than perform the duties for which she was paid She was loath to go, and I at one time feared that the only way I would be able to get rid of her would be eventually to put her boxes out on the sidewalk and lock the door But finding me determined, she departed without asking me to give her a "character

An Irish girl followed her in my service She was as strong as a man and willing to work hard I overlooked her shortcomings because she did not object to the shoals of guests that were always coming to see me If there was to be a larger crowd than usual, she demanded a quart bottle of stout to keep up her strength and spirits Given that, she did not mind how many persons she had to cook for and to serve

But she was entirely untrustworthy as to the hours she kept She was habitually late in returning on her half-day out On one occasion, she took it into her head to improve the time which hung on her hands during my absence by visiting her friends I had to discharge her

The war brought tribulations to those persons who relied upon others to have their domestic work done All the good servants took to munition-making or became tram conductors, or joined the Women's Army Service Corps, since by so doing they could make more money, be their own mistresses when not actually working and yet shine as patriots It thus came to pass that if it was possible to secure a servant, there was bound to be something wrong with her She was suffering with shell shock and had been discharged from the Army, or she was worthless as a worker or her character was unreliable I had at least two experiences with that sort of servant

One of them, who promised well at the beginning, soon began to lie in bed in the morning and pretend to be ill and unable to work When I dismissed her at the end of the first week, she packed up an assortment of my household effects and would have taken them away with her, had I not been able to circumvent her

My next experience was with a woman getting on towards middle-age who also had been in the Army Service Corps She was untrained unreliable, unclean in her habits, and altogether unfit as a domestic One day I came home to find a policeman talking with her at the front door It then transpired that she was harbouring in a shed back of my house, a soldier who had deserted from the Army, and for whom the police were on the look-out She had been feeding him with food taken from my larder, giving him my clothes to wear, and treating him as a guest of the house Needless to say, I lost no time in bundling her out of the house

These unpleasant experiences are however, on the whole few and far between compared with the pleasant experiences I have had during my many years in London As a rule, the British women who have worked for me as servants, knew their job and were diligent and faithful to my interests Even during the war, the instances I have mentioned excepted, of course, I had fairly good luck with them

II

I have great admiration for the sense of pride which the British serving maid evinces in her work She does not object to discharging duties which, in India, we assign to orders of humanity whom, in consequence of such occupation, we despise and call by such hard names as "untouchables" "unapproachables," and the like Every household duty, whatever its nature may be, is performed by the British servant as a matter of course and performed, as a rule cheerfully—certainly without any fuss Now and again, there may be a little grumbling

at the dirty nature of some task—the British are a nation of grumblers—but there seldom is any attempt at evasion—the British, as a nation having indulged in grumbling, go on and swallow any pill that is stuck in their mouth

The dignity of labour constitutes a tradition in Britain which we Indians would do well to copy. To my regret, however, I find that few of our own people who visit the British Isles—even those who have reached the years of discretion—seem to be impressed by that admirable trait in the British character. I have known more than one of them to turn up their noses when they first saw members of the Imperial race engaged in emptying slops in the bedroom, or doing some other work which we in India regard as unspeakably dirty. I do not, however, remember a single instance in which such a sight has led the visitor to make a remark which would indicate that he had learned from that humble worker that all toil which is honest is honourable.

III

What a fine perception of the value of time most of the Britons in my employ as servants have shown!

Whenever it is possible, I do not like to have a servant sleeping on the premises, but prefer to have one come in from her home at an appointed time, stop in all day, and go away at night after the work is finished.

Such an arrangement has certain drawbacks. If you happen to be ill in the night, for instance, and require hot water or a cup of tea, or special attention of any kind, or if it is necessary to send for a doctor, you must either get along without help in such a case or struggle out of bed, irrespective of your physical condition and need, and perform the necessary service for yourself. If the servant "lived in," you would wake her, either by calling her or by ringing the electric bell hanging by a cord near the head of your bed, communicating directly with her room.

One has to pay a little more to the servant who does not "live in". This, however, is only fair, since the woman who comes in by the day has to pay for her lodgings and a certain amount of her own food, as, for example, on the days when she has her "afternoon off." She also has to pay for her laundry and other little items which would automatically come from her employer, if she occupied a room in his house and had all her living expenses—"everything found" as it is called—included in her wage.

The advantages of such an arrangement, however, outweigh any such disadvantages. By having a person who comes to you for work just as you go out for yours, you escape any taint of servility. It gives to me, at least, a cleaner sort of feeling.



A Welsh Serving-Girl Attired in her "Sunday Best"

With one or two exceptions, I have found that servants usually come in the morning at the appointed time. Now and again, there was perhaps a delay of five or ten minutes; but it was generally due to the tram or 'bus—at least that was the excuse usually offered on such occasions. One or two servants were, indeed, so punctual that I would not have hesitated to set my watch by their arrival.

The maid came in good time to have breakfast ready by half past seven in summer

and eight in winter an early hour for England, especially in the winter She generally would even have the brass on the front door polished and the steps scrubbed and whitened before breakfast or would perform such tasks in the intervals of serving the meal

British serving domestics take a great pride in keeping the brass on the front door shining brightly and the step immaculately white It is in their eyes, more or less the hall-mark of respectability and it is their first concern in the day's work If a caller leaves a foot-mark on the steps, or if a gust of rain tarnishes the brass ever so slightly a careful maid is out at once with cloth or polisher to set the matter right She would take it as a personal reflection on herself if anyone were to pass a critical remark on such a subject



Maid Busy Scrubbing the Floor

The servant who came in by the day usually stayed until she had cooked and served dinner in the evening, washed the dishes, and put everything tidy She went away at eight or a little later, as I generally dine early

Some of my acquaintances prefer to have a late dinner, in which case they let the servant prepare it and go away without washing up leaving that task over for the morning The American newspaper man who vacated the flat I occupied when I first went to London and whose English servant I inherited, used to have a cold supper very late at night after returning from the office The maid would prepare everything for him and his wife, and leave it on the side-board ; and they would eat it whenever it suited them, leaving the table to be cleared and the dishes washed by her when she came in the morning

Barring the exceptional cases already mentioned, my British servants have had fine sense of orderliness They knew where each article of furniture must stand, and if they found it disturbed, promptly replaced it

The ideas of arranging the furniture in a room which some of these domestics entertained did not find favour in my eyes They produced effects which appeared to me to be too formal and stiff But they had been trained in such a hard school that I found them lacking in the ability to change the practices to which they had become accustomed Once they discovered that I had a will of my own, however, there was no difficulty in having the furniture arranged according to my taste (or, to them, lack of taste) It was usually enough to speak once Seldom was there any need for reprimand

IV

How the British servants manage to achieve their high standard of mechanical perfection continues to amaze me to this day The hedge which divides my house from that of my next door neighbour is kept meticulously trimmed to a certain height Not a single sprig of privet or laurel is permitted to grow a fraction of an inch longer than the others, with the result that the hedge always presents the appearance of a long, green cushion Not a weed is permitted to grow in the walk running in front of the flower-bed, the full length of the garden on either side framing the patch of lawn in the centre The step is as white as step-powder can make it

The furniture in the hall the hall-tree, the umbrella-stand, the chair or monk's bench, which serves as a seat and also as a receptacle for overshoes and brushes as well as a table stand in the place which the housemaid has been taught is the proper place for them

To attempt to change the arrangement would be to run the risk of straining the relations between mistress and maid It is the same with all the works in and about the house It is always done at a certain time and in a certain way—and in no other

Many British servants scorn labour-saving devices without which an American servant would refuse to do housework They prefer to get on their knees and scrub the floor with a brush rather than do the work with



Nurse-maids employed by the Rich to take care of their children

andled brush and mop They would crawl about with a short brush and in sweeping the floor than use a long-ed broom or a vacuum cleaner They deed suspicious of innovations and stick to appliances and methods that tions of their ancestors have used my own experience, however, there en a considerable change in this respect sweepers have become common, and even ally driven sweeping machines are ng to come into use

V

here we would employ half a dozen or dozen persons to do the work of a in India one Englishwoman is compe-nd willing to do it. She keeps the clean from cellar to garret She cooks rves the meals and washes the dishes akes the cakes and prepares the pastries and other meats She makes jam-ickles for use during the winter months

She washes and irons the linen, except the shirts and collars and the larger pieces such as table-cloths and sheets She scrubs and polishes If she is a well-trained servant of the old school, she even darns the stocking and mends torn or worn garments and house-linen

Every so often she "spring cleans"—that is to say, she removes all the furniture from the various rooms, one or more at a time, takes up the carpet and beats it, scrubs the floor, washes the paint, brushes the dust from the ceiling and walls and thoroughly cleans everything in it These spasms of 'spring cleaning' usually occur just before Easter and Christmas perhaps even oftener

Since a good many persons do me the honour of calling upon me, and I usually live in a fairly large house, unless my visit to London happens to be very short in duration, I find it necessary to give the "general" servant the benefit of the services of a charwoman who comes in and does the rough work two or three days a week, leaving

or only the routine "tidying up" to do in addition to the cooking and serving of meals. Every employer does not do this, however, and more often than not the "general" servant in a middle-class family has to do practically all the work herself, unless the mistress or some other member of the family undertakes to *help* with the dusting, or *bed-making*, or *light work* of that kind.

By lunch time, or a little later, the servant has changed from her striped cotton or other dress which she wears while doing the rough work into a black dress with stiff white collar and cuffs and a white cap—the latter the traditional symbol of servitude in Britain. Strange to say, instead of chafing at being compelled to wear such a badge indicative of her calling, the well-trained servant who "knows her place" and is content to keep in it feels that it would be indecent for her to answer the door-bell without wearing her cap, and takes great pride in keeping it clean and wearing it at a becoming angle.

This tradition of doing things in the right way expresses itself in unexpected ways. I remember, for instance, I wished to take a photograph of a charwoman cleaning the windows. She had a cloth in her hand at the time, and I thought it would be all right for her to use it. She indignantly refused to do so, however, and made me wait while she went for the proper wash-leather. It would be the height of impropriety, she declared, to be caught cleaning windows with anything but a wash leather clout.

VI

I must pay a special tribute to one of our domestic employees who proved to be competent even beyond expectation. I shall speak of her as "Partridge" because that was the name by which we fondly called her, since she was little, and brown, and timid, like that fluttering bird.

"Partridge" did not come of the serving class, but her people had been hard-hit by illness which incapacitated the bread-winner for work, and she had gone to a school of domestic science and secured a diploma, so as to fit herself to do household work of a superior character. She was, in fact, more of a working housekeeper than a housemaid.

She took all the work and worry of housekeeping from us. She planned, and cooked and served all the meals, bought all the supplies, rendering an account of what she had spent, and did all the work of the house in a really scientific manner. She [was] treated as a member of the family and [ate] with us and sat with us when not work[ing] and often went out with us for walks and [to] places of amusement. I am sure, indeed, [that] a Maharaja-to-be who used to visit us [in] those days will never forget the little cak[es] she specially baked for him, and of which [he] was very fond.

A girl like "Partridge," alas! was bou[nd] to attract a man desirous of finding a capab[le] wife. She had a "young man" who call[ed] to see her sometime every day. He was [an] ex-soldier who had started a garrage. I ca[me] to recognise the toot of his motor-horn as [he] drew up his motor lorry outside the gat[e] as well as she did. After she had been w[ith] us a few months the two were married, a[nd] we had to find another servant, who, needl[ess] to say, was nowhere near so efficient [as] "Partridge" had been. Never before or sin[ce], indeed, did we find her equal.

VII

Twice a week I have special cause to [ap]... the efficiency and faithfulness with wh[ich] the British woman who happens to be in [my] employ as a servant at the time serves [me]. Those occasions are when, in conform[ity] with the general practice, and, indeed, w[ith] the law of the land, she goes out for [her] "half-day off." She is always in a hurry [to] get the lunch over betimes on those da[ys] that she can wash the dishes and get aw[ay] as early as possible. Before going, howev[er], she arranges the cups and saucers and cak[es] for tea on a tray so that it is only necess[ary] to boil water and pour it over the tea lea[ves] left measured out, and sets the table [for] dinner, usually seeing to it that there i[s a] large bowl of salad ready to eat.

I am not used to cold meals, and do [not] like them, so it means that on the serva[nt's] half day out I either indulge in my hob[by] for cooking *a la Indian* or eat a meal a[t a] restaurant.

VIII

The British, as a rule, like to serve [the] Britishers. Nearly every one employ[ed by] me has told me that. To test whether [the] a remark was made merely as a complim[ent] or whether it was really meant, I have ta[ken] the trouble to make enquiries and I [have] learned that many British women who [have] served Americans and other foreigners [will] not, if they can help it, serve in a Brit[ish]...

y More than one British housewife told me that she would not engage a nt who brought a good reference from merican or other foreigner, because they ot know how to treat their domestic help, "spoil" them

he British are infected with a form of -consciousness peculiar to themselves nts must be kept at a distance—"kept eir place," to use the proper expression miliarity is allowed Some insist upon 'sir-ed" and "madam-ed" The servant always stand in a respectful attitude e talking or being spoken to, must not except in the kitchen or in the special ters allotted to her, and may not have "young man" call upon her, or, if that ilege is given her, he is allowed to call at stated times

ome old fashioned housewives did not it the servant to sit down to lunch, but pelled her to eat it standing In some the domestic was not given the same that is set before the family, but was vided with inferior fare

I have often wondered what must have n the feelings of a girl who was given y tit-bits to prepare for her employer's ily table, and at the same time was made cook cheap scraps for herself It would m that there must have been a strong ptation to pilfer some of the better food eat it on the sly

That system had really come down from dal times In great mansions and spacious nes hordes of servants were kept They l their proper "offices," and were graded n the butler and house-keeper down to "boots" and the scullery maid or boy A se of servility and class-consciousness was d among them. They even set up a sort caste system among themselves, in which ervant was graded according to the sort of k he or she did—a system which continues his day

The comparatively poor middle-class people tating the rich, condemned their servants live under harsh conditions Themselves elling in poky little houses, they had not ce to give proper accommodation to their nestics

A middle-class family was indeed, able to ploy only one servant, who was made to nd such leisure as she had in the kitchen. A p and wide social gulf separated her from family, and she was not allowed to have friends of her own come to visit her The only human society she had was a gossip with the butcher, or baker, or green-grocer who came to deliver supplies, or the dust-man who came to collect the garbage

In the winter, when, even at mid-day, it may be pitch-dark with a black fog in London and other places in Britain, and night generally falls soon after four or five o'clock, this type of servant suffered more than she did in the summer, when the days are long and pleasant The "kitchener," as the kitchen stove is generally called, consumes much coal



Cleaning the front-door step

and, therefore, the housewife inclined to be thrifty has a fire lit in it as little as possible preferring to use the gas stove, which burns fuel only while the kettle is boiling or the meal is being cooked Much of the time therefore, the servant suffered with the cold since she had to work, eat, and even sit in a fireless room

When I first went to London in 1910 and learned about the treatment with which so many British servants put up, I was amazed at their patience but I soon found the reason

The feeling of caste was imbued in employers and employee The supply of domestics was moreover far in excess of the demand Any one anywhere in Britain could easily secure a servant either to live in or to come in by the day or half-day An advertisement in a newspaper or an enquiry at a local registry or a shop brought a dozen or more applicants One could have one's choice and be as hard about "references" and "characters" as one pleased

Almost simultaneously with the outbreak of the war came a great scarcity of servants As the war progressed the situation became much worse It became impossible, indeed, to secure domestic help of any kind at any price This had the effect of bringing up the scale of wages The same servant who previous to August 1914 could be hired for from £20 to £26 a year demanded from £40 to £52 and even more and got it

What was still more important, the war-time scarcity of servants compelled the housewives to give privileges to their employees which they never would have dreamt of giving them before

Today the housemaid is usually given pleasanter living quarters and more and better food—and has time to herself every day which is sacred to her, during which she is not required to render any service to her mistress, even if she elects to remain in instead of going out Many housewives permit their maids to go out every afternoon for an hour or so, or every evening after dinner is over and the day's work is finished They allow them, moreover, to remain out later, in some cases even giving them a key so that they may let themselves in without disturbing others in the house All these concessions have been made in sheer self-defence, because the employers know that if they are harsh with their servants they will not be able to get anyone to do the work for them but the fact remains that the lot of the domestic helper in Britain is far happier than it was before the war

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ADULT EDUCATION IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

By AGNES SMEDLEY

WHEN any people or country is subjected by a stronger Power, it must be taken for granted that one of the first thing the conquerors will do will be to either destroy, discourage or rigidly control education in the oppressed country For knowledge and subjection cannot walk hand in hand Thus it was with the Czechs and Slavs under the old Austro-Hungarian Dynasty, and only the establishment of the Czecho-slovakian Republic in 1918 opened the way for the full and free development of those peoples

The Czecho-slovak nation was held in political servitude for over three hundred years Wedged in between the old Russian, German and Austrian Empires all supported by international alliances of the so-called "civilised nations", its dreams of freedom were at best phantastic A number of attempts had been made to keep alive the culture and feeling of nationality, but these were defeated time and again The leaders of such movements were generally scholars whose knowledge made it possible for them to realise the past glory of their people and to hope for a rejuvenation—instead of considering themselves "above" politics They lived and they died or were killed without realising their dreams But the modern dreamers lived to see the establishment of the Republic after the World War It is undoubtedly true that had Czecho-slovakia been a part of the British, French or American Empires, the world would not have known of its existence—at best it would have been referred to as a "discontended rabble" For the great Powers liberated only those countries subjected by the Central Powers

Despite this fact, despite political charges that this small Republic is merely an Entente weapon in the back of Germany, despite all the charges some undoubtedly true of the

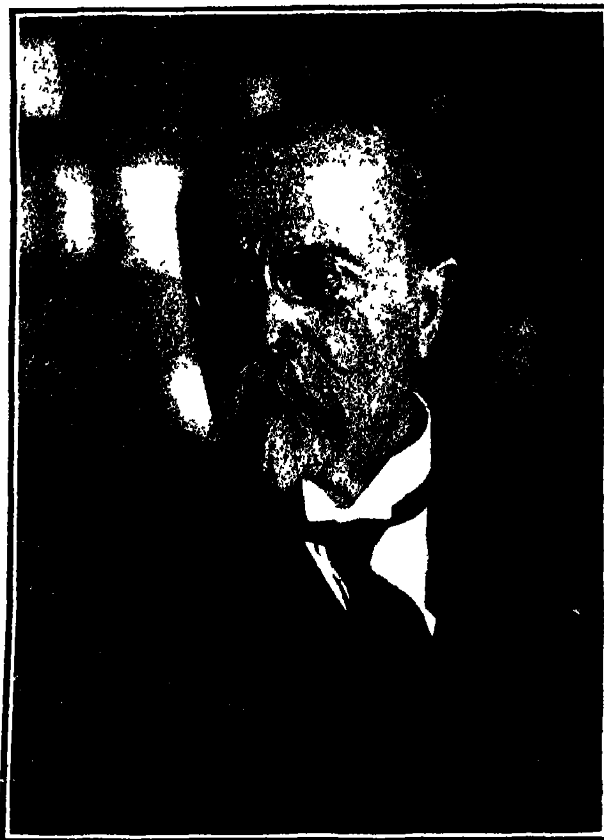
population in Czecho-slovakia regard- ession and discrimination, and laying r own political convictions in so far o-slovakia's intimate connection with t Powers is concerned, still we can the freedom of this nation For it m, in so far as the idea of national can go, and freedom is sacred

we can learn from Czecho-slovakia — many things we can learn if we will learn that although crushed — 100 years -for centuries until all national consciousness was yed, until the Czech population educed to the ranks of servants erfs of the ruling house and the class, crushed until some might hat they were not "ripe for self-rnment" and should first learn the of government from more advanced s, still, they were given their dom at one blow, with the full, right of building any form of rnment they desired The down-den, suppressed and ignorant Czecho-ks ! It is something for Indians ink about !

But we can learn still more, we earn how this new Republic of a over thirteen million population within eight years, covered the ry with a network of cultural educational institutions, from rgartens to every kind of special trial schools, academies and res The most significant advance have made in education, and the of most interest to us, lies in the of adult education and of the cation of illiteracy For, under old regime, large numbers of the lived in an ignorance as dense oes the Indian peasantry

the Czech part of the Republic, . Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia,— are few illiterates compared Slovakia in the south, with p c of its population illiterate, Sub-Carpathian Russia to the eme east, with 50 p c of illiterates This ecause the Czechs are the most aggressive hese two branches of the Slav race and use they entered the German schools and ied in the German language in the three inces named above Then it was the Czechs tried to organise athletic and sport nisations, through their churches and through ernal societies to educate their people and keep the feeling of nationality alive. But in the south and east, the minds of the people were dead

The first law for the education of the adult population was passed within six months after the Republic was founded, this law (Feb. 7, 1919) provided for free courses to be established throughout the State at the expense of both the Central Government and the local communities Within a few months,



Prof Tomas G Masaryk, President of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, noted scholar and historian, formerly Professor at the University of Prague He was one of the Czech Scholars who were not "above" politics, but who instead, at the beginning of the World War, became an exile that he might work for his country's freedom

another law was passed making it obligatory upon all towns and villages to establish free libraries and to add a certain number of new books to its shelves each year All school teachers were obliged to give four hours a week of their time, without payment, in carrying out this program.

The free courses mentioned above were given under Cultural Committees elected from

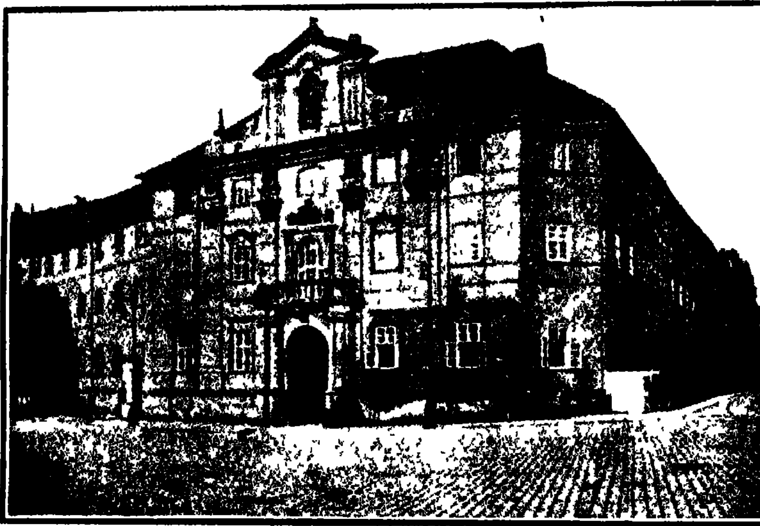
the different villages and towns concerned, that were obliged to direct the work. This Committee was and is today compelled to organise yearly or half-yearly courses of instruction in which all possible subjects, from the teaching of reading and writing, to the study of foreign languages, are taught. Twenty-five people must enrol themselves as desiring to study a certain subject. they may choose their own subject also—before a course is started. They meet twice a week. The Ministry of Education and National Culture pays half the expenses, the community must pay the rest. Each student is asked to pay a very small fee officials say, otherwise they will not appreciate the training.

Education and National Culture in Pragu there are 29,146 courses of a general educ tional character in session, 3,396 of a pr fessional character, 1,785 for definite pr fessional training, and over 25,000 oth enterprises, such as theatrical performance exhibitions, popular academies, excursion puppet-shows, etc.,—all conducted under th auspices of the Cultural Committees.

The teachers of these courses are the regula local school teachers each of which must, a I said, give four hours of their time eac week. also educated people or people of th town or village with a special knowledge o a special subject (e.g. lace making, carpentry etc.) or, now and then, university lecturers sen out by the Universities o technical academies i various cities. In th Ministry of Education an National Culture, I had th opportunity of talkin with a Professor who ha taught special subjects fo one winter in some of thes schools in the province and his enthusiasm wa unbounded. He said n young student studies s eagerly and earnestly as d the grown-up men an women in these littl "people's universities."

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Intimately connecte with the work of the classes stands the fre public libraries that ha been established by la throughout the countr since the revolution. The libraries do not exist merely on the law book in Prague. Since 1919, over ten thousand publi libraries have been established, and in additio to these, the Ministry of education an National Culture founded 28 special municipa Czech, and 152 travelling libraries. Tw schools, for the training of librarians i towns with less than 10,000 population, ha been founded, where courses in libr management last for three weeks.



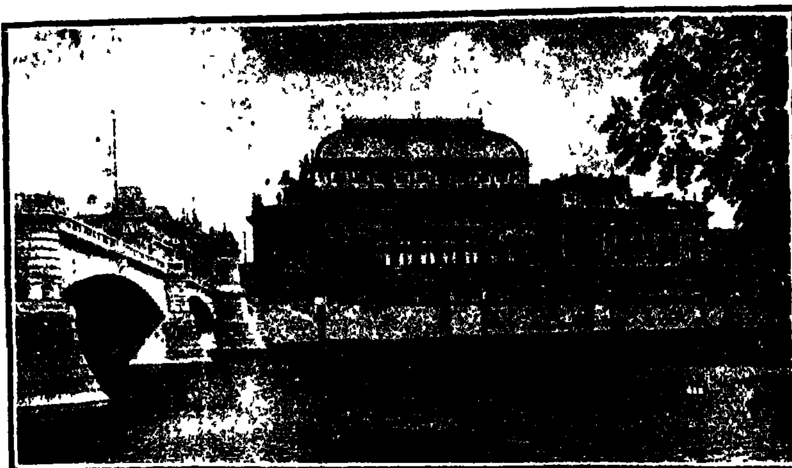
A View of the Old Historic Czech and German University in Prague, Founded in 1348 by Charles IV

Altogether there are today over 7,000 of these cultural Committees in operation, 5,286 among the Czechs and Slovaks, and 1,783 among the German population of the State. In Slovakia, and Sub-Carpathian Russia, the courses are chiefly for the eradication of illiteracy and general education, although there, as elsewhere, adults who have had to stop school for one reason or another have the opportunity of continuing their education. Courses are given in various branches of technical knowledge, machinery, drawing, plumbing, carpentry, dairying, agriculture, horticulture, lace-making, sewing, music, and French, English, German and Russian. According to statistics received by the Ministry of

In addition thereto, during the past fou years, three-hour lectures on the wor and significance and management of the public libraries and two-hour cou on the necessity and importance of dul education have been given at all pub

[tra]ining colleges for [tea]chers Attendance at [the]se lectures are [com]pulsory, and each [pro]spective teacher receives [the] literature and outlines [reg]arding adult education

To help this work, as [wel]l as general education, [the] Ministry issues a [Ci]tizen's Library" (so [far] 65 volumes have been [pub]lished) as well as [a] collection of scientific [and] literary works [en]titled "Knihy pro [ka]ždého"--Everyman's Books [a]dapted for use of the [gen]eral public It also [pu]blishes a monthly [ma]gazine, *Ceska osveta* [(Cze]ch Culture) with a supplement for films and lanter[n] slides There are many other publications directly touching adult education as conducted through the Cultural Committees and the public libraries—such as the monthly, *The Dawn, Th[e] Review of Czecho-Slovak Librarians* and *The Book and the People*,—all i[n] Czechish with the exception of th[e] last-named one, which is publishe[d] in German



The National Theatre in Prague, Supported by the Ministry of Education and National Culture.



[J]an Hillar, Director of Drama in the National Theatre in Prague

In addition to the above work the Ministry founded, in 1920, th[e] "State Central Office for Lantern Slides" and the "Cultural Federation", fo[r] the promotion of adult educatio[n] through slides and moving picture[s] These two offices work in the close[st] relationship with the Ministries o[f] Education and National Culture, th[e] Ministry of Agriculture and th[e] Ministry of Defense They produc[e] select, and loan sets of slides an[d] moving pictures to the Cultura[l] Committees throughout the State The[y] have bought hundreds of educationa[l] films from Germany, France, and othe[r] countries, they have produced films an[d] slides of their own, not only of a[n] educational nature, but about fair[y] stories, romances, etc


Oskar Nedbol, Director of the National Opera in Bratislava

people And it must be taken for granted, as a fundamental principle that these institutions are not only for men, both men and women study in them,—and together.

But of still greater interest are the theatres in the promotion of art and culture, as well as of adult education —not so much for the illiterates, be it admitted, as the theatres exist only in the towns and cities But for other adults the theatres are the greatest factor in education and culture In all villages where there are no theatres the Cultural Committee nevertheless arrange amateur theatrical performances, in order that the thought of the outside world may become a part of the life of the poorest man and woman As in all European countries outside of England, the theatre is regarded as a place of culture and of education Accordingly, there is not one town of importance in all Central Europe and the Scandinavian countries which does not support one or more of the chief theatres of the city. In Czecho-Slovakia this is also true. The National Theatre and Opera, and the Deutsches Theatre in Prague the National Theatre and Opera in Brun, the National Theatre and the National Opera in Bratislava--all are highly

There are countless other cultural and educational institutions conducted and supported by the Ministry of Education and National Culture of the new Republic, but they cannot be treated here They include a long list of special schools for industrial and agricultural training, the Czech and German University in Prague (the oldest university in Europe) the University at Brun, etc, etc. There are technical academies and a technical university, there are academies of art; and there are academies for the study of music, for the Czechs are famous throughout the world as a musical


The Stavovske, now the second National Theatre in Prague supported by the State. The old Gothic window in the crevice to the left is a Part of the Czech and German University.

orted by funds from the Ministry of ;ational and National Culture of the ral Government. The small towns and s all support their own theatres Here great dramas, ancient and modern, are n. The Ministry of Education and onal Culture exercises no control over dramas or operas to be given in the res it subsidizes As an official in the stry said "Our theatrical managers and sts are trained people, specialists in their ssions we would as little think of in- ring in their work as we would expect to interfere in ours here at the Ministry true, of course, that we do not support p theatres or varieties or vaudevilles give financial aid only to fine, serious uch as is presented in our National res."

I had the opportunity to see one of the res of a town in operation It was a re that had been built, and is supported tly by the town itself, -a town of some 10 thousand population It was a . beautiful structure in which was ned the chief cultural life of the town ie centre of the building was the large rical auditorium, seating 3,000 people as tifully and artistically built and decorat- is any theatre in one of the great nental capitals. In the same building the smaller theatre, an auditorium seat- some 300 people In another section the theatre for moving picture—and , by the way, I saw my first European sympathetic to India In the basement is huge theatre was a restaurant where id orchestra played, and one whole wing ie side was a terrassed restaurant and oom There a very good orchestra d every afternoon. The terrasses were rs jammed with people drinking tea and g ice, and those who did not care to them for one reason or another pro- ided in the adjoining garden. This stra, by the way, was maintained by its also In the evenings it played in theatre, on Sunday mornings, it gave concerts in the public garden It was a of the theatre itself.

These theatres, of course, charge entrance the same as elsewhere, but the prices not exorbitant. In the town mentioned above, I saw a number of dramas presented—once Hauptmann's "Rosa Bernd", Ibsen's "Hedda Gabbler", and again a series of one-act ultra-modern plays that were daring, to say the least. The acting in these theatres is not cheap or amateurish, a group of artists, serious, professional people, come from Berlin or Vienna to play If the entrance fees from the theatre do not cover the expenses and salaries, the town makes up the deficit If the income is more than the expenses, the town is the gainer In any case, here in the theatre was centered the best and most interesting things from the great world outside. From all, classical or modern, the people could learn, and through the years come to distinguish art from trash, creative thought from junk

India, it is true, had its own destiny to work out, it has a distinctive tendency of thought and culture, that must be revived and enriched But India has tremendous things to learn from Europe also. One of these things is not only the way to political independence, as we see in the case of Czecho-slovakia But one is educational methods adapted to Indian conditions and Indian psychology. The methods of adult education in Czecho-slovakia can be of help here But of all things which India can learn the most from Europe, stands the theatre as a place of culture and learning In this respect, nothing can be learned from England, which is notorious throughout the cultured world for its cheap, trashy, inartistic theatres There Indian students learn little that they cannot see in India; it is actually painful to see Indian students come from England to the Continent and ask for the theatres, the places they want to see are not the National Theatres where the great thought of the world is to be met face to face, but the cheap reviews, the varieties, the vaudevilles, the cabarets. They know nothing else—that is "the theatre" for them. But that is not "the theatre" on the Continent, where men and women devote a lifetime to the serious study of acting and of the drama, and where the serious men and women artists are the associates and equals of scholars and thinkers in every other branch of life. There India has a world to learn—and a world to gain

income in India is *taken to be Rs 107 or Rs. 100 or Rs 75*

It is apparent that a lower proportion of the national income is absorbed by taxation in India than in any other country mentioned in the table But it is well known that the tax-bearing capacity of a large income is more than in proportion to the size of the income Take two persons whose incomes are Rs 2000 and 10000 respectively If both were taxed at the same rate, say 2 per cent of the income, the one would be paying Rs 40 to the State and the other Rs 200, but the former would be more heavily taxed Hence the universal adoption of the principle of progression in the taxation of income, which means that the *rate* of the tax rises as income increases The * extent to which this principle is made use of in England, the country where a real attempt has been made to adjust tax burdens to tax-bearing capacity, is shown by the following table

Married couple entitled to allowance for 3 children

EARNED INCOME

Income £	Tax per £ s d	Percentage of income taken	Increase in rate of taxation taking the tax on £ 400 as unit
200	Nil	-	-
300	Nil	-	-
400	0-4	1.66	1
600	1-1½	5.62	3.4
800	2-2½	11.04	6.6
1000	2-10	14.16	8.5
2000	4-1½	20.62	12.4
3000	5-4	26.66	16.0
4000	6-1	30.41	18.3
5000	6-8	33.33	20.1
6000	7-2	35.83	21.6
8000	7-11	39.58	23.8
10000	8-7	42.91	25.8
25000	10-1	50.41	30.3
50000	11-0	55.00	33.1
100000	11-6	57.50	34.6

Two points should be noted Firstly, in the earlier stages, if income is two or five times as great as the minimum taxable income, the rate of the tax is more than two or five times as high as in the case of the minimum taxable income For example, the tax on £400 is 1.66 per cent of the income, on £800, 11.04 per cent (6.6 times the rate on £400), and on £2,000, 20.62 per cent (12.4 times the rate on £400) But in the later stages the rate of progression becomes slower. The reason for this is plain. Suppose 10 per cent is taken from an income of £250 then 100 per cent could not very well be taken from an income of £25,000 In the table given above, the tax on an income of £4000 which is ten times £ 400, is 30.41 per cent of the income as compared with 1.66 per cent on an income of £400, or 18.3 times as great, but that on an income of £ 8000 is only 23.8 times heavier At a certain stage, then, the progression becomes slower and finally it gives place to simple proportion For example, in Germany the Imperial income tax is levied at the rate at 55 per cent of the income on incomes of 5,000,000 M, rising to 60 per cent on incomes of 750 000 M or more *

Bearing these facts in mind, we enquire whether the burden of taxation in India is light or heavy as compared with other countries

Now suppose for a moment that India, Germany, France, England and the United States did not possess Governments of their own, but were governed by a central authority, say the League of Nations. How would tax-burdens be apportioned by this central authority?

Let us assume that it is decided to tax England at the rate of 19.6 per cent of the national income per capita, the actual proportion of taxation to income per capita in England in 1920 What will be a fair rate for India?

The rate could not be much higher than 1.07 per cent of income in India How do we arrive at this figure?

Income per capita in England is 11 times that in India According to the principle of progression on which the table given above is constructed, England is able to bear 18.3 times the rate of taxation in India If the rate for England is 19.6 per cent, the rate for India would be 19.6/18.3, or 1.07 per cent

German income is five times as compared with that of India, and on the same principle, the rate of taxation in Germany would be 12.4 times the rate for India, or 1.07 × 12.4 = 13.26

French income is about 9 times that of India, and France would be taxed at a rate 16 times higher than the Indian rate, or 1.07 × 16 = 17.12

American income is about 17½ times that of India, and the tax in the United

* The table is taken from Dr. Holz's book, p 51, referred to in the article later, but an ultimate source of these figures is memoranda submitted to the Brussel's Conference.

* Conrad—Finanzwissenschaft, p 52

s would be 21.6 times the Indian rate, 07 × 21.6 = 23 11
he actual proportion of taxation to in- may now be compared with what the ortion would be, if taxation were adjusted al tax-bearing capacity in the five coun-

	Actual rate	What the rate ought to be
	per cent	per cent
a	4.6	1.07
many	12 2	13.26
nce	13.0	17.12
land	19.6	19 6
ted States	7 08	23 11

t is evident from the figures given above India is more heavily taxed than any r country; that the United States is the lightly taxed country; and that Germany bear slightly, and France substantially r taxation.

ith other aspects of the question I shall more briefly

t has been contended, and rightly, that improper to speak of the "burden" of ion, if taxes, are properly spent. For mple, taxes imposed for furthering nation- ducation, for the development of national stries or promoting national welfare in r ways, impose no burdens. It is only taxes are mis-spent, when a dispropor- te amount of the total revenue is spent he Army as in India, that one can regard ion as a burden. Further, in the case of India, we have to remember that part of the sums raised by taxation in India is spent outside the country (included in the Home Charges), and secondly, as a German writer points out:

"It is not a matter of indifference whether national income is used to strengthen the economic position of foreigners, or to help them to live more comfortably (free passages and increased pay for the services recruited in England) or whether it is consumed by the sons of the soil, even when they do not return for it service of equal value—so that national income is at least consumed by the nation itself, though not in a 'reproductive' manner"*

In this respect the burden of taxation is real and it must be heavier in a subject than in a self-governing country

In conclusion, I may say that this article would be regarded by official apologists as an example of "political excursions masquerading under the name of economics", but I would be glad if any would undertake to show that, considering the facts given above India is the most lightly taxed country in the world.

* "Es kann ja nicht gleichgültig sein, ob die nationalen Werte dazu dienen, Landfremden zuro wirtschaftlichen Stärkung oder zum Wohlleben zu verhelfen, oder ob sie von eigenen Landeskindern verzehrt werden, selbst wenn diese nun keine geleichwertige Gegenleistung dafür aufbringen, so dass dieses Nationaleinkommen zum miacesten von der Nation selbst konsumiert wird, obschon nicht 'reproduktiv'." *Sind internationale Vergleiche steurlicher Belastungen möglich?* by Dr. rer. pol. Waldemar Holz Leipzig, 1924, p. 67.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATIVE STATES.

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I M. S (*Retired*)

O far, no writer has taken the trouble to analyse the motives which influenced the British authorities to give up the policy nnexing the Native States governed by then" princes. It was more often by fraud by show of force that those States were ght under the jurisdiction of the British ernment. It was the policy of the East India pany to dye red the whole map of India not to leave a single ruling prince in any part his country. But the mischievous nature of this policy was being exposed by several thoughtful and far-seeing statesmen in England a few years before the out-break of the mutiny. They wrote and said that the policy was not ethically just or politically expedient or financially sound. These publications of the India Reform Society—the speeches in parliament, the agitation in England by the agents of some of the deposed princes, had, to a certain extent, the effect of making the natives of England revise their opinion

regarding the annexation of the Native States.

Mr John Sullivan pleaded very powerfully the cause of Indian princes and exposed the injustice done to them by the absorption of their territories. In his well-known pamphlet, "Are we bound by our Treaties?" being "A plea for the princes of India, published in 1853", he said that

"When a question of this kind (i.e. appropriating the territory of an Indian prince), or any question relating to India, is proposed for our consideration it behoves us to examine it under a fivefold aspect.

"Firstly, is it just?

"Secondly, will it improve the character of the people? Or will it deteriorate that character?

"Thirdly, will it conciliate their affections? Or will it alienate them?

"Fourthly, will it consolidate our power, or will it weaken it?

"Fifthly, will it enrich or will it impoverish us?"

The consideration of the question under the first four headings did not trouble the Christians of England so much as did the last one. They used to look upon the annexation of a Native State as a distinct gain to England. Wrote Mr Sullivan in another part of the above-named pamphlet:

"Not content with proclaiming our intention to exclude them (the natives of India) from every high office in our own territory, till they are 'Christianised and civilised' not content with confiscating the Jagheers and Enams which have been granted to natives by former Governments, we have now marked whole sovereignties for our prey, and this that we may open fresh fields of employment for our own countrymen. Five native states have fallen within the last ten years. If we put on one side of the account what the natives have gained by the few offices that have been lately opened to them, with what they have lost by the extermination of these States we shall find the net loss to be immense and what the native loses, the Englishman gains. Upon the extermination of a Native State, the Englishman takes the place of the sovereign, under the name of Commissioner three or four of his associates displace as many dozen of the native official aristocracy while some hundreds of our troops take the place of the many thousands that every native chief supports. The little court disappears, trade languishes the capital decays, the people are impoverished the Englishman flourishes, and acts like a sponge, drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames."

Mr John Sullivan's plea for the native princes does not seem to have any effect on the hard-hearted Christians of England. What did it matter to them whether the policy of annexation of Native States was just or improved the character of the people or caused loss to the revenue of India as long as it extended the market for their goods and provided careers for their "boys"? Philanthropy or altruism did not influence them as did the consideration of pounds, shillings and pence. It was necessary therefore to show them that, if the policy pursued in India towards the "heathen" princes was not given up, it would ultimately touch their pockets.

So in the *India Reform Tract*, No II published in 18 3, it was stated:

"that whilst *we have not trebled our revenues, we have increased our debt more than sixfold, and we are at this moment adding to that debt in order to make good deficiencies of income.*

"We seem, therefore, to have been imitating the example of the man 'greedy of acres' in this country who borrows money at five per cent in order to purchase an estate which will barely yield him three. We have been urged on in this 'earth hunger' first, by a notion that extension of territory is the necessary consequence of a successful war; secondly, that territory must needs be as profitable in our hands as in the hands of its native owners. . . it was the opinion both of Clive and Hastings—certainly very competent judges—that the extension of our territory beyond the Bengal provinces would be a burden instead of a benefit. Looking at the question merely with reference to finance, the soundness of their opinion cannot be questioned. The more territory, the more debt, and why? Because we, foreigners, cannot make territory as profitable as its native owners.

"We have shown that the more territory we get the heavier are our embarassments. In the year 1792, the year in which we first began to extend our dominion, we had a surplus revenue of nearly a million, the debt in that year was not equal to the annual revenue nor the interest to one-sixteenth of the revenue. After having enormously increased our territory, we have an annual deficit of upwards of a million sterling, ...

"It may be, at no distant period, the unpleasant duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to renew those applications for loans in aid of the finances of India, which were not unfrequently made in the early part of the century,—such a prospect, however disagreeable, is before us."

The India Reform Society, of which Mr John Dickinson, *Junior*, was the Secretary and the life and soul, did not remain content with the publication of the above-named tract only, but soon after published two more tracts (which have been reprinted by the present writer)—namely Nos IV & IX entitled "The Native States of India," and "The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers" respectively, in which attempts were made to show that the Native States governed were not worse than any province of India then under the administration of the Christians. But the publications of the India Reform Society in 1853 did not seem to have any immediate effect on the minds of the Christian authorities in England or in India. For, we find two

nt Native States—Nagpore and Oude, unceremoniously annexed in 1854 and respectively.

was after the annexation of the Mussal- State of Oude that Sir Erskine Perry red his powerful speech in the House mmons on April 18th, 1856, in which ing to the deficit in Indian finance, he that the true causes of the deficit were nnexations

rst of all, remarkably enough, it will be that nearly every annexation during the few years, operates as a dead loss to the ues, even on its civil charges alone...

ut it is to take a very inadequate view of alue of annexations if we do not consider the f military occupation and defence of whatever may be...

ask, if any immediate advantage to be ed in revenue or police can compensate for destruction of our moral influence and the ning of the faith in British morality which violation of principle is sure to create in mind."

e concluded his powerful speech by g,

he difficulty to retrace our steps, a conscious- f my own insignificance and inability to arouse ssembly, would have probably kept me silent, ere had been no future before me. But ation has not yet half formed its work..

now, the Indian Press, backed up by still powerful organs of Indian opinion in this ry, are hounding on the Indian authorities to x the Nizam's territory Next will present the fertile territory of Malwa with its in- stible black soil, so rich in cotton and opium. at still more fertile, and with the best ators in India adjoins it, and is even more ting Rajputana, and the rest of the sixty ns will follow as a matter of course

trust that even on financial considerations ouse will pause a while before it lends its t and approval to these annexation doctrines. n the still higher grounds of right and justice e obligation, which rests upon this nation as a Christian Power, to prove by our example onduct in the East, the superiority of that religion we profess, and of that morality of which e always boasting, I do earnestly hope that of the observations I have made, but especially inions of the illustrious men I have quoted, * duce the House to interpose by its authority, inquiries, by its protection of those interests tted by Providence to our control, and check eadstrong propensity in our Indian rulers to rial aggrandizement, which, if not founded ht and justice, must tarnish the British name ltimately imperil the permanence of our nment in the East."

he concluding words, "and ultimately ril the permanence of our Government in the East" seemed to possess the ring of prophecy in them, for the Indian Mutiny broke out within a year of their utterance. It was the Mutiny which made the British Christians consider the expediency or otherwise of absorbing the Native States.

The agents of some of the deposed or ill-treated princes were spending money in England in hiring advocates to secure justice to their masters. But not in a single instance did they meet with success. Those 'heathen' or Moslem agents irrespective of their sex or position in life received scant courtesy, rather in several instances positive rudeness at the hands of the Christian authorities there. One has to turn to the story of Satara for the ill treatment of Ranga Bapoji, the agent of the deposed Raja of Satara, and to Appendix B of the Panini Office reprint of "Dacoitee in Excelsis" for the treatment meted out to the Queen—mother of the King of Oude in England It cannot be denied, however, that the agitation in England, of the agents of the Indian princes called the attention of the natives of that country to the affairs of India Even the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny did not prevent the annexationists from advocating their policy. Thus, one anonymous Christian author, who was evidently ashamed to give only his name in a pamphlet named "Indian Policy" published from London in 1858, wrote :—

"The great object in annexing subsidiary princes is the transfer to the Indian Treasury of the land revenue, which they dissipate in the worst manner. Moreover, the armies of native Princes would be abolished..... A fresh objection to the advantages to the Government of total annexation is that the subsidiary princes have stood by us in the revolt, and that it is our policy to maintain them—a miserable exposure of ignorance in those who uphold it No large subsidiary prince in India could stand an hour without our support · it is our army which keeps them on their thrones, and assures them the payment of their splendid incomes.. I prefer the support of the four or five millions sterling still reclaimable in land revenue

"So much for the advantages to the British Government, now for the advantages to the people '... With five millions sterling more per annum, we might abolish the salt-tax (a horrible cruelty, so bad that if we cannot keep India without it, it is almost a proof we ought to leave) , we might engage to a respectable extent in public works , we might really commence the education of India.. .... What right have we to throw away land revenue in one place, while we oppress the people with a salt-tax in another ? What right have we, by virtue of what we call a treaty, to enable by our arms a sovereign to keep his throne who oppresses his people, who takes their surplus produce and squanders it, whom they would instantly dethrone but for us ? Who had the power to make any

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*These opinions will be found in the India n *Tracts Nos. IV & IX* reprinted by the t writer.

such treaty ? Had we any power to give a people for ever into the hands of a sovereign who neglects all his duties to them ? Had such a sovereign (sometimes a stranger, entirely of our selection) any power to create the sacred right of Kings in himself by such a treaty ?..... Talk not of treaties, they were illegal in their nature : let us not, at all events, if 'we have made a wicked oath, so much the more wickedly perform the same.'

"Moreover, I say, the revenues of princes, whether territorial or not, are in trust for the people : when that trust is not fulfilled, the revenue passes to the succeeding Government.. ......

"I consider the policy and justice (in the real sense of the word) of annexation so clear, that I should be prepared to sacrifice personal interests considerably to carry it out ·It will be objected here by some—but what authority have we English to depose any native prince ? I might reply with the counter question—what authority have we to support any native prince ? Or, to state my reply more fairly, I refuse to argue the question of authority altogether ....Our Government now carefully abstains from treaties which covenant that we are never to take possession, to prevent such in future.. ....

"Total annexation, however, being our duty, it must be gone through with, and I would suggest the following milder method of carrying it out as worthy of consideration I would not dethrone any prince now living, but annex the dominions of each when he died The treaty difficulty might, perhaps, be hushed up as follows—when our supremacy is fully re-established, it might be explained by the Governor-General to the native princes, that the British system in India would undergo considerable change necessarily, but offer to them their kingdoms for life, on condition that they nominate the Queen of England their successor I apprehend that, if judiciously timed, the native princes would comply with this modest request'

Modest request indeed! Such were the arguments and proposals of those Christians of England who were clamouring for the total annexation of territories in the possession of the "heathen" princes of India

The annexationists used to justify the annexation of the Panjab on the ground that it helped the English in suppressing the Mutiny. It was convenient for them to ignore the fact that it could not join the Mutiny for some of the reasons stated in the 'Rise of the Christian Power in India,' Vol. V

It was very forcibly held by the British Army. Wrote the *Indian News* of 27th July, 1858, that

"It justifies self-esteem to aver that our admirable administration of the Punjab saved India On this verdict we entertain very serious doubts,. ..

"..... we drained not only Bengal proper, but the North-Western Provinces of about four-fifths of the European troops that formerly were stationed in them : that we might transfer them to the Punjab When *the British frontier rested* on the Sutlej, it did not extend much beyond 70 miles, but when *our* rule of the Punjab in the name of Duleep Singh failed, we found a solution of the difficulty in the gratification of our grasping propensities. So we took to ourselves the inheritance of our ward and made the Punjab British ; then in lieu of 70, our frontier extended over 700 miles. The inhabitants of the new acquisition were disarmed, and our old provinces were almost denuded of European troops ; all being required to keep the Punjab in order, as well as to swell its revenue returns by the army expenditure. The bayonet held our new possession......because all or nearly all the European army was required to hold the Punjab in the bayonet form in which we were ruling. Yet we are told the Punjab saved India, our reading being that the 'Punjab nearly cost us India'... .....

"None can question that India was nearly drained of European troops that the disarmed Punjab might be kept in subjection ; nor can any deny that our generals were crippled—unable to dash at Delhi before the mutineers swarmed to that capital, because of the army located in the Punjab. It is equally clear that had the ill-used Dost Mahomed desired it, he would have found a swarm of Afghans ready to aid us recovering Peshawar. It is, to our understanding, an error to say that the Punjab saved India, it was instrumental in nearly losing us that country : it was the cause why the Mutiny was not crushed at once, why it gained strength....We have now in place of the Bengal Army 82,000 Punjabees in our service. No option was left perhaps but to entertain them. They are good soldiers, ...while their enlistment at the opening of the mutiny was removing from their homes to a distance men perhaps not to be trusted at such a time in their villages"

It did not appear expedient to the British politicians and statesmen to yield to the agitation of the Christian annexationists. They saw that annexations not only meant financial ruin to India, but created discontent and disaffection in the disbanded soldiery of the annexed Native States which might again produce another Mutiny. Sir Thomas Munro had already sounded a note of warning as to the danger to India from the unemployment of the aristocracy and disbanded sepoys of the annexed States He wrote :—

"The native army would be joined by all that numerous and active class of men formerly belonging to revenue and police departments, who are now unemployed and by many now in office who look for higher situations, and by means of these men, they would render themselves masters of the open country, and of its revenue : . ...

The out-break of the Indian Mutiny showed that Sir Thomas Munro was not a false prophet The Christian statesmen and politicians of England could not ignore the warning of the Governor of Madras.

Then again, the native Sepoy was looked upon as a mere mercenary. It was necessary to make the Native States recruiting ground for the men of the Native Regiments. These men, being foreigners would not make common

with the subjects of the British Indian ment. There was no danger of the ak of another Mutiny in the future.
us, it will be seen that it was not from any motive of philanthropy, altruism or justice that the policy of the annexation of 'Native States was given up, and the doctrine of "Lapse" was knocked on the head.

THE BEARING OF RECENT DISCOVERIES ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA

BY DR. A. BANERJI-SHASTRI, M.A., PH.D. (*Oxon.*)

] Rigveda represents the *sturm und drang* riod of Indian History. An all-round ght with yet unfamiliar elements, rival s and down-trodden Dasyus One ciates the first—the thunder of Maruts, inding lightning and the drowning down- of Parjanya, the darkness of Ratri, nclemencies of Vata and the malevolent ties of the Rudra But

Who are the Asuras ? Rigveda I. 35 35 10 describe *Asura* as "intelligent[1] Rigveda I. 134. 2 V 29 10 ; VII nders that some are *Mridhravak*[2] i e nntelligible speech". Satapatha-Brahmana ls their peculiar oblique posture while l Later, they are an equally civilized e, only more wicked than the Vedic Aryan. ara Rg I 51. 6 ; II. 12, 11 ; IV. 30 14; 8 8 ; VII 18. 20 PS 61 2 had hundred s ; Indra helped Purukutsa Rg. I. 63 7 ; 0 10 in destroying seven of their cities he took away the prosperity of Sushna . 51. 11 ; IV 30 ; VI, 20 4 ; VII 1 28; The Asuras were the great enemies[3] of Rigvedic Aryans. RV I. 112, 14 , IX. on Sambara—"transference of the more nt recollection of a dreaded enemy to reatest of all enemies, the demon of the s" (Roth, *Lit. und Hist. der Veda*, p. . The other leaders of the Asuras and oppressors of the Aryans were Rauhina (I. 12, 12), Pani Rg. I. 33. 3 ; 180,7 ; V. etc They are, however, addressed by ame term *jana* (Rv. II. 12. 2) as applica- o the Aryans themselves *Pancha janah* II 12 2). What became of these Asuras drop their historical character by the mana[illegible]iod ?

) (a) [illegible] again, are the Dasas ? When Aryans [illegible] fighting the Asuras for water—evidently terrestrial but symbolised as celestial (Rigveda II. 12 3)—the Dasyus or Dasas are contemptuously described as coloured savages to be dispossessed and exterminated (Rv. II 12. 4)—cf. Grassmann and Muir *Sk. Texts*, ii, pp. 368 ff They are to be clearly distinguished from the Asuras who are never treated as savages or of a different 'colour'. The Rigveda knows Dasyus not only as non-Aryans but also non-Asuras.

(ii) (b) The Asuras disappear from the Indian horizon by about the Brahmanic period This disappearance synchronises with a perceptible re-adjustment of the position of the Dasyus (1) The *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII 11) speaks about their connection with Vishvamitra, "The foe of mankind," perhaps a reminiscence of the Aryan's conception of the Asura—as a enemy of himself, hence of the good world. (2) *Manu* describes them as partly Kshatriyas degenerated into Vrishalas.

(3) The *Vayu*, *Matsya*, *Brahmanda Puranas* give a not non-Aryan descent for the Dasyu races of the south (4) The *Harivamsa* connects them with a not non-Aryan source in Turvasu, son of Yayati. (5) The *Mahabharata* I 3478 broadly hints at their mixed origin.

(iii) As a curious commentary on the above two ii (a) and ii (e), a curious *melange* of (1) Philological and Archaeological remains in the South of India amongst the Dravidians of to-day.

(1) "The Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese) are fundamentally different from Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans"—R Swaminatha Iyer—*Origin of Dravidian Languages* III Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, quoted in *Dravidian India* by T R. S. Iyengar, 1925, p 69)

(2) The Dravidian languages have an independent and indigenous origin (Wilson's *Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, p. 19: Lazarus, Siddhanta-Dipika*, Vol v p 31.)

(3) There is an element in the southern languages which is not Aryan (Rapson, *Cambridge History of India* Vol I) and yet found in the Rigveda and earliest Sanskrit (A Pillai, *Dravidic Studies No III, p 56*). For instance, the so-called cerebrals They can be traced in the Sumerian (perhaps connected with the Asuras)—Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy* They are not prominent in other Dasyu or non-Aryan languages in India. But they form an important feature of Dravidian languages (*Asura and Dasyu*)

(II) Archaeologically the Dravidian country presents the same inscrutable combination as above Specially noteworthy are—

(1) Pandavaram Dewal—Newbolt. *Ancient Sepulchres of Panduvaram Dewal in S India, J R A S* Vol XIII

(2) Megalithic sepulchres near Nallampatti

(3) Burial grounds at Adichanallur—Rea, *Cat. Prehist Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair.*

(4) Flora and Fauna, distinct and different from Aryan on the one side and Non-Aryan on the other (Another tradition mixture between non-Aryan Dasa and Asura ?)

The second stage of Philology sought to solve the above doubts and difficulties in the cases of Egypt and Greece Philology was founded on a realization of the fundamental unity amidst apparent diversity of different languages classifiable under a steadily lessening number of families or groups Its second stage is an outcome of extending that realization to different sciences wrongly supposed to be self-sufficient and independent. Of the greatest value to Philology in this respect has been Archaeology.

Egypt, long ago, re-adjusted her viewpoint by establishing a pre-dynastic period (i) Petrie's typological sequence dating applied to chronological degeneration of pottery and (ii) a comprehension of the Egyptian calendar (4241 B C) settled its lowest limit to before 4000 B C. Further researches have subdivided the predynastic period into Early predynastic, Middle predynastic and Late predynastic, leading on to the 1st dynasty. For the present discussion, it is necessary to note

(i) that about 4241 B C, the Nile valley people were sufficiently civilized to obs[erve] the risings of stars and fix the solar year

(ii) that civilization, according to arch[aeo]logical finds at Narmerand Gebel. el-Arak, [ha]d an *eastern origin* somewhere in Asia Mi[nor] (Mesopotamia, Elam etc.)—*The Cambr[idge] Ancient History*, Vol I, pp. 255-6)

Greece followed suit. The tale of earl[y] Greece was hardly discernible through t[he] extant fragments. But every glimpse was [a] problem and a promise. And the Prometh[ean] strain beckoned on Even Earth had to yie[ld] her secrets and Schliemann, Halbherr an[d] Evans recovered pre-historic Greece [from] Ægean sources Mycenae, Tiryns, Knoss[os], Phaistos, Cyclades and Crete have shed th[eir] unintelligibility. Minoan (Early, Middle a[nd] Late), Mycenaean (Early, Middle and La[te]) Cretan etc. are now well-defined strata [of] this Prehistoric Greece. The work of re[-]construction continues. Data accumulat[e.] Page after page of a fascinating Past is r[e]stored and read. The inspiring story [is] available to every part of the world, in boo[ks] and journals. Only two points need [be] stressed for the present purpose.

(i) Crete was the breeding place of t[he] Ægean culture It passed on to the mai[n]land of Greece by easy stages through t[he] Cycladic isles Homeric Greeks were alie[n] to, and in course of time absorbed, this no[n-]indigenous culture But this culture, with[in] every text-book within the last twenty yea[rs] is now admitted to be the Heroic Age [of] Greece before Homer In other words, Pr[e-]Homeric Greece.

(ii) Cretan culture is supposed to be [of] *eastern origin*, from somewhere in A[sia] Minor Though entirely "Ægeized" [or] "Minoized" it probably came "from Anat[olia] at an even earlier period".—Hall, *Æge[an] Archaeology*, 1914, p. 258.

India, however, lagged behind. She eith[er] ignores doubts and misgivings or invents ex[-]planations and passes them off as traditi[on] (See the mutually contradictory meaning[s] offered for the same word in the same cont[ext] by the Vedic commentators). Yet there wa[s] a time when an Indian was alive to health[y] doubts and could confess them Kautsa ([c.] 7th. cen. B C) was among the first to ex[-]press his inability to understand the Vedi[c] allusions—"as obscure and unintelligible' Hi[s] successors from Yaska to Sayana set abou[t] to find out and record tradition and manu[-]facture it in case of need The modern Pandit has gone one better. Almost complete

off from that tradition intellectually bserving it only in its mechanical , he seeks to extinguish for ever the flame of curiosity. Unable to deny h irrationalism in his systems of thought tion, he has developed a philosophy sing and allowing for the irrational t in existence and calls it a revelation. m these two, long-lost tradition and rn revelation, he has twisted the glor-edic records of the past into pseudo-is rhapsodies, obscure and puerile. agic word "religion" made everything nd simple! Divine personages furnished for filling all the gaps of disconti- They left no insoluble problems or assing questions

. the questions were there all the time, many blots on the fair face of gy and History A happy accident ought them to the fore. Mahenjo-ill remain a land-mark in the history a Excavations at Harappa (1920-21) Mahenjo-Daro (1922) have shed the Light on a Long-Forgotten Civilization" a—Sir John Marshall—*The Illustrated News*, Sep 1924 The archaelogical have been copiously described in papers including this Review For sent discussions, it is necessary to ask they solve any of the doubts mentioned " In other words—

Is the Mahenjo-Daro culture Pre- or Co-Vedic, for it is certainly not edic?

Is it Asura as found in the Rigveda? ertainly not Aryan and only partially ian, the typical Dasa elements being

What connection does it bear to the ian of to-day?

Is it of indigenous origin or intrusive tside? If so, from where?

answer at this stage would be pro-. The large number of engraved seals be about 350 in number giving about racters) is still an open question. in his *The Indo-Sumerian Seals red*, 1925, pp 48-98, has offered his tations, but they await verification ottery and vases, pictographs, burial etc. (*The Statesman*, Nov. 23, 1924) hat—(i) The Mahenjo-Daro culture is lic Aryan.

The burial customs (crouching position rovide an unbroken chain from Arcot lem Districts in Madras through Sind and Baluchistan to Mesopotamia and Gehareh in Babylon. They agree with the same customs[3] attributed to the Asuras in the Vedas

(iii) Sayce and Gadd have found affinities between Mahenjo-Daro relics and Sumerian objects between 3000-2800 B C.

(iv) R D. Banerji fancies resemblance with Crete.

From the above tested in the light of doubts already pointed out issue several important hints.

(i) The Mahenjo-Daro culture is probably the Asura culture as recorded in the Vedas. It was anterior to the Vedic[4]. It spread over the Punjab, Sind and southern India. In course of time the Vedic Aryans penetrated into the Punjab by another route. The important water-ways were occupied by the Asuras In the long-drawn struggle, the Asuras were worsted. They gradually intermarried and got mixed up with the Dasas. This race-mixture bred the modern Dravidians[5] Hence the disappearance of the Asuras from the arena of Indian civilization.

(ii) The Mahenjo-Daro culture is *eastern in origin*, affiliated to Asia-Minor

The third stage is already in sight. It opens with an important issue—the story of conflict between an older Asia Minor civilization and a later Indo-European growth. The facts to be determined are·

(i) If Asia Minor was the cradle of this Eastern culture—how did it reach India—by land or sea?

(ii) Its course westward Egypt, Crete; but did it stop there?

(iii) The Indo-European culture— is it from Central Asia? By what intrinsic superiority could it overcome the older culture and in course of time spread over India and the whole of modern Europe through Greece and Rome?

(i) Marshall considers Mahenjo-Daro culture as intrusive -"successive migrations from outside" Linguistic and archaeological remains in Baluchistan and Rajputana perhaps indicate the route But of the advance or retreat?

(ii) From Crete to Scotland survive strange and stray waifs of languages, with clearly-marked *oriental characteristics*—Etruscan in Italy, (Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, 1908, p.57) Basque on the Bay of Biscay (Millet, *Les Langues Dans L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, 1918,) and that provoking Newton stone inscription in Scotland. The last-named is a mystery Waddell's reading, making it Eastern and Phoenician

(Waddell—*Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*, 1924, pp.21-25) has been ridiculed by Temple in the *Ind Ant*, 1925, July and Aug Eastern, however, does not and cannot mean complete agreement. They were once living languages in varied environment and life is change Charles V of Spain who had waged war for forty years to unify the world had not realized this even when tired, and, in his monastery, he tried to keep some dozens of watches in agreement. Yet, one day, Charles accidentally dropped them all and made the profound remark, "Absolute agreement is decidedly impossible except in immobility" He had found it out at last, and that is not bad for an emperor It would not be bad either for an archaeologist or philologist

(iii) Even imagination wavers before this problem—its complexities and far-reaching consequences. Every available record has to be read and re-read. History is the everlasting embodiment of that brooding human spirit whose task never dies To-day it stands at the mouth of the gloomy cavern of the past, even of Human Past, with bent back and shaded eyes, seeking intently to penetrate th[e] gloom beyond, with the fear of that threate[n]ing darkness, with the desire of that redee[m]ing miracle it yet perchance may hold

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1 In the Rig Veda, the Asuras are described [illegible] (Rig Veda, the Asura. I [35] 10) *i.e.*, of a golden complexion and well-led.

2. cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, [illegible] 114, 136. cf also [illegible] (Rig Veda I[I] 71 10) their battle-cry wrongly interpreted [illegible] Ye enemies! It is the same w[ord] as Assyri an "*Hallelvya*", cry of victory. Th[e] language is later described as Mlechchha,—ZDM[G] LXVIII. 719; JBBRAS, XXV. 78.

3 Wilson, *Rigveda*, Vol. III, p. xiv.

4. Vedic *Asura* has the same three sense[s] the *Assura* of the cuneiform Inscription [—] Banerjea, K. M., *Arian Witness*, pp. 49 ff

5 Satpatha Brahmana XIII, 8 1.5. menti[ons] *Asuras* as Prachyars (*i. e.* of Magadha).—cf (a) *Jarasandh ki Baithak* and the *Birs Nimrad* Nimrud in Assyria (Bihar Pre-Maurya Fergusson) (b) Babylonian Seal in the Nagpur Museum (Centr[al] Provinces), (c) Mayasura in the Khandava for[est] (United. Provinces Mahabharata.

6 Atharvaveda Spirits and Demons as Chald[ean] —cf Tilak, Bhandarkar Com. Vol. Pp. 29 ff

ON SHAKESPEARE

BY ROMAIN ROLLAND

[*Translated from an Unpublished Manuscript*]

[We present this paper to complete the trilogy of Romain Rolland on Shakespeare. In Shakespeare Rolland has discovered, and through that master playwright he pronounces the supreme philosophy that *Art is Sublime Play* But it is not an irresponsible play, as the doctrine is made to mean in its distorted version Art is that divine play which, through it eternal dance—rhythms of joy, liberates the human soul from the trammels of Reality. This has its strikingly friendly echo in the philosophy of art suggested or sung through that masterpiece of dramatic symbolism—*Phalguni*, the Cycle of Spring, of our Rabindranath The improvisations on the Vedantic *maya* and the Vaishnava *lila* of Indian philosophy seem to strike a sympathetic chord to this symphonic orchestration of Shakespeare by Rolland, the master harmoniser of the Occident in this age of discord. We salute Maitre Rolland by presenting this paper to his Indian admirers and conveying to him our gratitude and good wishes on the celebration of the 60th anniversary of his birth this month.

KALIDAS NAG.]

III.

THE LIBERATING GENIUS

THE aspect of the great plays of Shake[s]peare is tragic ; the thoughts underly[ing] them are terrible. And still the gener[al] impression of the work is luminous. Whe[re] then is the hidden sun ?

The first reply to the question, the rep[ly] that suggests itself to the mind most eas[ily] is that a work like that of Shakespeare is [so] vast that it embraces all that exist—joy [as] well as sorrow—and that the one corrects th[e] other. The work of Shakespeare is lik[e] nature itself : each one of us can draw o[ut] of it what we are in need of. And ina[s]much as the secret instinct of men invariabl[y] drives them towards joy, it is the dream [of] joy which is best retained by men. Memor[y]

h is only an accomplice of the heart in game, draws a veil over the sorrowful :s.

lut we are not going to take our stand ich an explanation. For, in the immense as whereon Shakespeare projected the lacles of Life, the values are not same in all cases the comedies, example, however poetic they may be, ot be balanced against the grand dies And even Falstaff himself, in spite s radiance of Pantagruelic gaiety (cor-d, however, by the lugubrious end), ot hold his own against a *King Lear* or *riolanus*, in the total work of Shakes-› In fact, the interest of the problem in this, that it is not the character or lay the most gay but the most sombre that tes the strongest light

nd it is here that we enter the very : of the question that, transcending espeare, touches the very soul of Art: *The ation of spirit through art.* Art is like iuntain In a certain degree of altitude, reat work, whatever may be the subject-er, brings joy to the soul One can even t that, in the interior of that zone, one tastes perior kind of delectation in things tragic. third act of *Orpheus*, the last few scenes *lcestis* have, in the act of relaxation of t, no other advantage but that of gradu-bringing us down from the giddy heights notion to a mundane quietude which ares the public to resume their every-life But the conventional optimism of scenes seems tame and insipid after strong joy of suffering which suffuses the eding scenes At the end of the terrific *pus*, with the termination of the implac-march of Fate set against the struggling we breathe more freely, and our heart s to be filled with the solemnity of a y night. Malwida von Meysenburg re-s in her memoirs how, during one of itterst days of her life of exile in on, with her soul prostrate through le and tending towards suicide, she ssed the performance of *Othello*, and the spectacle of such an unfortunate she drew a new courage to live. Whence s this good ?

comes from the fact that *Art is me play.* It is not disinterested either (What play is quite dis-sted?) Art is the supreme play of spirit, , liberating itself from the cruel laws of becomes by itself the creator of life and r of the laws which govern the universe modelled by the spirit in the image of Reality. From the plains of Simois, where the warriors confront one another, the human spirit wafts itself up to the god Zeus, who is observing and feeling their passions serenely from a distance and without the poisoned sting of passions. But compared with Zeus, the human spirit is more deeply moved; for it knows that it is sheltered only for a moment and it enjoys more ardently that recess accorded in the interval of life's agonies; it must plunge into that agony very soon and it knows that the condition of existence in that world is death. Only for an instant is the human soul invulnerable; and, looking down upon the arena with eyes half shut, it contemplates, as it were in a dream, the trials and struggles of brother spirits with a passionate emotion which secretly recalls their struggles to his own, and with a smile of relief which reminds it of the fact that the soul is only dreaming The more tragic is that dream, the more anxiously does the human soul scrutinise, on the features of its poetic "double", the shudders of sufferings and the force of resistance which its brother spirit brings to the struggle In fact, it is a sentiment like that of the Romans who rushed to the gladiatorial circus, propelled by the same sort of desire unavowed. But for grossly realistic natures, denuded of imagination, with callous insensibility like that of the Romans, there must be actual shedding of blood and the horror of real agony The tragic art creates its spectacle quite entire, out of the substance of dreams and not out of living flesh; it is woven out of man's combats, his joys and sorrows; it is always the bloody game, but he knows that it is only a game and that here all is dream.

The strength and efficacy of Tragedy would be greater in proportion to the ***illusion*** being more intense and the ***dream feeling*** more profound, comparable to the essence a few drops of which suffuse the lovely body with perfume. These two conditions of success are rarely fulfilled in drama. Shelley's drama of the soul—of disembodied spirit—evaporates into a rainbow-coloured dream. And a masterpiece of Ibsen like the ***Little Eyolf*** appears like a block of stone on the head of a swimmer who sinks by a weight heavier than any burden that is suffocating us. In the case of higher types of genius, in a Sophocles and a Shakespeare, the equilibrium of the two forces—that of the Real and of the Dream, is superbly maintained, and that is the great secret—the hidden sun, in their creations.

However, that equilibrium is not produced by the same elements in the case of all master artists. The sober harmony and the perfect healthiness of a Sophocles do not resemble, in any way, the overwhelming polyphony and the demons of riotous souls in the dramas of Shakespeare, more than the Gregorian chant resembles the death of Ysolde in Wagner Opera. But, if the quantities employed in the game are changed, the proportion remains the same: a more enormous weight of passion-charged reality is opposed and balanced against a more violent mastery of the soul and a more fascinating capacity of dream

Let us proceed to examine briefly the two poles of the balance.

The reality which Shakespeare presents before us is, in almost all his masterpieces, always *a paroxysm* It does not simply supply the *facts* of the play which, in essence, represents a *crisis of the soul* All such crises are not of equal value Each crisis brings into play the supreme powers of an individual soul, towards the direction of a given passion The worth of each crisis, therefore, is in proportion to the worth of that soul and wafts us to the height to which the wings of that soul may bring her. But the divine frenzy in the genius of Shakespeare reveals itself in the *selection* of those souls Each soul has been selected, with the eye of an eagle, so as to be like a camp of election-fight, where passions are born and suddenly surge up to the plenitude and the total exhaustion of its torrential strength. From the very first words of Lear, egotism and pride roar like wild beasts. From the first awakening of ambition, the savage imagination of Macbeth bounced to the encounter of crime; the assault of the inner tempest is so thundering that his hairs stand on end and his heart knocks at his ribs. He stumbles from the reality that envelops him and he sees nothing but what is in the future·

"Present fears are less than horrible imaginings my thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical, shakes so my single state of man that function is smothered in surmise and nothing is but what is not" (I. 3)

The tender Juliet, from the moment that she loves, is love all round. Nothing else exists any more. When one announces to her the death of Tybalt and the banishment of Romeo, she cries out:

Romeo is banished!' To speak that word is father, mother, Tybalt, Romeo, Juliet, all slain, all dead. 'Romeo is banished!' there is no end, no limit measure, bound in that word's death; (Act III. 2)

Troilus, lovelorn, expecting Cressida, is afraid lest when he would see his beloved the joy would prove too strong and would mean death and annihilation of his being.

"Death, I fear me, surrounding destruction, or some joy too fine, subtle, potent, turned too sharp in sweetness for the capacity of my ruder powers (Act III. 2).

So the love for her children is as limitless as the hatred in Margaret of Anjou against York (Third Part of Henry VI, I. 4) and against Richard III (I. 3, IV. 4).

"I am hungry for revenge, and now cloy me with beholding it......At hand, at hand ensues his piteous and unpitied end: Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar saints pray to have him suddenly conveyed from hence. Cancel his bond of life, dear God! I pray that I may live to say, the dog is dead" (IV 4)

The group of jealous souls: Posthumus of *Cymbeline*, Leontes of *The Winter's' Tale* Claudio of *Much Ado About Nothing* and Othello, the Moor of Venice, are tigers growling with hunger for gnawing and choking the prey under their claws

'First to be hanged and then to confess... I would have him nine years a-killing" (IV. 1)

Leontes would dash out the brains of his child on the pavement These unchained passions sometimes unify or hurl themselves against one another, forming a symphonic combination that is formidable, so that one would consider them as sweeping tempests of elemental forces Such an Aeschylean scene we find in Richard III attempting to drown the imprecations of the three vociferous women under the rattling of drums and sounding of trumpets Such is also the scene of the tempest with the three madcaps in King Lear (III 2, 4), or the epic and funereal tableau which opens *Henry VI* around the tombs of the hero in Westminster Abbey—the furious disputes of the great barons whose apostrophising are cut short by the arrival of the messenger in the fashion of antique dramas and the succession of news of defeats and mourning like the toll of death-bells. Nearly all the dramatic situations of the great plays are like a flood-gate which gives way under the rush of passions. They boil and foam in a Macbeth, a Lear and a Romeo. From the moment that the torrent is let loose, we must follow its course.

But while the *heart* is carried away by the current, the very same moment the *spirit* plays above like a ray of light on the water or like a sea-gull which flies over the waves, touching them with its wings, balanc-

itself on the waves, yet far from them; and the spirit enjoys the game as a game knows that it is free.

The sentiment of *dream* penetrates the ius of Shakespeare. It is neither so pro- d nor so essential in any other dramatic By fits and starts he catches his ic heroes in the midst of action and sforms them into somnambulists who find nselves, like Macbeth, suspended on the k of the abyss.

> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more. It is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing" (V. 5)

Hotspur suddenly arrests himself in full er, and, falling, as it were, into the abysmal th, measures the void:

> But thought's the slave of life and life time's fool;
> And time, that takes survey of all the world,
> Must have a stop." (*Henry IV, Part I*, V. 5)

Hamlet is not fully conscious, if he is not ming with eyes open. The eyes of opatra awakens from the dream of life on the eve of her final departure from this ld She is detached from that dream of e, of splendour, which she adored so much. m the shore of death she contemplates h irony the conqueror Caesar Augustus, is but a slave of fortune ministering to caprices She escapes the influence he "fleeting moon" which presides over fate of human dreams. She is no longer oman

> have nothing of woman in me: now from to foot, I am marble-constant."
> (Act V. 2)

So in *King Lear* Edmund expires with, is past and so am I"

When that sentiment of the *illusion* of suddenly flashes upon Shakespeare's heroes once believed furiously in life, they seem el the very root of the tree vacillating h they had clung to with a desperate y. Then they appear like those blinded by agic glare, and surcharged with bitterness do not see in all that exist, anything but ter farce.

> flies to wanton boys are we to the gods;
> y kill us for their sport" (*Lear, IV. 1*)

speaks Gloucester.

t the soul of the poet, soaring above smiles with an affectionate and curious at the charming spectacle which this rse offers him:

> the world's a stage
> all the men and women merely players:
> They have their exits and their entrances,
> And one man in his time plays many parts,
> His acts being seven ages." (*As You Like It*, II. 7)

The poet Shakespeare has compassion for human sufferings and at the same time he fondles and enjoys them; he "can suck melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs," just as it was the habit of the melancholic Jacques, another self of Shakespeare. And through the mouth of Jacques he gives the secret of that melancholy, which is another form of joy, sister sentiment to that which La Fontaine tasted—the joy of the Free Spirit, too free perhaps, vagabond and nomadic like the flock of migratory birds whose home-land is the immense void of the Sky.

> "I have neither the scholar's melancholy, which is emulation, nor the musician's, which is fantastical; nor the courtier's, which is proud; nor the soldier's, which is ambitious; nor the lawyer's, which is politic; nor the lady's, which is nice; nor the lover's, which is all these: but it is a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects; and indeed the sundry contemplation of my travels, which, by often rumination, wraps me in almost humorous sadness."

To which Rosalind retorts jeeringly:

> "A traveller! By my faith, you have great reason to be sad. I fear you have sold your own lands to see other men's; then, to have seen much and to have nothing, is to have rich eyes and poor hands."

"Yes", replies Jacques, "I have gained my experience."

Nothing can be had for nothing. It is at the expense of his own life, of his personal happiness, that the Poet buys the luminous rays of the spirit. As Prospero avows that it is the essence of his days, of his every-day souvenirs that his power is built; "Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves ... weak masters though ye be—"yet Shakespeare-Prospero has, by your aid, "bedimm'd the noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds," and resuscitated the past centuries, so that, at his command, "the graves have waked their sleepers (*Tempest*, V. 1)* He lives Life at its best and he dominates, in his turn, Time which dominates life. He makes time one of his actors (*The Winter's Tale*, IV. 1). As a colleague of time, Shakespeare knows that he can, in spirit, "overthrow law and in one

* "It is remarkable that in his enumeration of the Spirits whose aid had been invoked, Prospero-Shakespeare mentions only the Spirits of the countryside familiar in life, the rural genii, the elves of Stratford—and by no means the spirits of the sea and the tempest, whom the subject matter of the scene seems to expect.

self-born hour...plant and o'erwhelm custom", that he can create and annihilate beings and peoples, that he can, if he pleases, make the Past Present and the Present viewed as a far-off Past revolving (so does Goethe). But when he weighs the things that are in his hands—the peoples and the centuries—Shakespeare feels that he holds nothing, that he himself is nothing but a dream like all the rest.

"These our actors .. were all spirits and
Are melted into air, into thin air ,
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep. (*Tempest*, IV. 1)

So speaks the master magician on the e of the abdication of his power. The mag work which his art has constructed out of t joys and sorrows of life, appears, in the mi of the tempest, like an island of dream refuge, a consoling song—the Light ! T grossest as well as the most delicate he come to cling therein, like a child on t bosom of the Mother:

"Be not afeard · the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and h no
Sometimes a thousand twanging instruments
Will hum about mine ears ; and sometimes voi
That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again and then, in dreaming
The clouds methought would open and show ri
Ready to drop upon me, that, when I wak'd,
I cried to dream again " (*Tempest*, III. 2)

Translated from the original French by Kalidas N

A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

By MADHU SUDHAN S. GOKHALE

Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

THE insidence with which the problem of a universal language for India claims its place is lost amid the clamour for various other necessary reforms for advancing towards the goal of Indian nationalism. The problem is unsolved owing to various reasons, the first one being the lack of realization of its importance in comparison with other political problems of the day The second one is the impossibility of suggesting a solution that would suit the tastes of speakers of so many different languages and dialects of India.

For a reason which need not be discussed there is always a resisting force offered by people in general to any new idea. It is not the intention of the writer to offer any thing new but merely to state the nature of the problem with a view to point the way to a most practicable solution.

It has been a general belief that a Universal widely prevalent language happens to be so, if not entirely by accident, yet irrespective of its characteristics. On the face of it this may seem to be the correct view and one may optimistically wait for one of the present languages of India to take the pla of a universal language Hindustani, f instance, has been claimed by some as th future universal language for India, whi will develop to be so in course of time, an if Hindustani (or Hindi) ever does become universal language, it would settle the prese question.

Does a universal language ever becom so in course of events irrespective of i characteristics or is it necessary to create on which will be best fitted with due considera tion to its characteristics ? If a languag becomes universal owing to its characteristic has Hindi got the necessary credentials i that line to raise itself to that status ? I the universal language has to be created b studious efforts, does Hindi deserve to b promoted as being one, justly fitted to occup that position ? It is however idle to speculat whether Hindi will ever actually reach tha status but it is more important to kno whether it is inherently qualified for tha purpose

The reference to the Hindi language i the above paragraph is not made with an

ular point in view but just to make sy to show the importance of the ion by a concrete example. The name y other language may easily be substi- as far as the reasoning goes. However ame of Hindi was used because of its al acknowledgment as a future univer- nguage for India by the general Indian e.

e languid progess which the question has ever since the awakening of India along nes of development of nationalistic ideals proof that the universal language as such to be created by studious efforts. er is this proof the only proof The only that the United States has a common age in spite of her cosmopolitan popula- is her studious efforts to establish one linguistic conditions in Canada, which is ny other respects not unlike the United are curiously far different from those United States. The colloquial and the language in Canada is French, the language being English , while on the hand, the language of the United is English The prominence of the sh language in the Unites States clearly the efficiency of the method of making guage universal by studious efforts as t the method of relying on the cteristics of the language

is an undeniable fact that the French ge has a decided advantage over h as regards simplicity The only why French occupies a prominent as being universal in Canada in spite of ficial English is the ease with which European immigrants in Canada can French

studious and systematic efforts are by the Government of a country to sh a common language, any language made to fill that position for some least, irrespective of its merit or . On the contrary, where government's are lacking or even half-heartedly out, the only language that can universal is the one that possesses ry qualifications. Therefore, in view act that the Government of India has est in establishing a universal langu- r India other than English, we are to the conclusion that the problem of versal language for India cannot be by leaving it to spontaneous develop- nless there be some language which ently qualified for it.

n the above discussion, it is easy to realise the necessity of studious efforts to adopt a suitable language. The problem cannot be solved by leaving it to the process of spontaneous evolution. We have seen that Hindi is already believed by some to be the language best suited for the purpose Let us see how far this belief is justified by facts.

The language to occupy the position of the universal language, must have certain characteristics. First, let us see what the necessary characteristics are, secondly, whether the Hindi language possesses these characteristics and thirdly, whether any other language in India possesses them to a higher extent. If the Hindi language does possess them, it is high time to start some studious efforts for its promotion as a universal language. But if it does not, let us recognise the fact and redirect our efforts in a more promising direction One thing, however, is obvious The Hindi language seems to be more widely understood in different parts of India than any other language However let us first see what other qualities are necessary. A language to be able to command the position of a universal language, should possess the following characteristics :

I The universal language should be easy to learn At present in India there is no common language as such and whichever language we choose as our future universal language, will have to be studied by those whose mother-tongue is some other Indian dialect Hence it is necessary that it should be easy to learn. The British rulers are trying to make English the universal language for India It is a fact that we do not want any of the Western languages to be our national tongue, for the simple reason that none of them are simpler to learn than any of our languages. On the other hand, if we are at all going to have a European language, let us at least not have the hardest one! The prominence that the English language has gained in Indian politics is due to its political status, not to its simplicity, or any other inherent merit.

II. To facilitate the introduction of any of the present languages of India as our future national language, it should have a generous stock of literature available for immediate use. There is no use trying to create literature in that language after deciding on the language. The stock should be ready and copious.

III. The language should also be homogeneous. By nomogeneousness is meant the uniformity of character throughout that

part of India in which it is spoken. It should be indistinguishable from its namesake in the neighbouring district

IV. There should also be a *large* percentage of speakers in that language to start with as it will promote the growth rapidly, once adopted. Now that we have analysed the important characteristics that a language should possess to ascertain her position as a universal language, let us see whether any of the languages in India possess them, and which one to a higher extent than the others. The English language, to begin with, has enough literature and is homogeneous in structure, but as regards simplicity or percentage of speakers in India it will rank far behind any Indian language. The only reason the English language presents an aspect of universality is due to its political status, not unlike Latin in the days of the Roman Empire. Now let us turn to Hindi or Hindustani, one of our own languages and see if it meets the above-mentioned requirements.

Hindi is a simple language but by far not the *simplest* A man from Maharastra will not be able to learn Hindi any quicker than he would Guzerati, or Bengali. Hindi grammar is full in every particular and none too easy to master in a short time for a man who is quite foreign to Hindi.

If we look whether Hindi has a generous stock of good modern literature to start with, it will compare very poorly with any of its sister dialects in North, Central and Western India The fact is self-evident when we see that the choice is limited to very few books Tulsidas' Ramayana is one of the few classical books which could be pointed out for studying in universities Even then, Tulsidas' Hindi is old and archaic and would be of as much use to-day as Chaucer's English in any modern English-speaking country. The Hindi language of to-day may form a suitable means of conversation in the absence of other languages; but then this Hindi is neither classical nor literary If India has to have a universal language, she certainly does not want the one that has been developed by its use by illiterate people

Let us look at Hindi from the view-point of homogeneousness Without going into any deep investigation, every one is aware of the fact that Hindi is not homogeneous. The Hindi of Nagpur and Indore is different from the Hindi of Allahabad and still more so, if we go farther north. Nor is this difference a trivial or superficial one but according to the testimony of a Maratha gentleman, though a prize-winner in Hindi oration at Bilaspur, was unable to understand a lecture deli[...] in Allahabad-Hindi.

As regards the last qualification, about percentage of speakers, Hindi may appea[...] being spoken and understood by a la[...] percentage in India. The spread of the Hi[...] language in India has been not unlike [...] spread of Parsee communities. There [...] hardly a city of moderate size in India [...] which a single Parsee family could not [...] found. From this no one will infer t[...] Parsees form a majority of population in In[...] Another reason for Hindi's apparent gro[...] is again partly due to the influence of [...] rulers The majority of Sahibs and M[...] sahibs manage to make themselves underst[...] to their servants—a majority of khansa[...] and chauffeurs being Mohammedans—Urdu-ic Hindi. Hindi being the only langu[...] they come in contact with, whatever part [...] India they set foot on, and not having a [...] better knowledge of any other language th[...] Hindi, they naturally make themselves und[...] stood in Hindi, with the rest of their s[...] of servants and other Indians The ab[...] details will clearly show the reason for t[...] aspect of universality which Hindi presents

Now that we have considered all poi[...] for and against Hindi, let us see if there [...] any other language better qualified to be [...] future universal language. At this point [...] might be tempted to suggest Marathi, a[...] were it not for a few draw-backs as rega[...] simplicity, it could be easily recommend[...] But if Marathi were to be chosen as [...] universal language, any other dialect [...] Western India is just as good, neglect[...] the issue of simplicity, which occupies [...] prominent place in the discussion. After d[...] consideration of these facts the language t[...] would next strike any body's mind [...] Bengali, or the language of the people [...] Bengal. It is superior to all others mention[...] above as regards its characteristics, and [...] can safely admit the easy-working qualit[...] of the Bengali language Let us, howe[...] see how this language stands in compari[...] with other languages as regards the char[...] teristics which are necessary for its introd[...] tion as a universal language.

The Bengali language is the simplest [...] an out-sider to learn. It is doubtless t[...] if a Kanarese or some other South Ind[...] were to learn any of the Central or Easte[...] Indian dialects, he will pick up Bengali [...] lot quicker due to its simplicity of gramm[...] The Bengalees have eliminated the conc[...]

gender altogether or to a very large . Many common words are employed ote two different things. For instance words "to eat" and "to drink" are both sed by one and the same word meaning at". In the Bengali dialect even a te is "eaten." These are only a few les of its simplicity, but which could ily verified by an actual experiment.

regards the amount of modern Bengali are ready for immediate use, it can ge any of its sister languages, even ing Marathi, which runs a close next t respect Most of the best literature dern, and there is no trouble of inter- g old and archaic forms which might ountered in the old Marathi of Dnyane- or old Guzerati of Samal-bhatta.

Bengali language is homogeneous and uch so when compared with sister . The Kathiawari Guzerati is different aroda Guzerati and still more different he Surat Guzerati, the latter being very similar to a form used by the Parsees. the Marathi at Satara and Poona is dly different from that at Nagpur and oti, even though the difference may be Lack of homogeneousness is not bly bothersome to those people who rn in that language, but homogeneous- is an essential feature for those who it anew Hindi especially comapares ery poorly with Bengali in this respect. percentage of speakers in the Bengali ge is statistically more if not obviously ason for Hindi's apparent growth was ed above. Unlike the Hindustani- g people, most of the Bengali-speaking are concentrated in their own province. ompare the area in which Bengali is poken, it will show the reality of this nt.

e who are so far convinced as to the ty of the Bengali language being our universal language, may ask how a s effort" can be made for its establish- that position. Here comes a point where the Bengalees will have to start with their share of the "efforts" Whatever may be the other accommodating features of the Bengali language, it has one serious disqualification; that is its alphabet. Just how and when it originated is of no consequence, but it is an evolution of the Nagari alphabet. If the Bengali language has to be made a universal language, its alphabet will have to be the commonest, that is the Devanagari alphabet. A Guzerati a Hindustani, a Maratha and even a Bengalee himself can read it. This will be the first and the only important step, and the Indian public will manage the rest If the Bengalees would only realise how many people in different parts of India start to read the Bengali literature and have to give up due to the frills and fanciness of the alphabet, and have to satisfy themselves with English translations! Even the Germans have for certain purposes dropped their artistic alphabet for a simpler Roman alphabet. Many a Maharastrian, and a Guzerati has had to satisfy himself with reading Bankim Chandra and Tagore in the twisted and none-too sincere version in his mother-tongue only owing to the impossibility of deciphering a rather artistic Bengali print.

If the above plan for changing the alphabet is adopted, it would not be surprising to find Bengali articles appearing in Marathi and Guzerati journals for the benefit of those learning the Bengali language.

In dealing with this subject the writer's knowledge was limited to the above-mentioned languages only. If any one after reading this exposition has in view some other language more simple and homogeneous, etc., he will do well to bring it to the notice of the Indian public, as the question never demanded better attention than it does now.

My thanks are especially due to Mr. Hari Pada Mukerjee, of Faridpur (now at Union University in America), for making it possible for me to write accurately as regards the characteristics of the Bengali language

GERMANY, RUSSIA, INDIA AND THE LOCARNO TREATIES

By Dr TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH D.

THE security pacts and arbitration treaties initiated at Locarno,* has been hailed as a great step towards European peace Mr Chamberlain, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, at the annual Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall has declared a significant warning against blocking the Locarno Treaties by the German nationalists He said,

'No statesman dare take the responsibility of dashing from our lips the cup of hope raised at Locarno, and no nation dare face the load of obliquy which will rest on any nation which would deny to the world its greatest need and its deepest and profoundest hopes"

The London *Times* in a recent editorial, characterises the German nationalist opposition as unstatesmanlike and it is based upon a false conception of the meaning of the Locarno Treaties It editorially says,

"The Locarno Treaty implies for Germany not as the Nationalists affirm, limitation, but liberation. It does not restrict Germany's liberty of action it gives her a freedom and an equality in international affairs such as she has not enjoyed for many years."

However the German nationalists are opposed to the Locarno Treaties, to such an extent that they have forced the Nationalist members of the Luther Cabinet to resign If all other parties vote for ratification of the treaty, it will be be passed by the Reichstag. But the Social Democrats have already decided not to vote for the Locarno Treaties unless the nationalists decide to vote for them The Social Democrats feel that if they vote in favor of the Locarno pacts, when the nationalists refused to share the responsiblity, the Social Democrats will later on be seriously attacked by the Nationalists "as traitors" and this will have an adverse result in home politics. Therefore if the nationalist opposition continues unabated and the Social Democrats do not change their present position the ratification of the treaties may be blocked by Reichstag *

It is not easy to enumerate all the su tantial objections of the German Nationa against the Locarno Treaties. (Space will not permit it.) But two of them have g international significance, and they are o Germany's War Guilt Question, and her e into the League of Nations and (2) the p ble effects of the Locarno Treaties on existing and future Russo-German relation

German Nationalists (in fact every Ger irrespective of party affiliations,) regard, it is a falsehood that Germany was so responsible for the World War. They w that the Allied Powers should make a declarat absolving Germany from this charge. T advocate that Germany must not enter League of Nations until this is done, unless she is allowed to make reservati on the articles 16 and 17, of the League Nations which concern military and econo sanctions against any Power which may at war with any member of the League

German Nationalists, following the tea ings of Bismark, are pledged to oppose a policy which may lead to misunderstandi and conflict with Russia. German Nationali regard that the Locarno Conference has be a great success for British diplomacy, wh is now following an anti-Russian policy. T view, of the German Nationalists has be substantially strengthened by the attitude the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin who regards that, among oth things, the Locarno Conference was plann by British statesmen to isolate Russia World Politics, and practically to destr the value of existing Rappallo Agreement. Tchitcherin came to Berlin via Warsaw strengthen Russo-German friendship and oppose all plans which might be regarded steps towards detaching Germany from Russi

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Ramsay McDonald wh visited the Capitals of the Central Europe countries, especially Berlin, to counteract

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* The Locarno Treaties will be signed in London in December, 1925, when King George will entertain the representatives foreign Powers with a Great State banquet. The success of the Locarno Conference is universally regarded as a great deplomatic victory for Mr. Chamberlain, who on his return from Locarno to London was greatly honored by the King as was the case with Lord Balfour after his return from the Washington Conference.

* It is not improbable that Nationalist oppo tion will change its present attitude towords t Locarno treaties, as they did about the "Daw Plan", at the last moment.

herin's activities against the Locarno s, regards the fear of the Soviet states- be unfounded. In an interview in he has been reported to say

king of Soviet Russia, Mr. McDonald said, t country ought to come into European nity, but if it is not coming in, the rest pe would have to do their best without it. olicy was not realistic It was dominated delusion of British enmity. Whenever en met together in any part of the world, Russia immediately imagined behind the British plans to strengthen the anti-Soviet he reason for this attitude was that the Government at the bottom was in many the most typical bourgeois government in- and in other respects it was still Tzarist perialist in outlook. Its great fault was had not yet realized that there is a great ovement in Europe Soviet Russia, clinging fancies, was one of the greatest obstacles ay of this movement."*

wever, it seems to us that the *New York* (Paris edition) of October 21, 1925 lly substantiates the contention of the nationalists and the Soviet Commisar eign Affairs when it says,

e Locarno treaties are ratified, *the Bolshevist f making a common cause with Germany,* domination of Asia and against European lity, *is an empty mockery.*"

less an authority than Lord Grey of , in an address before the League of Union at Manchester on November 11, has made it clear that one of the of Locarno treaties will be isolation sia.

Locarno treaties," Lord Greay continued, tled something much more than the Rhine- ontier, which was merged in the much bligation to uphold the principle of arbi- n all disputes. One thing which would n certain to cause another war was the te of things growing up in Europe which before 1915, when Europe was divided great diplomatic groups opposite each armed to the teeth. Before Locarno, he there was the greatest danger that that things might grow up in Europe again. d been making separate treaties with Czechoslavia and Poland, from which was excluded. The result of that policy been that Germany would become pro- center of another group of alliances to rself. In fact, they were on the way to separate diplomatic groups in Europe. g France and Germany into one group, ade it certain they would not have two groups in Europe in future, in which s in one and Germany in the other. *the only great power in Europe outside He trusted the effect of Locarno on Russia that Russia would realise that she was ut that her isolation was her own fault.*

Regarding Germany's entry to the League of Nations, Lord Greay uttered a caution against exuberance, as it was possible *this might be construed in Germany as if we thought that Britain or France* was going to get some special advantage out of Germany's entry"

The prime motive behind the Locarno Treaties, so far as British diplomacy is concerned, is to detach Germany from Russia This is absolutely clear from the following extract of the substance of the speech of Hon. Ormsby-Gore, M. P., the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, one of the spokesmen of the British Cabinet, delivered at Manchester.—

"Referring to the Locarno Conference, the speaker said that today, for the first time for all too long, there was again a sense of security on either side of the Franco-Belgian frontier. Even more important was the drawing together of all the Powers of Western Europe in defence of Western civilization, which has been so rudely disturbed by the war. Things were not so secure as some were apt to think, and the solidarity of Christian civilization was necessary to stem the most sinister force that had arisen, not only in our lifetime, but previously in European history. *The question was 'Is Germany to regard her future as being bound up with the fate of the great Western Powers, or was she going to work with Russia,* for the destruction of Western civilization ?' The Foreign Commisar was brought from Moscow to try to prevent that. *The significance of Locarno was tremendous.* It meant that as far as the present Government of Germany was concerned, it was detached from Russia and was throwing its lot with the Western powers Locarno had also achieved the reforcement and strengthening of the League of Nations to a degree which most of them did not believe possible so soon*" †

It seems to many that the policy of isolation of Russia may not help saving the so-called Western civilization. In this connection, it is very interesting to note what Mr. James H. Hudson has expressed in the *Manchester Guardian.*

'Mr. Ormsby Gore's statement in the Free Trade Hall on Saturday, (Oct. 24.) regarding what he described as 'the issue at Locarno' is the more significant in that, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies is usually classified among the more careful members of his Majesty's Government. 'Locarno', says Mr. Ormsby-Gore, means the detachment of Germany from Russia. *This seems rather striking confirmation of the oft expressed suspicion that the British Foreign Office has been less concerned at Locarno with the peace of the world than with such reshuffling of the weights in the balance of power that in the next war we shall have on our side our late enemy Germany against our late ally Russia.*

Times (London) October 28th, 1925.

* *The Times* (London) November 12, 1925 The italics are mine.

† *The Times* (London) October 26th, 1925. Italics are mine.

"The strangely changing kaleidoscope of allies and enemies which two hundred years of diplomatic effort have managed to secure for this country should specially have warned us against regarding the creation of a new friend as a cause for offence to others. But apparently Mr. Ormsby-Gore is quite untroubled by such reflections, and he at least cannot complain if Russia sees in British diplomacy what he himself sees. Do Mr. Ormsby Gore and the Government for which he apparently speaks really believe that Russia will sit quietly twiddling her fingers while our Foreign Office pursues the policy of detaching from her those who upon every economic and moral ground should be her friends? The Russian menace was a dark shadow across our path for half a century *It seems from Mr. Ormsby-Gore that having disposed of 'German Menace' in Europe by making Germany our friend, we must at least make sure there is another menace to take Germany's place Russia, with the access to the millions in China and India, can play the game*

"What madness! If the Under-Secretary for the Colonies is right, the peace carrillons which they rang when Mr. Chamberlain returned from Locarno were quite too previous *The Pact, instead of a milestone on the road to peace, is a finger-post pointing to war and the destruction of civilization.*"*

As the prime motive of British diplomacy to promote the Locarno treaties is to isolate Russia, (as isolation of Germany was the guiding principle of British Statesmen* when they brought about the Triple Entente in existence) it seems inevitable that there will be a future conflict between Britain and Russia. In that case, all members of the League of Nations will be called upon to aid Britain against Russia, unless Russia joins the League. Prof. A. Berriedale Keith points out that although Article 9 of the Locarno Treaty provides,

"The present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British Dominions, or upon India, unless the Government of such Dominions or of India, signifies its acceptance thereof" However, India, in case of a war between Russia and Great Britian, will be subject to attack by Russia and her allies. "In virtue of their membership of the League of Nations, the Dominions and India might be called upon by the League to afford Great Britain aid if she were engaged in a war under the sanction of the League ·· · in spite of distinct personality of the Dominions and India in the League of Nations, a declaration of war by the King automatically places the Dominions a India in a state of war, liable to enemy att and justifies the enemy power in dealing w Dominion citizens as hostile."

Thus the question arises, will the Loca Treaties enhance the security of India ?

In case of an Anglo-Russian War, (t Locarno Treaties seem to be diplomatic prepa tion for it), Britain will carry on land, sea, a and commercial warfare against Russia; a through the sanction of the League of Natio will force Germany to wage war again Russia Will that be to the advantage Germany? Does Germany favor the polic a war with Russia ? The German Nationalis who admire Bismark as the great statesm and the creator of the German Empire, w possibly oppose all commitments of t Locarno Treaties, which will morally b Germany to fight Russia Russo-Germ amity to the followers of Bismark, is th cardinal principle for German Forei Policy Bismark created the German Emp by defeating France in 1871. This vict of Prussia, was possible largely becaus the benevolent neutrality of Russia, wh was really purchased, when Prussia ref to join Britain and France against Rus during the Crimean War.

It is universally admitted in Germ that it would be unwise in the long run follow a policy which will lead to Rus German enmity However, the Loca Treaties may be ratified by Germany bec the German statesmen dare not displea Great Britain and reject them. They fe that Germany will also incur the displeas of America, if she rejects the Locarno Tre The German Statesmen are afraid of a situation which may lead to bringing abo financial pressure on Germany by Engl and America They also think that signing the Locarno Treaties, they will paving the way for a possible Anglo-Ameri German co-operation in World politics. B will an Anglo-American-German allia (written or unwritten), primarily direc against Russia, promote world peace ?

BERLIN,
November 15, 1925.

* *The Manchester Guardian*, October 29th, 1924. The Italics are mine.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujrati, Hindi, ...e, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, ...als, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine ... addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknow... nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should ...to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., ...g to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.— ...M. R.]

ENGLISH

...DAYS IN LATIN AMERICA. *By Webster E... ...g 226 pp. Missionary Education Move... the United States and Canada, New York ...00, paper $.75.*

...en primarily with the object of pointing ...need for evangelical missions in South ... this well-written little book furnishes a ...al of valuable general information on the ... to the south of us, which will serve not ...educate the stranger to Latin America, but ...well refreshen the memory of the reader ...somewhat familiar with that territory.

...first part of the book is devoted to a des... of the physical and political relation of Latin ... to the United States, racial backgrounds and ...c factors. The development of the major ...s is traced from the time of the Spanish ...adores to the present. In the remaining ... the author treats of the educational and ... situation, the Catholic influence from ...times, and its virtues and weaknesses.

...missionary movement in Latin America has ... years attained considerable importance, ...decidedly of benefit to the United States ... maintains contacts between the American ...value both to ourselves and our neighbors. ...e very beginning the Latin people of ...have always felt their closest bonds to ... Europe. And it has always been to ...that they have looked for cultural and ...guidance. For the first time they have ...know us better, and realize that we, too, ...e something to offer. Any work which ...develop this bond and to bring us into a ...tionship deserves the attention and moral ... all of us.

H. M. BRATTER.

...LETTERS, MUSINGS AND ROMANCE OF A ...: *By Maurice Chudeckel. 311 pp. Boston. ...rgh Publishing Company, Inc. $1.50.*

... ourselves as others see us is a faculty ... possess. But occasionally we are per... hear from the lips of strangers to our ...pressions favorable and unfavorable ...land gives to the newcomer. Favorable ... are always welcome; unpleasant ones ...rone to discount, if not entirely to dis..., without thinking, we are apt to credit ...whole or in part to the imagination of ... relate them. Most of us never change ...n of the life about us which is given us in grammar school days. We are permanently prejudiced in our own favor.

Regardless of whether we accept criticisms in the spirit in which they are given, or whether we entirely deny their truth, unknown to us they each time leave their mark and thus accomplish a good purpose.

Mr Chudeckel's is a unique story, written in the form of a series of letters from a Russian immigrant in this country to his friend and comrade at home. As explained in the introduction, these letters form a true story. Written originally in English, as is the custom with many Russians of the better class, they have been changed only in the names of places and of persons. The interest of the story grows constantly from the first scene on board ship bound for America, until the last dramatic pages, entirely unforeshadowed in the earlier part of the book.

In this volume the author has ably and convincingly revealed to us some of the anomalies of our democracy,—equal rights for men, liberty and tolerance, and racial prejudice, religious intolerance and the whipping post. What is pointed out deserves our most serious attention, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the author, as to every stranger who brings to our attention evils of which we may or may not be aware.

H. M. BRATTER.

THE SECRET OF THE VEDANTA, PART I: THE IDENTITY OF JIVA AND BRAHMA (SOUL AND GOD) TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH: *By K. R. Aiyar, B. A. from the Tamil book of Sri Paramahma Sacchithananda. Pp. 498. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author deals in this book with miscellaneous subjects—from the "State of the Universe before Emanation" and "The Essence of the Upanishads" to "Tooth-powder".

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

THE ENGLISH SPEAKING NATIONS: *By G. W. Morris M.A., and L. S. Wood, M.A. published by the Oxford University Press. Price 3/6 net.*

The central theme of the book, according to the authors, is "not the military achievements of our ancestors (of the British), but the development of the Commonwealth ideal and the gift to the world of the sense of imperial trusteeship— an imperial conception, based upon nationality and self-government." They also claim it to be "the supreme achievement of Britain that she has given a new meaning to the word 'Empire'." It is out of place here to discuss the validity of this assertion, the Book is very well got up and profusely illustrated.

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF TAXATION *By A. Ramaiya M.A. Published by P.S Mahadena Iyer, 1110 Naick New street, Madura*

The author does not claim any expert knowledge of economics, but shows a better grasp of his subject-matter than many economists. The greatest happiness of the members of the State should be the guiding principle of all State activities. The subject of taxation is not exempt from this. The author has worked out his ideas along this line.

A. C.

THE GLEN IS MINE AND THE LIFTING—TWO PLAYS OF THE HEBRIDES *By John Brandle. Constable and Company, London 6s*

Of the two plays in the book "The Glen is Mine" is a comedy in three acts and the other one "The Lifting" is a simple play in three acts.

The comedy is interesting reading and it should be doubly so in real acting. The characters are all lively. "The Lifting" though a 'simple play', is none the less interesting. The plot is a simple one, but very tense and finely woven. On the whole, this book of two plays should have a warm reception from play-goers, players and the general reader of literature. Brandon is not a new name in the field of present-day English literature, and the present volume will add to his already established fame as a novelist and dramatist.

The paper and printing of the volume is all that can be desired and special note should be taken of the paper binding—it is a departure from the old tradition of bookbinding—the paper cover is beautiful and somewhat oriental in tone.

HUMPHREY CLINKER—A NOVEL *By Tobias Smollett*

This book is No 290 of the famous Oxford World Classics Series (2s.)

Humphrey Clinker is considered to the best novel of Smollett. According to Hazlitt, this book is "the most pleasant gossiping novel that was ever written." We hold the same opinion about the book and the Oxford University Press deserves our most grateful thanks for bringing out such cheap and at the same time beautiful editions of famous masterpieces of English Literature.

WOMEN OF BENGAL—A STUDY OF THE HINDU PARDANASINS OF CALCUTTA *By Margaret M Urquhart. The Women of India Series. The Association Press, 5, Russel Street, Calcutta. Re. 1-12. (1925)*

The authoress has tried her best to present a true picture of the Woman of Bengal in her natural setting, the Bengali home. It is a pity that Englishmen and the Englishwomen have a very quaint idea about things Indian—specially about Pardanashin India. Mrs Urquhart is in Bengal for the last 22 years and has mixed with Indian women, not in the missionary spirit of preaching the holy gospel to them, but as a student and friend. She has not tried in the least to compare Indian women with European women and thus lower the former in the estimation of the public outside India. She has written of the shortcomings of the Bengali Woman, but that with a friendly spirit. The greatness of heart and lovable nature of the Bengali Woman have impressed the authoress much.

The book is illustrated with several very beautiful pictures. But one thing we must mention here. The illustration "Behind the Pardah.—A Village Type" by H. Mazumdar (p. 96) is ill chosen and the publishers would do well if they omit picture from the second edition of this beautiful book. "The Village Type" is not a village type, but an imaginary vulgar product of the artist. This is the only discordant note in the whole thing and it is misrepresenting the thing in a most distasteful manner.

However, the book is worth reading both Indians and Europeans, and we congratulate both publishers and the authoress on the success of the labour and hope to see the second edition in no time.

H. C.

GLIMPSES OF AMERICA: *By Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Ph D. Lecturer in Political Science at the State University of Iowa U. S. A. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 90-2A Harrison Road, Calcutta. Price Rs 3 (Pp. 240. 1925.)*

Dr Bose in his newly published book "Glimpses of America" gives snap-shots of different aspects of American life and institutions and interprets their significance for Young India. Some chapters of this book originally appeared in *The Modern Review*, *Welfare* and other Indian periodicals. Edwin D. Starbuck of the State University of Iowa in his introduction to this book surveys the career of the author in the U.S.A., and pays splendid tributes to Dr. Bose. It is also worth of note that, in spite of the humiliating decision of the U. S. A. Supreme Court which has annulled his citizenship, Dr Bose has written the sketches in a fine spirit. We confidently expect that this well got-up, extremely useful and illustrated book will receive a wide circulation.

1926 DIARIES: *Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta.*

Ghosh's Kohinoor and other diaries published by Messrs M. C. Sarkar and Sons have maintained their position as popular diaries. They are issued in various sizes to suit the requirements of customers of different classes.

P. C. S.

INDIAN CURRENCY: *By A. K. Sarkar, M. A. & Company, 4/4A College Square, Calcutta. ... only.*

A few questions of the present Currency Commission have been answered successfully in this little book. The author has done well to explain some difficult terms used in the book in the Preface. This will help the general reader considerably. The author has also discussed the possible systems for India—the Silver Standard, Gold Exchange Standard and the Gold Standard. Like many other economists, the author is of opinion that the Gold Standard will be the best solution for the Indian monetary difficulty. Students of Indian Currency ought to go through this monograph.

C. I.

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HINDI.

THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA (FASCICULUS ... HINDI: *By R. B. Pundit Gourishankar ... Printed at the Vaidik Press, Ajmer. Pages ... Price Rs. 6.*

The author of this bulky volume is a well-known Hindi scholar and antiquarian whose work *'Prachin Lipimala'* as well as his several researches

have already earned for him a high ...ong scholars. His new undertaking, ...ry of Rajputana, the first volume of ...der notice will considerably enhance ...n. Col. Tod's *Rajasthan* was hitherto ...rk to which students desiring to know ...of the war-like race of Rajputs could ... advantage and pleasure. The work, ...y and sympathetically written, had one ...e, viz. that it was written by a foreigner ...ed or inadequately acquainted with the ...ocial customs, language, literature, and ... of the people whose history he took ...self to write. Despite this drawback, his ... pen produced a creditable work, the ... and excellence of which have remained ...ned to this day. Now, time has surely ... its revision in the light of the store of ...rmation made available by researches in ...gy, and further it became necessary that ...mation collected and properly arranged be ...ilable to the general public not acquainted ...glish R. B. Pundit Gourishankar was ...y fitted for the work and the Hindi-know-...c will be glad to know that the work so ...d out sufficiently justifies the expectations ... him

... regrettable, however, that though the ...uthor has taken every care to mention ...h facts of Rajput history and of the ... are borne out by truthful investigations, ...wledge of Maharatta history is very ... he has not taken sufficient care to ascer-...n regarding the history of the Mahrattas. ...om the distortion or mis-spelling of names ...al well-known personages in Mahratta ... such as Sambhuji (son of Shivajee the ...yankojee (Shivajee's brother) and Dadojee ... (Shivajee's tutor) whose names are ...as Shambha, Vyanka, and Kondeo, there ...al false statements regarding Mahratta ...hich are utterly intolerable For instance, ...287, the author has made an astounding ... that on the death of Shahu Maharaja his ...r Prime Minister Balaji usurped the title ...ajadhiraj and in 1807 (*sic*) made Poona ...al. Now, as a matter of fact Balajee's ... the Kings of Satara, had never ...he title Maharajadhiraj. Their title ...hatrapati Maharaja. Balaji never ...that title, nor was there the least possi-...his ever successfu'ly doing so in the ...of several war-like and loyal Mahratta ...who were powerful. Poona was never ... capital of the Mahratta Empire in ...ime and the Peshwa's residence in Poona ...ilt in 1807, but in 1736, and it was first ...ot by Balajee but by his father Bajeerao I ... express permission of his master. What ...jee has stated is mere fiction or distortion ...uch mistakes happily are not numerous, ... are just sufficient to shake the reader's ... reliability of the contents of the work. ... that in successive volumes the author ...reater care in ascertaining facts.

V. G. Apte.

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GERMAN

...RUCHTE INDIENS IN IHRER GEOGRAPHISCHEN ...G. ABHANDDUNGEN DES KOLONIALIN-STITUTES XIX HAMBURG, REIHE E. BD. 3: *Dr. Th. H. Engelbrecht. Hamburg, 1914, Text 271 pp.; Atlas 23 Maps.*

This most interesting book, containing more than 23 maps and 55 tables is based upon generally accessible statistical material. The author boldly endeavours to give a scientific description of agricultural India, really going to the bottom of facts. He deals with that vast part of the world, bearing the name of India, which name represents at the same time an immense number of languages and religions, mountains and plains, deserts lacking in water and population, big towns roaring with trade and business, territories which have been thickly populated and richly settled for a thousand years and primeval forests hardly ever touched by man's foot.

A farmer is the author of this book, written with the most careful accuracy and patience, but at the same time boldly planned, a man well-known for economic and scientific work during long years. He has already published a series of remarkable books, among which the "Landbauzonen der aussertropischen Lander" (The Agricultural Zones of the Nontropical Countries) is considered as a first rate standard-work.

Only such a well-proved specialist could succeed in giving a description of India without having ever himself seen those immense regions. His own scientific perception was so profound in every direction, that we might expect him to sift the immense statistical material throughly, giving most important views. In a measure unknown as yet, he has been always accustomed to use and utilize meteorological facts and points of view as well as those of botanical geography for illustrating his agricultural material.

Indians who are scientifically and economically interested and educated will find in those precious statements many economic facts, they had hardly ever had an idea of. They will find points of view from which they can get a survey that might never have been acquired before. In contrast to other scientific works before all English books, the author values a series of plants only used in native agriculture, for instance, the different sorts of millet, Indian beans, from the catjang to the rennet and from the native vegetables and spices to the dye-wood and to the distribution of tobacco and poppy stimulatives that are of great importance also for India.

Thus, in contrast to the general rule of statistical statements, the accent is not laid upon the more important commercial plants, but just upon the relations of the different plants used in agriculture to each other, to economic life and also to the population. That it was done with German solidity seems to have been thoroughly misunderstood by English science. In England, the book was quite recently criticized and unfortmately the effect of the World War has created a certain irritability, regrettable, but in some way comprehensible. That is the only reason to explain the peevish and and, considering the value of Engelbrecht's work, quite unjustifiable way in which the book was criticized by a first-rate English authority, the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society".

The meteorological data, for instance, quoted by the English critic, have been all misunderstood, and, what is worse, they seem to be accentuated only to suggest to Englishmen that this solid and

fundamental work is in every way not worth considering, the principal economic facts (say the interests of English commerce !) having been, as the critic says, hardly dealt with.

But just for that reason the work must be recommended to scientifically educated Indians There can be no doubt that it is of great importance for India and its indigenous population. For the author wrote it to the main end of thoroughly investigating the nutritional situation of India and its agricultural base by means of modern agricultural science

BERLIN W 50, SCHAPERSTR 33 PROF. ED. HAHN

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GUJARATI

DWARKA DARSHAN By *Hathibhai Ambabhai Patel, B. A. Printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda Pp 136 Thick card bound. Price Re 1-0-0, (1925): with pictures*

This book is more than a guide to Dwarka, as it treats of the celebrated place of pilgrimage from various points of view, and puts in a plea for improvement in the administration of the different charities where he finds room for the same.

SAIBALINI *By the late Damodardas Khushaldas Botadkar, printed at the Lohana Steam Printing Press, Baroda Paper cover. Pp 110+123+11. Price. Re 1-0-0 (1925)*

Kavi Botadkar took his place amongst the well-known modern poets of Gujarat by his Rastarangini, which by now has run into a third edition The collection of poems appearing under the above heading represents his work prior to the wave under the influence of which he produced poems in the Rastarangini, and as such represents a different feature of his work, the poems are all of a high order, all the same The great value, however of this book, consists in the long introduction of nearly 110 closely-printed pages, on Botadkar's poetry, contributed by a brother poet, Narsinhras B. Divatia His whole work is submitted to an intelligent analysis, and its beauties brought out in a way in which only a master-hand can do it. It will for all time remain a finger-post for greeting the reader in ways he should go in appreciating this poet, who knew much Sanskrit and little English and still could come up to the standard of a scholar educated on modern lines.

THE CARE OF THE TEETH · *By Kaikhusru Dorabji Jila, of Navsau.* We have already noticed the first edition of the book This is its second edition.

SHAUBHAGYABATINTU SANSARCHITTRA: the biography of the late Mrs. Manekbai Kahanji Dharamsi, gives in detail how she educated herself and made herself useful to her sisters both in Bombay and in Kathiawad. At one time, she took an active part in social life of this city and is still remembered here for the courage with which she did so.

SWARGA JAYANTI OR ADARSA NI KATHA . *By Chalak Chandra Nagar Dwivedi, printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound Pp. 251. Price Re. 1-8-0. (1925).*

Under the garb of a novel, the writer discusses Vedant and Yoga. It has always been found that such a hybrid satisfies neither the cannons of philosophy nor of fiction, and the reader is simply bewildered to find out as to where he is. The bewilderment is, however, lessened in some cases where passages, comparatively simple and understandable, relieve the technical aspect of the subject. The writer says that the present work is but a fragment and more is coming. We wish him joy of his expectations.

The Jaina Niti Pravesha, and Kumarika Patro, (Letters to a Girl) are two little brochures published by Mr. Mavji Damji Shah. The first teaches morals, and the second are pieces of advice given to a girl in the shape of letters.

NARSINH SAR: *By Harishankar Trivedi, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhabnagar. Paper Cover. Pp. 111. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1925).*

An anthology of the poems of Kavi Narsinh Metha, is a good idea, and this compilation is a thoroughly representative one.

INTERESTING STORIES · *By Gokuldas Dwarkadas Raichura, published by the Sharda Office, Rajkot. Thick card board, with pictures. Pp. 200. Price Re 1-8-0. (1925), with an introduction, by K. Munshi Esq, Advocate.*

The stories are interesting and bring out certain welcome traits of the old and indigenous tribes inhabiting Kathiawad, such as the Mers and the Ahirs where men are brave, honest, and truthful and women equally brave, honest, truthful and beautiful in addition. The literature of stories, however, round these tribes is entirely oral and requires to be preserved in print.

Defeated Gujarat. By Thakkur Narayan Visanji, printed at the Gujarati News Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 319. Price Rs 3 (1925).

A fascinating chapter in the early history of Gujarat, the 8th century, is narrated in this novel. Surpal, Vanraj, Anahil, Champaksinh were some of the heroes who undertook to free Gujarat from the foreign yoke of Bhuvad Solanki and the book deals with their adventures and struggles. The writer has gone to original historical sources for his subject, and tried to present it in a popular form; the great obstacle, however, in his way, is his stilted, artificial language, which scares away those very classes of readers whose sympathy he wants to enlist.

We have received the following books from "Society" for Encouragement of Cheap Literature

1. *Vir Durgadas. 2nd edition.*
2. *Mohan Samzat Akbar,,*
3. *Sri Shivaji Chhatrapati, ,,"*
4. *Swami Ram Tirtha, Part IV.*
5. *Pritamdas ni Vani,*
6. *Short Stories, (Samajik).*
7. *Swarga nun Viman.*
8. *Swarga ni Kunchi.*
9. *Swarga no Khajano.*

They are reprints, except 4, 5, 6. Pritam ni Vani deserves special mention, as he is a well known and popular Gujarati poet of the old type. A collection of his verses was badly wanted and the society has supplied the want. The introduction is intelligently written.

Bodhak (बोधक) : *By Chhaganlal Thakurdas, printed at the Surat City Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 16. Unpriced. (1925).*

useful and sound pieces of advice to ...s and advanced people of both sexes are ... this little book on such varied subjects, ..., care of teeth, ears, throat and nose, observing certain principles, etc.

K. M. J.

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TELUGU

...TRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF TELUGU ...VOL. I: *By Bhogaraju Narayanamurty.*

...s a collection of a series of literary essays ... in the Bharati monthly magazine. He ...th the laudable notion of writing a detailed ...prehensive history of Telugu poetry. In ...tory volume, he has given his views on ...ition of poetry and the qualities which ... and pleasing poetry ought to possess. ...f the old-fashioned method of dividing ...ory of poetry according to the patrons, the Chalukyan princes, the Chola princes, ...i rulers, the Vizianagar emperors and the ...ajahs, he has attempted to construct a ...division of the history into the different —the age of Nannyya (1022-1250) the age of ...250-1350), the age of Yerranna (1350-1440), ... Potana (1440-1520) the age of Peddana ...), the age of Veerasalingam (1880) to the ...e This scheme, no doubt, enables him ... a clear notion of the poetic talents, ...haracter and organised social life of the ... often the previous writers have presented ... of the various writors. They have ...etimes included base metal in their so-...sury of gold We hope, however, this ...ould be more discriminating in his

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

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GERMAN-ENGLISH-FRENCH.

...EN UND MENSCHENWERKE (MEN OF TO-DAY ... WORKS): *A New Encyclopædia in English and French. Editor—Arpad ...ienna 1925. Vol II, pp. 472.*

This new encyclopædia, of which the second volume is before us, is well got-up. The binding is of linen with leather back and leather corners. The paper, printing and illustrations are excellent. The size of the page is about 12½ inches by 9½ inches. The work is tri-lingual and will consist of ten volumes. It claims to be the first attempt to present a true picture of present-day culture in all its branches and ramifications. "All the great figures in the intellectual and cultural world of to-day are delineated in word and picture, an imposing monument indeed. The detailed biographies, which are compiled by scholars and experts of high standing, the beautiful photographs and the original research articles of the prominent men and women of the day give a complete and comprehensive picture of modern intellectual and economic life, of the channels along which our culture flows, and of all the wonderful achievements in science and art"

It has been highly spoken of by a whole host of famous men and newspapers, including Edison, Galsworthy, Maxim Gorky, Sven Hedin, Sir Oliver Lodge, Nansen, Poincare, Romain Rolland, etc.

The present volume contains a good life-sketch of Sir J. C. Bose, and an article by him on Plant and Animal Life.

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ENGLISH.

Raja Rammohun Roy, His Life, Writings and Speeches, with a biographical sketch. Cloth. Pp. 340. Rupees Three only. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

This is a very useful publication which all who do not possess previous editions of the English works of the great Indian religious, social, political, educational, and administrative reformer, and scholar and author, would do well to procure.

The publishers are, however, wrong in claiming that it is the first one-volume edition of Rammohun Roy's English works. The Panini Office of Allahabad published such an edition years ago, which contained *all* his English works, which Natesan's edition does not. The Panini Office edition contained more than a thousand pages of small print.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON THE ART OF INDO-CHINA.

Translated from the French.

BY JADUNATH SARKAR

[... George Groslier, Director of the ...rts, French Indo-China, has published ...rk (*Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, ...giving a minute study of the life and ...ambodian People with a very large ...ustrations, many of which are drawn ...cient and mediaeval sculptures. The ...ment extant belongs to the 7th Century A.D., and from it he draws the following conclusion :—]

THE religion, too, is far from being spontaneous and primitive. We discover a *soma-sutra* on the north face of the tower B [at Hanchei] consisting of *makaras*, a person

lying on the many-headed serpent carved on the lintel of the cellule The characters and text of the inscription [dated the first half of 7th century A D] settle for us the cult and its Indian origin.

We cannot, then claim, in spite of the ancient date of Hanchei—than which none in Cambodia is older,—that the little group contains the origin of Khmer architecture In spite of the extreme simplicity of its plans, it does not belong to the stage of commencement, but marks a step which is the first accessible to us, and at which the sculptor and iconographer had [already] made themselves expert in their art, just as the architect had done in his And in that the carpenter predominates.

Since it is in India that we ought to search for the past [development] of the sculptor,—and it may be, of the architect too, let us take an account, with the the aid of exact facts, in what measure Cambodia is indebted to monumental India No instant can be chosen in preference to this, no epoch is more propitious for that research, than the beginning of the 7th century, and no Cambodian group is more qualified than Hanchei to contain both the traces of the still-living atavism of the indigenous race and the foreign influences at their beginning Foreign formulae can, in effect, be so much the more visible in actual occurrence as the power of the Indian cults develop and prosper, as the country is on the high road to civilisation, and as the wealth and might of the reigning kings are attested by the texts

The alphabet of Southern India [used in the earliest Cambodian inscriptions] and the termination in *-varman* of the names of the kings from the 4th century in Cambodia nvite us to traverse the Dravidian country t the epoch of these Pallava monarchs who 'esignated themselves *varman*. It is, in deed urious to find on the coast of Coromandel a [ahendra-varman I [reigning] from 600 to 25, when at the same moment in Cambodia ohendravarman Chitrasena, himself the son a Vira-varman, was reigning (about 610)

In the Pallava country and in the period hich terminated in the 7th century [there as] all one architecture, and all the monu- ents of the ancient city of Mavalipuram— "Seven Pagodas"] to the north of ndicherry, and those of the capital Kanchi er themselves to us for comparison. But order to act with all the certainty desirable, ave also searched for their ancestors, because these [illegible] not themsel[ves ex]pressly original. They have benefited [by] ancient influences, and at least the caves are themselves modelled on the [...] caves of north-western India from [the ...] century of Christ......

Undoubtedly, I could even use the *stupas* **of brick to imagine** the im[...] **from Sanchi of the use** of these [...] **at Hanchei B. But that use the** Khme[r ...] as **well have borrowed from the** [...] or **they may have evolved** automati[cally in] the **country where clay abounds**, fro[m] pots in primitive ***terra cotta.***

The *rathas* of **Mavalipuram**, nam[ed] *Dharma-artha, Arjuna-ratha &c*, gi[ve] square plan, the **cube** and the pyra[mid] decreasing ***grades [found] at*** *Hanchei* [...] the other hand, the *rathas* are mad[e ...] single block **of granite. Hanchei** is pr[...] built [of separate **stones**], and fou[r] centuries have *not more subdued the* [...] *of A than that of B. The primordial ele[ment] of that conception in Cambodia, namely [the] cubic cellule, and its mode of assembling [...] unknown at Mavalipuram. Also if it has [...] suggestion of a pyramidal form on a squ[are] base, the Khmer may very well mark h[ere] the origin a deliberate independence and n[ot] take from the foreigner (i e, Indian) anythi[ng] except the pyramid*

Now, from Hanchei that independence i[n] what concerns the other architectural elements comes to grow very sensibly. The Cambodian built a gate of which the lintel and jambs are unknown in the Seven Pagodas He comes to add the novelty of a high front there, as one sees it on tower B. He omits the peristyle in colonnade, the riches, the pillars,—all the porch (in short) which is verily the essential characteristic of Pallava architecture before the 7th century.

In decoration, the sculptor, however, cannot have the same independence and he marks with the help of his chisel a striking resemblance between the Hanchei edifices and those of Mavalipuram The god [Vishnu] reclining on the serpent in the cellule, whose head rests on one of his hands, while the Naga expands his hoods, is found not only in the cave of Durga in the Seven Pagodas, but also at Ellora in the cave of the Avatars. This very cellule is adorned with projecting mouldings or fillets, two and two, high and low, and the pilasters filled into grooves (which correspond to the cover-joints, in carpentry) seem to pass under the



profile [of a cornice moulding] lts which it terminates are adorned carved decoration in a slight low , the whole seems literally to be rom the Pallava *rathas* come down to tower A [at Hanchei]. bare part of the wall, behold the rnice par excellence; one band, one e new band, and one projecting x dripstone.

is there in the Pallava country at ent? *Mandapams* and *Ardha-manda-* flat covertures made of large flagstones ny flat coverture in Cambodia But in g towards the North [of India], always coast, east of the Deccan, so propitious ngs to the Far East, [namely] in Orissa, the tower, corbelled, rough hewn , in sandstone] which is in use We not forget that we have arrived at the tury, precisely at the same epoch in the alphabets of North India appear y in Cambodia, with, it seems, a revival ayan Buddhism. We should not forget that in the *nagari* country at Puttada- e seen temples inspired by Dravidian *That is to say, at the moment when* odia received directly or indirectly from a new blood issuing from the North, then we may without much surprise riving to the rescue of the Khmer archi- he conveyor of blocks from Orissa, who *bly lent him [the secret of] the construc- of the tower by horizontal platforms unworked blocks assembled at random.* *nt this new initiator possesses an indivi- art If he receives inspiration from the* vas, *he also* asserts his own freedom. we to see his theories accepted in Cambo- ith [due] consideration for the times and needs? The Khmer does not allow him sperous career [lit, luck], any more than Dravidian colleague. He accepts from process, but refuses the elevations of without stages (however characteristic) is crowned by a dome, as well as the aries isolated by a corridor running them. In contrast with the Pallava of Kanchi, namely the Vaikuntha al, the Cambodian never built with posed sanctuaries, never with interior ; never with monumental lions, ting from the walls or supporting llars, never oblique stairs in the earth le the sub-basement, never with round ous') pillars or attenuated shafts. What is extraordinary is that the Khmer seems to act in opposition to his Brahmanic initiators every time that he can do it.

In the 7th century, Cambodia is known as already a civilised country and not one covered with nothing but huts. Palaces, and it may be temples, of brick or wood were numerous ; the Chinese [writers] have been unanimous in saying so to us Now, all the archæologists of India are also unanimous in recognising that the Indian edifice of the 3rd century B. C. [as seen] in the rocks where it is sculptured, imitates the pre-existing or contemporary edifices of light materials. Mavalipuram copies that perishable construction [in] the interspaces between the monoliths or translates it in the adjusted blocks of the Shore Temple Every stage of the *rathas* bears it in reduced forms. It is the *Pancharam*

Thus, since it is impossible as yet to know to what exact epoch the arrival of the first *Indian in Cambodia goes back,—we ought to inquire if that Hindu, before inspiring the* use of the rough stone (*gris*), would not have himself constructed pavilions of wood or of bricks, (which have now disappeared) and which were in the style of his own country ; popular houses, temples, or palaces.

Since it is the Coromandel coast which reveals to us the origin of the decoration of Hanchei and that without contest and with *an inexhaustible prolixity, let us try to imagine if at least the Pallavas were for a long time in the country of* Naga-raja Khmer, *—it being made perfectly clear that the solution allowable in the actual state of Indian history would have only a relative* and entirely moral value.

The Pallavas did not construct at home in rough stone before the end of the 6th century. *It is in that epoch that this people* attain to their climax, which indicates an ascension earlier, a period of prosperity which dates from the 4th century,—a peried of wealth, of happiness, and national labour, little favourable to mass emigration. What followed it in the 6th century ? Wars. A century earlier the situation was practically ruined, and the Kadambas had vanquished this happy people. At the opening of the 6th century, Kanchi the capital is destroyed, burnt down by Pulikesi, the Chalukya prince. From 625 to 645 Narasimha -varman I, tried to re-establish the glory of the Pallavas, but in vain. It is precisely, during the 6th [? or 7th] century—so disastrous to the sculptors of the *rathas* [at Mavali-

puram], when Kanchi has been burnt down by the Chalukya arms, that the moment should have come to emigrate and to try fortune elsewhere, whilst the enemy was advancing over the [home] land All construction comes to a dead stop, marking the end of the Pallava monumental art The sea is there, the Golden Chersonese is the East, the *Suvarna Bhumi* sung by the old Indian bards

Now, we know in a sure way that it was in that century [the 7th] and the commencement of the next, that Hanchei appears with the Dravidian decoration and that the first Khmer *Varman* Kings of the inscriptions reign.

About 640, Dharmapala of Kanchi, the enemy of Hinayanism, in effect quitted the Dravidian country to go to Indo-China or Sumatra. Between the 4th and 8th century approximately, the Khmer has acquired all the elements of his architecture plans, elevation, processes The country being rich in rough stones of all kinds, and Brahmanism being on the increase,—that same Brahmanism which had in India made general the use of undressed blocks of stone,—here are the new determining conditions from which the great monumental art of Cambodia comes to flow. The epoch of assimilation and of discoveries is closed, that of realisation begins [in the 9th century] .

One fact is certain the second half of the 9th century and the 10th century are the age in which epigraphy places the climax of Shivaism in Cambodia and in which we meet with the tower with four faces.

GROSLIER'S CONCLUSIONS.

These reserches show, otherwise than by mere supposition, a Cambodia artistic and flourishing, a mass of artisans, clever and fervently faithful to the service of an aristocracy that was half-Indian and half-native whose sole preoccupation (as proved by the facts) are to build temples and embankments, to live in luxury, to use elegant and always decorated utensils, to accumulate riches and religious merit.

Such a gorgeous programme could not possibly be realised without war with foreigners, whether for acquisition or for defence. The bas-reliefs and certain inscriptions certify that it was very much so... Now, a state of war and this artistic state—which only peace and abundance of handiwork can establish,—could not go hand in hand. Either we are in the presence of an extraordinary historical exception, or we ought to recognise in Cambodia a civilisation more ancient than it is customary to think it, above all among peoples who were conservative par excellence and relatively slow in evolution The second hypothesis, which an argument of another kind also supports seems to me more natural than the former

In the course of my progress, I recognise that I have run against certain ideas hitherto accepted It has seemed to me that the influence of Southern India [on Cambodia] was no more than local and accidental compared with that of Northern India that this [North Indian influence from before our era and up to the appearance of the Thaie barrier, must have regularly touched Cambodia', and that finally the land way from the Ganges to the Mekong must have been more frequented than the sea-route from S. India

On the other hand, I have been led to give absolutely up the opinion generally held that without Brahmanism the Khmer would have been non-existent. I believe, however that the Chinese influence on Cambodia equalled, if it was not superior to and unquestionably more ancient than the Indian influence

Also there is a less exclusive opinion that we have accepted, namely that the Indian has only modified a pre-existing national art,—an art of which the individuality and independence reveal themselves from the first to the last day ; that the number of immigrant Brahmans in Cambodia had always been very limited, though their authority might have been felt without mixture during some centuries, and that their genius had found, for being served worthily, a people admirably prepared, and so to say predestined Thus, in that fecundation of a ground where Indian thought has germinated so easily we ought to give to China an active and timehonoured *role* which the Indianist writers, are too much in the habit of neglecting.

After having reduced the Brahmanic influence to more reasonable proportions, it is our duty to render to Buddhism greater merit and a priority which the grouping of certain facts permit us to envisage on a more solid ground. Almost the entire architecture appears to be of Buddhistic origin. The rough stone monument only refers to Shiva,

with its towers on the four faces. But, on the other hand, the plan of the palace and its formes, earlier than those of the temple,—the principal characteristics which the latter borrowed from the former,—appear to me national

MR. AJIT GHOSE'S COLLECTION OF OLD INDIAN PAINTINGS.

By RAMES BASU, M. A.

THE publication of Havell's "Indian Sculpture and Painting" was a memorable event in the history of Oriental Art, for this pioneer work revolutionised the prevailing ideas regarding old Indian art and led to the ultimate recognition of that art by art-critics and to a small extent by art-collectors The enthusiasm of Mr Havell, not less than the beautiful reproductions which were such a feature of his book, made a great impression on Mr. A. Ghose, whose collection of rare old Indian paintings we propose to describe briefly. He was then already a constant buyer of books, and, while turning over a catalogue of a London bookseller, he lighted on an item described as "Nine old Indian Drawings", for which he at once sent an order. When the parcel arrived he was agreeably surprised to see written in a foreign hand on the backs of some of the pictures such inscriptions as 'Achbur', 'Hamong' &c., and on looking at the pictures he found that seven of the unidentified Indian drawings were in reality fine old Mughal portraits of the Badshahs, while the other two were Rajput paintings of Radha and Krishna. From this lucky chance began that collection which, being continually added to from year to year for twenty-five years, is now recognised by eminent authorities as one of the largest and most valuable collections of rare old Indian paintings, while as regards its representative character ; it is unrivalled.



Journey to Mathura (Early Rajput Painting, Early 17th Cent)

Mr. Ghose's enthusiasm is boundless and

he has explored all sorts of likely and unlikely places throughout the country in the fascinating search for old paintings and manuscripts and has met with many adventures Often he has been disappointed on a first visit to a locality where he had expected something, but his instinct has led him to return again and perhaps a third and a fourth time to the self-same spot and he has found that his



Portrait of Riza Abbasi drawn by his pupil Muin Musavir. (Persian painting)

perseverance has finally been rewarded His guiding principle has been to secure those specimens only which have a distinctive value for the study and enjoyment of old Indian art and such objects always make an instantaneous impression on his mind He has to his credit the discovery of the more numerous and the more rare paintings from seemingly exhausted find-spots. Thus a very well-known authority once remarked to him that, when he visited a certain hill district a dozen years back, he came away with the impression that he had made a clean haul of everything that was to be had there, but Mr Ghose made extraordinarily remarkable finds in the very same locality years after. Amongst his discoveries of great importance are some old fresco paintings in the finest Kangra style which had been unnoticed so far

In the work of collecting, Mr. Ajit Ghose has received the enthusiastic support of his elder brother, Mr. A Ghose, F.C S, P G S, M I M G, who is himself one of the foremost collectors of old Indian art and has specialised more particularly in the art of old Kangra and of ancient Tibet

The Ghose Collection is too extensive to be at all adequately dealt with in the all too brief space of a single article, and so we propose to give only a short account of it in a quite non-technical way

The examples of Jaina art comprise very early manuscripts of the "Kalpasutra" and "Kalakacharya Kathanakam" and other works, besides fine old painted Jain book covers One of the fifteenth century manuscripts, a dated "Kalpasutra", is one of the earliest known illustrated manuscripts on paper A miniature from this rare work is reproduced

The specimens of Mughal art, especially of historical portraiture, which were lent by Mr Ghose to the Historical Section of the Calcutta Exhibition of 1923, aroused considerable interest Visitors to the annual conferences of the Indian Historical Records Commission have also had opportunities of admiring some of the unique examples in the collection which have been loaned by special request. They are of far greater artistic and historical importance than the ordinary variety of exhibition pictures A number of paintings in the Ghose Collection have come from the Imperial collections of the Mughal Emperors and bear the seals of the Badshahs, such as Aurangzebe, Shah Alum and Faruksiyar Of unique interest is a picture of Riziah Sultana by Ram, Court painter of Akbar, which belonged to Zebunnissa Begum, sweet poetess and daughter of Aurangzebe, and her seal is the mute witness of her ownership. In this section there are signed examples of the work of Ram, Chatarman or Chitarman, Balchand, Mohan and Nanha among others.

The Rajput paintings include some of the finest works of each school. Primitive Rajput painting is represented by the earliest known Ragini pictures. The Pahari Schools

represented by numerous ples, including remark- specimens of the Siege Lanka series Kangra ings are known to most e by reproductions of angra examples and few had the opportunity miring the strength and y of colouring and the ervated draughtsmanship arly Kangra art, fine ples of which are in hose Collection It is well n that the Rajput and ri artists were employed the ruling princes, very often they were illustrate some popular or romance by a series tached paintings These are therefore, of special tance Mr Ghose has fortunate enough to secured several such , which are not to und in any other col- n except that of Dr araswamy, the foremost rity on Rajput art g serials in the collection be mentioned the Siege anka series, primitive t Ragini, Nala and yanti, and Gita-Govinda carefully going through Rajput section of the tion, we do feel with Ghose that the old ication of Indian Schools inting requires revision are styles of painting ing to distinct schools merit separate re- ion, but have hitherto rouped together under the generic name ari One such school which produced t many fine works in quite a distinctive and is of great importance in the history e Pahari Schools may be called the i School from the centre where it hed Mr. Ghose is the possessor of l extraordinary primitives of this school strongly suggest its origin from fresco ng He has also a remarkable series of ations of the Gita-Govinda with the on the back ; these paintings are the products of the school in its maturity. Another school—that of Chamba—produced a distinct style of portraiture, examples of which are in the collection.



Prince Daniel and his wife, Jana Begum. Contemporary Mughal Painting.

Mention has already been made of the illustrated Jaina manuscripts in the collection. Among illuminated Hindu manuscripts are the romance of Hir and Ranja with many miniatures of the Rajput school and a very old manuscript of lyrics on the loves of Radha and Krishna with illustrations of the Pahari School; but most important of all is a unique



Old Bengal "Pot" Drawings, Kalighat

illustrated Nayika manuscript with numerous illustrations of unusual beauty apparently by an early Kangra artist.

Of great interest is the splendid collection of fine drawings numbering several hundreds. Drawing as an art was much in vogue in mediæval India and Indian master artists may fairly be said to have attained perfection of workmanship in the line. With what boldness and simplicity is the line drawn! Drawings of the Mughal, Rajput, Kangra, Sikh and old Bengal schools are in the Collection. The traditional skill of the Hindu artist in the manipulation of the line is nowhere better seen than in old Rajput drawings, which are hardly inferior to the best Mughal work, while they have a feeling about them which is lacking in Mughal art. The value of the line is best brought out in portraiture and we shall see how the old painters of Bengal, who are now forgotten, excelled in figure drawing.

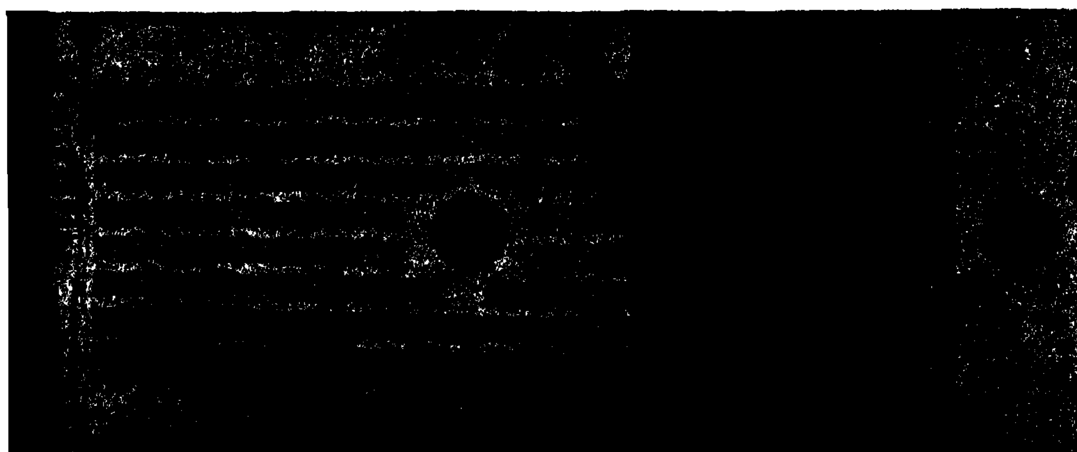
We may add a note here as to the general method of duplicating pictures used by both Mughal and Rajput . Tracing paper was un and the lines of the di were marked out by of needle pricks. It wa lightly brushed over powdered charcoal an dots produced on the below were immediately in and the outline copy completed. Exa of these original dra which have been pricked are in the Coll and drawings in every of completion are t found Often the master left indications, for his engaged in copying a of the pigments to be ployed by little touch colour.

Examples of Kangra ings are perhaps even rare than Kangra paint but the Collection pos a lage number One depicting the seasons des special mention, not only account of the individ of the drawing, but be the portrait of one of Kangra chiefs, Raja dhandas appears as the central figure in of the drawings.

The old Bengal "pot" (पट) drawings up to middle of the last century are so remark for the vigour and boldness of line and calligraphic quality and the excellence of figure drawing that they will come as a re lation to all art-lovers These old drawi some of which can compare with the examples of the other recognised schools, unfortunately long gone out of fashion the higher circles of Bengalee life accusto to decorate their homes with inferior for pictures It is the neglect of the 'cultu that has brought about the ruin of ar Bengal People now can hardly be made believe that the "pots" of Kalighat could have had a glorious past. Once Mr while speaking eulogistically about th drawings, was abruptly interrupted by one our venerable public men, who indigna exclaimed: "What! you mean art by th rubbish of Kalighat?" Yet the specimens of this school will come as a



Siege of Lanka—Old Pahari painting. (Beginning of the 17th cent)



A miniature from a copy of the Kalpasutra—Early Jain painting—15th cent.

uch people and their name is legion that there ever was any merit "pots". From the middle of the ry, the demand for the products school has come on a small and scale only from the masses. So decade after decade, the school has degenerated. The later drawings of stereotyped pictures of gods and goddesses of social scenes lack the flexibility and firmness which characterise the work of the earlier artists. The Collection affords ample opportunity for



Painted wood-cover of a manuscript (Bengal)

comparing these two types of the Kalighat school We may in passing remark with regret that those who have brought about the remarkable art revival in the Bengal of to-day do not appear to have sufficiently utilised, or, more properly, have not even recognised, the best products of this lost school. Were they ashamed to own these rustic artists as their foregoers in the art history of the country ?

Mr Ghose by his indefatigable exertions has made a unique collection of the extremely rare early Bengali painted manuscript covers of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a collection which is unique in point of the excellence of these art documents, and their large number and their variety. These painted manuscript covers are unknown by reason of their rarity even to professed students of Indian art and are unrepresented in Museum collections. Mr Ghose is engaged in a work on these "pots", so admirable for their beauty of colouring and "impeccable" drawing.

Paintings on playing cards were much liked by the aristocratic people of India and so they are now found scattered over many provinces. Very noteworthy are the rare playing cards on ivory in the Collection with exceedingly fine miniatures of animals in the early Mughal or Indo-Persian style of Mansur and probably by that master Rectangular playing cards such as these are very rare. The specimens in the collection of the Dasavatar playing cards of Vishnupur are very old.

Thus far, we have dealt only with the Indian section of the Collection. Mr. Ghose's artistic interest is not limited to India. He has a wide outlook on art history and is a keen student of the art of all nations. On who has seen the collection will not nee to be told that he is a lover of Chinese an Japanese art or that he has been attracte to Persian painting to which early Mugh art is so closely related. Besides man choice examples of Safavid painting, includin signed specimens of Riza Abbasi and of hi pupil Muin Musavir, the Collection possesse several fine manuscripts with miniature one of the most notable of which is a fifteent century, probably unpublished, manuscrip with miniatures of the highest excellenc of the Bihzad school.

We cannot be too thankful to Mr. Ghos for collecting and preserving these beautifu relics of a long-forgotten glorious past an all art-lovers should feel indebted to him considering that no other art collectio contains such a large number of select anc representative specimens of all the variou schools, whether Jain or Mughal, Rajput or Kangra, Pahari or Sikh, ,Bengalee, Orissan or South Indian, with their various sub-division Indeed, this extensive Collection is not onl a rich feast for pure artistic enjoyment, its representative character affords abundant materials for the study of practically the whole range of the history of old Indian painting, and the care and judgment and deep knowledge with which only select specimens have been included make it a collection to stimulate artistic taste and artistic creation.*

*At the special request of Mr. Percy Brown, the Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta, a loan exhibition consisting of representative specimens from this Collection is being held along with the Fine Art Exhibition,

TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

An Appreciation

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

HILE in America, I had occasions to talk about the rapid and enormous growth of organisations which attain their tible efficiency by eliminating the personal nd concentrating the mechanical one in a lump of system. I spoke of the spread lousness and the deadening of the moral of responsibility in consequence of the ne representing man in most of his ies. Cruetly and injustice of an appalling have to-day been made easily possible, se, they can be done through an organ- elemental force which ruthlessly takes ect path towards the fulfilment of its se, trampling down all other considera- We have seen how church can be blood- , while the religion it represents is ie; how it is possible to cheat on a ale scale in the name of business, while spectability of the sharers of profit is untouched; how gross falsehoods are ately used for poisoning their victims vernments whose members have gentle- manners and traditions. When in to such gigantic institutions men t terrible wrongs, they feel something religious exultation which smothers conscience. It is the modern form of worship with its numerous rituals of sacrifice in the shadow of which all religions have faded into unreality.

e of my hearers who was in sympathy y thoughts asked me how it could be possible to fight these organisations without setting up others in their place. My answer was that my reliance was on those individuals who had made human ideals living in their personality. They may look small and weak by the side of the power they resist, as does a plant by the side of a huge frowning boulder. But the plant has the magic power of life. It gradually creates its own soil with its own constant emanations, and its defeat and death are a prelude to a victorious resurrection. I believe that when anti-human forces spread their dominion, individuals with firm faith in humanity are born, who become acutely conscious of the menace to man and fearlessly fulfil their destiny through insult and isolation. We came to know such a man in England in the person of E. D. Morel who is dead now, but who can never die. When we see them, we know that the living spark of human spirit is not yet extinct and that there is hope. Human civilizations have their genesis in individuals, and they also have their protectors in them. One of the few proofs that the present day is not utterly barren of them is the life and work of Romain Rolland. And that the present day needs him most is proved by the scourging he has received from it, which is a true recognition of his greatness by his fellow beings.

Santiniketan,
Oct. 5, 1925.

EARTH AND WATER

BY SISTER NIVEDITA

th and water are the mystic offerings ch the home king offers allegiance to ver-lord.

th and water, therefore, are the symbols which the Mother would fain be sped.

Earth and water of India, dust of our fathers, home of all our beloved, land of our children!

Water of seven sacred rivers, ocean-girdle of our Bharata, flood of the rice-fields, and gift of mountain-snows!

Earth of India! altar of our gods,
Footway of our saints,
Foundation of our homes,
Dust of our heroes.

You, the Indian waters,
Vahana of the lotus,
Fountain of joy and coolness
Symbol of all purity,
Consecration of the temple
And extinguisher of the last dread fire!

India whose sky is temple-dome,
Whose mountains are her pillars,
Whose forests make offerings,
And the South wind fans,
In these we worship.

The blessing of the grass : Be strong,
be stro
Be patient and endu
The blessing of the palms : Put on thy crow
Lift high thy thoug
Dream lofty drea
The cry of the rivers and the land : Retu
Retu

Oh ye whose hope is in your land,
and your land's hope in y
And all the Nation answers: We are one!

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[*This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous* … *misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review* or *other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this* sec… *is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our* numer… *contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always* t… *brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and* no… *of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.*—Ed. *The Modern Review.*]

The Prefixing of "Sir" to Rabindranath Tagore's Name by Mahatma Gandhi

Regarding the editorial comments made in the December issue of your *Modern Review* on the prefixing of "Sir" to Rabindranath Tagore's name by Mahatma Gandhi, I have to say a word. We know very well that Dr. Tagore wrote a letter to Lord Chelmsford renouncing his Knighthood as a protest against the Punjab affairs ; but it is also a fact that in all his books published by the Macmillan Company, "Sir" is put before his name invariably in every volume—not only in the reprints of those which were published before he is said to have renounced his title but also in those which have very recently been published. May I therefore ask : why should the Mahatma be blamed if Rabindranath himself uses or allows his publishers to use "Sir" before his name in *his own* English books ? Indeed, when Dr. Tagore had just returned from Italy, it was actually given out by a writer in the Illustrated Weekly Times of India that Rabindranath took no objection to being styled and addressed as "Sir" Rabindranath.

SUBODH CHANDRA BOSE
RESEARCH SCHOLAR,
University School of Economics and Sociology,
Bombay. 8, 12. 25.

Editor's Note

It is *not* "a fact that in all his [Tagore's] bo… published by the Macmillan Company, 'Sir' is … before his name invariably in every volume— … only in the reprints of those which were publis… before he is said to have renounced his title … also in those which have very recently b… published "

We have not at present got all of Tago… English works before us ; but from those which … have, we will mention the following whose ti… pages simply bear the name of Rabindranath Tag… without the title " Sir " :—

The Wreck, 1921.
The Fugitive, 1921.
Thought Relics, 1921.
Creative Unity, 1922.
Mashi and Other Stories (Indian Edition), 19…
Gora, 1924
Red Oleanders, 1925.

The writer says that he knows very well … Rabindranath Tagore wrote a letter to L… Chelmsford renouncing his Knighthood, but … uses in the same sentence the words, " before he … *said to have* renounced his title."

The Bombay University ought to teach … "research scholar" to verify his "facts" be… publicly using them and to learn the meanings … the words he uses.

If a writer in a Bombay paper really w… what the "research scholar" says he did, it … not much matter. Only recently Rabindra…

ithin our hearing that he did not wish his o bear any prefix whatever, whether it be r.', 'Srijut', or 'Babu'; he wished to be as simple Rabindranath Tagore.

—

atal Stars and Royal names

the note on p. 691 of the *Modern Review* 1924, suggesting the possibility of being the star of nativity of Pushyamitra unga dynasty, I cite below two instances ient Tamil literature, which show that tice of specifying particular individuals birth-nakshatras was in vogue in the d.

e Sangam poet Mulam-killar (*Purananuru*) d after 'Mulam' which was apparently star.

the *Jivakachintamani*, King Sachchandan larised by the title of Bharaninal-pirandan erence to the star 'Bharani' in which he

avancore, this practice was common and mes were often simple star-appellations. eval inscriptions of the State, we come ch names as Avaniyana, [Pillaiyar-Tiruvadi Avani)], Kottai-Tirunal, Queen Rohini- etc H.H. the present *Yuvaraja* d to as the Chitrai-Tirunal or the Prince he day of the auspicious Chitra asterism.

A S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.

—

rof. Sylvain Levi on the East and the West

surprised to read, on page 446 of the *Review* for the month of October 1925, ark regarding Professor Sylvain Levi. The hat you quote from "Living Age" gives anslation of the original one, in "Cahiers du hich I specially referred to, for the

[the last December number we have given a ation of Prof. Levi's whole article by Prof. Benoit, we omit those portions of our dent's letter which contain translations of sages of Prof. Levi's article. Ed *M. R.*]

passage* which is due to Mr. Levi and is ted in the article seems to have been ttributed to *Clarte*. (See *Modern Review*, 1st column, October issue) The *Clarte*, rtainly know it, to have very advanced tic tendencies, must have borrowed this om Mr. Levi without making a reference thor. You quote this passage of Mr. Levi and remark that "*Clarte*—divides s differently from Prof. Sylvain Levi! ...."

pardon me to have written to you at gth. I have taken pains to try to submit what I had to say. I am persuaded that appreciate my attempt to see that a view of the type as yours, will do justice to Mr. Levi which, he certainly deserves and I think, is entitled to.

No two people think alike, nor need they do it. Mr. Levi has his *personal* views which we may dispute. Yet we cannot ignore that he has devoted all his life and all his energies to the study of our ancient civilization. He is one of those people who have created in Europe an audience for the plea of the East, and I think that we might be, very confidently, more sure of his loyalty to India than of many others.

18 Rue Cujas, Paris GANPAT TENDULKAR

* passage referred to will be found trans- the December *Modern Review*, last para- p. 706 and first of p. 707. Ed. *M. R.*

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The Paharpur Excavations

We have been criticised in some quarters for saying in our last November number that the Paharpur archæological excavations, conducted under the joint auspices of the Calcutta University and the Varendra Research Society, ended in a fiasco. We have neither the inclination nor the space to print in detail the accounts of the expenses incurred for these excavations, which, so far as we are aware, yielded no results. We will only state in brief that Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray of Dighapatia made a grant of Rs. 2,000 for actual excavation and of Rs. 500 for the travelling expenses of the Calcutta University and Varendra Research Society parties. But the Calcutta University party spent Rs 935-6 and the Varendra Research Society party Rs. 160-14-6, total Rs. 1096-4-6 in travelling expenses alone. Rupees 200 were advanced to four gentlemen who do not appear to have rendered any account of the sums given them Expenses in connection with excavation amounted to Rs. 482-1-3 and petty expenses to Rs. 71-9-6. There was an unspent balance of Rs 650-0-9.

Computing the travelling, halting and mileage charges of the parties on a liberal scale, they should have totalled only Rs. 668-11-0; but they actually came up to Rs. 1096-4-6. In addition, the parties spent Rs. 67-11-0 on furniture, Rs. 72-9-0 on personal comforts, Rs. 214-4-0 for conveyance of tents and records, and Rs. 124-9-6 for miscellaneous items. *But the actual excavation expenses incurred amounted only to Rs. 59-8-0*! No wonder Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, the donor, wanted his money back. It is said Mr. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal and Prof, R. P. Chanda acted as arbitrators and gave it as their award that Rs. 1470 should be returned to the Kumar. It was not, however, recovered from the excavation parties responsible for wasteful expenditure, but was paid to the Kumar from the overflowing coffers of the Calcutta University. That is what we can say from the information at present at our disposal.

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Tube-Wells

The writer of the article (published in the February 1925 number of the MODERN REVIEW has given preference to the process by sinking an outer casing, which is followed by some of the firms sinking tube wells at the present time, in which the annular hole between the tubes of the well and the outer

casing, left in the impervious and semipervious strata of earth when the outer casing is removed, requires to be closed up perfectly. The writer has also mentioned it, but he has not evidently anticipated the magnitude of such a work; neither has he mentioned the process. He should use either clay or cement or similar other material from above, but effective closure of the hole in this way is next to impossibility, as it cannot be filled up thoroughly throughout its whole length by such a process; and if any chink is left anywhere, surface percolation will contaminate the water of the deep stratum. There is no means to know, at least, that the hole has been closed properly If, however, clay or cement used for the purpose is greater in quantity than is actually necessary, some of it may find its way up to the strainer and close it partly, thus reducing its effective area: nay, part of any quantity used, may very well do this harm: and there is no means of knowing or removing it when once there. Both these defects—surface percolation through open chinks and reduction of the effective area of the strainer may occur in many cases simultaneously.

In a soil, moreover, which can be conveniently divided into five strata, namely (1) clay mixed with sand (2) fine sand with clay (3) coarse sand (4) pure clay (impervious), (5) clean coarse sand, the hole will be closed throughout the strata nos. (2) and (3) as soon as the outer casing is removed and the portion of the annular hole in the 1st stratum only can thus be closed, leaving it in the 4th stratum as it is, while the 2nd and 3rd strata are pervious. Water from the surface layers may, hence, easily find its way to contaminate the water of the 5th layer, which is highly objectionable and takes away the chief argument in favour of a tube-well as supplying safe potable water from a deep stratum; and it is no better than a well sunk down to the 3rd stratum. This division of subsoil is rather a representative one of alluvival Bengal, instead of a chance one, and this process of well-sinking is necessarily far from being satisfactory.

This process has been recommended by the writer mainly for the sake of safety of the strainer which may get damaged if fitted with the tube of the well and sunk. The method as used by some other firms of sinking the tube first without strainer up to the required water-bearing stratum and sinking it again after taking it out and fitting it with the strainer, has been found a cheap and successful one. In this process, a short length of tube is added to the lower end and is closed up with cement concrete from above to stop sand-blowing from below. Two wooden beams with a central hole in each, just bigger than the outer drainer of the tube, are also anchored in the earth at different depths, the central holes being one just below the other. The tube in sinking passes through these holes and its path during second sinking remains the same as in the first and in sandy layers where the friction on the tub is the greatest, muddy water is forced in by th water-jet and thus a smoother path for the strain er is ensured owing to clay being deposited fro the water in the sand. It is after all not at al difficult to find out if the strainer has been damage from sand-grains coming out with water, even after few days' use of the well; and in that case, th strainer may be replaced.

For a 1½ inch tube, well, moreover, an outer casin of about 3" diameter will have to be sunk; it is certainly much more costly than sinking a 1½" tube. Sinking by water-jet process, again, require water to be forced in through an inner tube whi in this case is a 1½" one and that in the other 1" only; and necessarily, much larger quantity o water requires to be forced in with the help of power pump in the former for sinking operation while a hand pump is quite sufficient for the latter and provision of so muchs, water is scarcely possi ble in many places in dry months, specially in th *char* area near about the big rivers.

P. C. Bhattacherjee, B. A. B. E

—

Mr. Bose's Reply

Mr. P. C. Bhattacharyya seems to assume th the annular space around the tube-well has to b sealed up after the complete withdrawal of th outer casing. As a matter of fact, the sealing done simultaneously with the withdrawal. Th casing is drawn up a few feet, a measured quanti of slurry or sealing composition is poured through the annulus, the casing is again draw a little, slurry is again poured in,—and so on successive stages. The details of the proce would be tedious reading, but if Mr. Bhattachary be interested, I shall be glad to give him furth particulars and reference of numerous instanc where the process has been perfectly successful

Mr. Bhattacharyya recommends a cheap proce in which a plain pipe is first sunk, then wit drawn, fitted with a strainer and re-inserted in the hole.

The system succeeds only for small depths a when the strata bored through are firm enou to prevent collapse of the unlined bore. But in t majority of instances, the bore gets more or le choked in spite of mud plaster, and during in insertion of the pipe, considerable resistance ha to be overcome. Mr. Bhattacharyya says, if th strainer gets damaged, it may be replaced. Qui so; but at considerable cost, for it involves prac cally re-boring.

I agree that the system of using an outer casi is expensive. But it gives far more positive r sults than other systems.

RAJSHEKHAR BO

APURVA

(To a Boy of Santiniketan who died young.)

W. W. PEARSON

ıy cometh Death, life's final garnering,
those unformed, to boyhood's unripe years?
those still young who scarcely yet have felt
kiss of friendship on their thirsty lips?
those for whom the coming days seem rich
th promise and with fragrant hopes?
To those who,
e fresh-opened flowers, fill the morning air
th perfume laden with the fertile gifts
autumn fruitage and of summer suns,
ir eyes alight with radiant worlds unseen,
ir hearts aglow for love and quick adventure?

Death comes serene to take them to the realms
Of aspiration and unrealised dreams.
No loss is theirs except of outward things.
Life, with its tasks and strenuous endeavour,
Would soon have quenched the joyful hopes of youth
And would for them have been a journeying
Away from all that boyhood holds most dear,
Welcome to them is Death. He greets with smiles
His youthful comrades and soothes away the pain
Of longings felt, in this life unfulfilled.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

"As An Englishman Sees India."

r. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S. (*Retd.*), who, ppose, is the same person who some go interviewed all sorts and conditions all over India as a special correst of the *Manchester Guardian* in order their brains or pump out their secrets, ntributed to the November *Indian* an article under the above caption. destly says, "it is based on superficial dge," but the tone is throughout that Oracle and Destiny combined. Yet rank Westerner's appreciation of things " it has its interest.

first *question* he discusses is: we give India Swaraj?" The answer

ould not, if we would. We could give her of independence that China now enjoys. is not what Indi ans mean by Swaraj, I hope. The truth is that Mr. Gandhi and his Non-Co-operation very nearly frightened us into believing that we could no longer rule India. But we never imagined that India was yet able to rule herself. We even doubt whether India will ever be able to give herself a decent stable government. But to let our policy be shaped by that doubt would be to confess ourselves desperate of the future of the human race. We must act on the assumption that it will be possible with time and patience to bring a strong native government into power in India. Will it be a democracy? Certainly not. The orthodox faith in democracy has gone the way of the orthodox religious creeds. On the Continent, men ridicule it openly. In England they do not do that, not at least if they wish to be elected members of Parliament, but their practice pays no regard to democratic theory. We believe in the *inequality of men. Equality of opportunity?* That is an unattainable ideal. And it is far more important that some men should have splendid opportunities than that all men should have equal opportunities. All men cannot go to Oxford. Would you then break up the University and bury one professor in each provincial town? No. We are all

authoritarians now. Let us get the best men if possible, give them all possible advantages and get them into power. And whoever is in power, whether he is best or second best, let him have faith in himself and use his power according to his own lights and see that he is obeyed. Don't let him ask for guidance from his enemies or compromise with them as the old-fashioned Liberals expected our Governors to do No need to make enemies of those whose ends are the same as ours merely because we differ about means But you must learn to recognize a real enemy when you meet one. We have learnt something from Lenin and Mussolini much as we dislike those gentlemen.

Since, in the opinion of Mr Gwynn, Englishmen are not democrats, it follows, he says, that they are not much impressed by those who say that India is not ripe for democracy. Nevertheless that is the usual excuse trotted out by Englishmen for opposing India's right to Swaraj Let us, however, hear the writer :—

We ask : Can you see any elements in India capable of giving India a stable native Government ? We should like to find such elements, for we fear that the dislike of alien rule is a strong ineradicable and highly dangerous instinct and an Indian mercenary army is a gun that may go off at either end We should like to see India quietly trans-substantiated into a self-governing and self-defending Dominion But, till we see how that miracle can be wrought without imminent risk of a disruptive explosion, we shall expect our agents in India to continue to govern India with India's co-operation, if possible, but if not, then as best they can.

Where shall we look for elements capable of giving India a stable native government ? It is fashionable to point to the Native Princes and others talk of the bureaucracy But in all countries strong and enterprizing men gravitate naturally towards the seat of power wherever that is placed. We have given the reins into the hands of the Western educated class We believe that for that reason the strongest and most energetic (not necessarily the most prudent or the most virtuous) will be found in the ranks of that class and that they will learn to get themselves elected at the polls and to dominate the legislatures. Whether they will have enough character to hang together and support each other and make a government and keep the bureaucracy in its place or whether they will fritter away their strength in communal and personal squabbles, that is the crucial question.

That last sentence ought to serve as a fresh reminder to our leaders of all creeds and castes to cultivate real fraternity and patriotism and unite.

The next question tackled by the retired heaven-born scribe is : "Are we impressed by what the highbrows tell us of the potentialities of a distinctive Indian culture ?" He replies :—

Of course, there is something in it, but we suspect exaggeration. We used to hear so much about the Gaelic culture, but now that the Free State is in being and the sons of the soil have all the jobs to quarrel over—well, the Gaelic cul has failed to materialize and nobody cares longer about its disembodied spirit. Tagore easily understand. He is in harmony with West thought. In fact, he is a little too much in fashion. We suspect that he could not stand himself, that he is not quite in the first class.

Poor Tagore ! If he had not been v largely read in the Far East as well as in West and Far West, he would have b dubbed an obscurity and a failure. But as is read, he is too much in the fashion ! Gwynn says,"Tagore is in harmony with West thought." But Prof. Sylvain Levi says in *C from the East* : "Tagore who denounces to countrymen, to China and Japan, the fa and crimes of Europe, does wrong to A to Europe, and his own ideal" Wh are we believe ? The truth is Tag appreciates what is good in the West a also denounces its faults and crimes, as well-balanced minds must. And, therefo of course, "he is not quite in the first clas How could anybody dare to be in the f class who is a subject of Mr. Gwynn and countrymen ?

Another fault of Tagore is that the wr suspects that "he could not stand by himse Perhaps what some Europeans friends a acquaintances of Tagore have been the habit of saying and writing of h has given rise to the myth that Rabindran is like the *nirguna purusha* of the Sankhy and requires an active *alter ego*, think, feel, imagine and act for him. even if that myth were a fact, who is *alter ego* who thought, felt, imagined a wrote all his Bengali works, of which alm all his English works are translation Perhaps some European did it ;—ma Europeans have that kind of supremely se less and self-effacing nature. They do best things anonymously and leave the na and fame to be enjoyed by the Indians. example, did not some Europeans conce and design and build the Taj at Ag leaving the credit to go to Ind It has, however, to be explained w if Tagore cannot stand by himself, writes and says and does things without a thought of what people may think of h thus often making himself unpopular with parties. That is not the behaviour of m who depend on others. Tagore has alwa been true to his song, addressed to hims "*Ekla chalo re,*" "Walk thou alone."

But let us now hear what Mr. Gwy thinks of Mahatma Gandhi.

As to Gandhi, we don't take him seriously as a hinker any more than we take him seriously as statesman. His personality is of course quite nother thing, unique and all but wholly admirble. He has the "will like a dividing spear" and ith it, unselfishness and a complete mastery over l the baser instincts, envy, hatred, malice and l uncharitableness. We have a weakness, too, for e puritan ascetic in him. But much of his iritanism and asceticism seems to us misrected energy. We feel that his view of man out of date. He seems to look on man as the almist did, as a special creation of God's, a being little lower than the angels and in no way related the beasts of the field. We think that the statesan and the moralist must always bear in mind e fact that men are only beasts, some further and me less far evolved and that they must therefore careful not to expect too much of everybody d not to lay down rules of conduct for universal plication. Perhaps there is a radical distinction etween good and evil, but the rules of conduct rtainly alter with the environment and probably ith the individual. A pity that Mr. Gandhi did t take up gardening instead of cotton spinning. e gardener's unending war with birds, caterllars, insects, fungi and weeds would have enched his meditations on the doctrine of nonolence as they have taught others the necessities the practical statesman. But the most significant ct about Mr. Gandhi is the influence he acquired India. That reveals both the strength and e weakness of the Indian people. Their strength their readiness to recognize and be attracted by e benevolence. Their weakness is their sentientality, by which I mean a certain moral eakness which make them afraid to accept the ticism of their intellect when an appeal is made their emotions.

We do not at all agree that either as a inker or as a statesman Mahatma Gandhi not a person to reckon with. We have metimes been in sharp disagreement with m But nevertheless we think that much at he has said and done is quite sound, in ite of the apparent failure of the non-coeration movement.

As to his idealistic views and hopes of n, if he has been wrong, so have been ddha and Christ and many other teachers mankind. There cannot be any "pacts" and mpromises with human weakness in ethical d spiritual idealism.

Agricultural Co operative Societies

Mr. A. K. Yegnanarayana Iyer, Deputy rector of Agriculture in Mysore, writes in e *Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and perimental Union* :

Agricultural Co-operative Societies are formed the following purposes:—

1. For the supply of seeds, manure, implements and other articles required by the farmer such as concentrated feeds for stock.
2. For the sale of the produce grown by the members, whether it is grain, fruit, milk, eggs or poultry or live-stock.
3. For the co-operative ownership, and use of large-scale appliances which may be too big for individual ownership, such as power gins, power-driven sugarcane mills, irrigation pumps, threshing machines, rice hullers, fodder cutters, spray pumps, etc
4. For the purpose of serving special forms of farming, such as dairying, sericulture, etc
5. Colonization and co-operative farming.
6. Insurance against loss of stock or crops by sickness, storm or pests.

Indian Mercantile Marine

Prof N J Shah, Ph. D. says in the October number of *The Mysore Economic Journal* :—

The root-cause of the whole trouble is the British shipping monopoly in India. The best remedy would be the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine. Whatever may have been the historical causes of the present backwardness of the Indian Shipping Industry, the condition which at present militates against the development of shipping enterprise by the people of this country is the strong position established in the Indian trade by certain British shipping companies which enables them to stamp out Indian competition by questionable means such as, deadly rate wars, the Deferred Rebates System which secures perpetual loyalty of shippers and the discrimination against the "disloyal" shippers who are penalized in various ways. The Deferred Rebates System is thus obviously harmful to our economic interests and should therefore be abolished by law. Its legal prohibition would undoubtedly remove an important obstacle from the path of Indian shipping. Various other countries have also legislated definitely against the shipping monopoly and its weapons, Deferred Rebates System and rate-wars.

Ground for Development

There are also other important grounds on which the development of an Indian Mercantile Marine is desirable.

(*a*) It would lessen India's dependence upon foreign shipping companies which reduces her trade to utter helplessness in times of war, as for example, the shortage of shipping facilities during the war.

(*b*) Profit of freight rates variously estimated between 35 and 50 crores of rupees would be saved from going to foreigners.

(*c*) Shipping and ship building would open new avenues of employment to Indians who at present experience a great difficulty in obtaining suitable and profitable employment.

(*d*) Instead of the unfavourable policy of the present foreign shipping companies, an Indian Mercantile Marine can, by a suitable policy, encourage the special interest of Indian trade and industries.

(*e*) It will serve as a nucleus of a future Indian Navy and as a second line of defence

With the favourable conditions such as geographical situation, extensive coast, natural harbours

sea-faring population, large traffic and suitable rivers, the Indian Mercantile Marine can be created and developed without insuperable difficulties, only if the artificial condition which act against it are removed and shipping enterprise and ship-building skill are encouraged by proper means. Next to the abolition of artificial obstacle, what is mainly wanted is the policy that will stimulate enterprise and inspire confidence in the investing public.

With the double objects of securing the largest possible share of ocean commerce to national merchant fleet and of making the ocean traffic subservient to the interests of the production and commerce of the country, the State measures for the encouragement of shipping in other countries have taken one or more of the following main forms:—

(1) The navigation laws;
(2) construction and navigation bounties,
(3) postal subsidy,
(4) admiralty subsidy,
(5) reservation of coastal traffic for national ships,
(6) cheap loans,
(7) preferential railway-rates.

It is important to note that almost all the countries except Great Britain have reserved their coasting traffic to national vessels. In Great Britain, however, where there is no legal reservation 99% of her coastal trade is carried by British ships. The history of all the maritime countries in the world, from which Great Britain is not excluded, proves that State aid in one form or another has played a very important part in the development of a mercantile marine

—

"If I were a Municipal Commissioner"

Mr. Dharm Pal Ashte says in the November *D. A-V. College Union Magazine* what he would do if he were a Municipal Commissioner.

I would first of all get a plan of my ward prepared in order to make myself familiar with each and every street of it

I would frame a list of all the hindrances and drawbacks in the ways of the growth of a healthy life of the people.

I would see that my voters do not lack in light, proper drainage, pure water

Before any thing else, I would see that the street and houses of my ward are all neat and clean, well-lighted and ventilated, healthy and beautiful to look at. I would persuade the intending builders to keep large and open spaces around their houses to adopt some elegant style of architecture, to make room for broad and straight streets and if possible to have a public park in each of the blocks of my ward where women and children should go to recreate themselves. This would scare away half the number of doctors and other medical leeches and in its stead there would flourish joys of a healthy, wealthy and—if you will—a happy life.

I would have a committee in every block of my ward and call each of its representatives to tell me his grievances, which I, in my return, would try to have removed.

I would fix one day in a week simply to go into some streets of my ward so that the peo[ple] might feel that I am one of them.

I would make myself accessible to the poor an[d] helpless people, so that I might know of the[ir] grievances.

I would insist on well-to do persons to com[e] out with a helping hand towards their unfortuna[te] fellow citizens. For this purpose, I would use m[y] best knowledge and energies to organize measur[es] of relief and social amelioration for the poor an[d] backward people. For instance, if a man finds [it] beyond his means to get good water for his us[e,] to send his children to schools, to arrange fo[r] medical aid for himself and his children, to get [a] good book for his intellectual amusement or eve[n] if he is so indigent as to be unable to provide for [his] house-hold the primary necessities of his life, [I] would see that due measures whether individual o[r] co-operative charity are undertaken to provide hi[m] with these, I would leave no stone unturned [in] moving the municipality to come forward and he[lp] me in my efforts.

Having thus succeeded in bringing good fa[re] and lodging to all the people of my ward, [I] would set myself to provide for a common Libra[ry] or reading room, for a common and free hospita[l,] for a common and free school, each for girls an[d] boys, for a common museum, a common garde[n] and above all a common co-operative society co[n]cerning itself with a social, economic, judicial, an[d] executive good of the people living in my ward

—

Wanted More Brotherliness

We read in the December *Young Citizen*

As we are to those whom we love dearly, s[o] must we learn gradually to become to the who[le] world; and by thus living, those nearest an[d] dearest to us, whether individuals or Nation, gro[w] nearer and more dear. Let us also seek out Tho[se] beyond us on Life's Pathway and render The[m] practical reverence. Let us recognise our equals and render them a loving comradeship. Let us seek out those still behind us, and render the[m] our strong wisdom and compassion, as Those i[n] front of us do like wise unto us.

The need of the world to-day is an individu[al] effort on the part of everyone to be more brother[ly.] Our philosophers and dreamers and statesme[n] too often seek after forms, and strive for a peac[e] builded upon the rotten foundation of everyon[e] giving only what he is obliged, through graspin[g] at every personal advantage. The world is at peac[e] more because graspings have for the time bee[n] balanced, than because each seeks to express [a] heartfelt generosity.

You and I know, my brothers, that whateve[r] may be sought to be done by societies and league[s] and movements, and in National or internationa[l] assemblies, all ultimately rests on individual effor[t] —the leaven that moves the whole.

Never mind what others are doing or are no[t] doing. Let us do our duty and leave the issue to God. I say to you, therefore, make for th[e] new year LOVING-KINDNESS your persona[l] watchword at all costs and in all circumstances

—

Mystic Experience

The Light of the East asks :—

hat do mystic experiences prove ? Do they , and are they alone to prove, that the Supreme they represent it to be ?
e have exposed at length the two answers commonly given nowadays to this important on. Some answer that direct experience of ivinity is the only test of its existence and teristics. Others deny the proving value of experiences. The main reason of the first t experience alone places us in contact with ; reasoning and faith are deceptive, intuition gives us the truth. The reason of the others nothing is more deceptive, than intuition. Each on is coloured by the prejudices of the seer, ption is confused with apperception (the'given' its interpretation) and finally perception en illusory: madness consists in trusting the ons of a diseased brain.
ery reader will have noticed that these two ns are extreme. According to the first, ons alone are proofs. According to the , intuitions are no proofs at all. Aristotle ong ago that goodness is generally to be in the golden mean. Truth is often to be in the same position. God is neither all eally is, as the Advaita proclaims, nor at all, as proclaim the Madhyamikas or arvakas. Religious experiences are neither ly criterion nor no criterion at all.

—

Religion and Science

the opinion of *Prabuddha Bharata*

time has come when religion should shake with science in a spirit of fellowship. The of enmity and quarrel that has created to-yawning gulf separating the one from the must give way to one of mutual confidence, ey should unite as friends and help each owards the realisation of a common end is Truth. So far as we understrnd, the conflict is due to a misconception that is to disappear with a better knowledge and anding of each other's function and pro- Though there may be a difference as to ethods, both science and religion, it may ed, aim at one thing, viz. Truth. The goal igion places before us is, truly speaking, erent from the final conclusion arrived at nce They are but different views of the ing from different perspectives. The recent ies of science establishing the unity of life nsciousnesss and the existence of one Principle permeating the whole universe vely prove what we say. When the Vedic clared with a voice of thunder that the is one, and it is Absolute Existence, ge and Bliss, they simply foreshadowed by uitive vision the final synthesis of science e made. Hence, what we want to em- is that no religion which is based upon a basis and is progressive and liberal has on to be afraid of science. It is only the and hide-bound religion of the church temple that considers itself to be at stake and raises a false note of alarm at the progress of science.

—

Duties of the Jaina Community

According to the November *Jaina Gazette*, the following are among the duties of the Jaina community :

1. Members should be selected and sent out into the different provinces, towns and villages to study the causes of the decrease in the Jain population and to send their reports to the office of the Gazette which will publish them for the information of the whole Jain public. After studying the conditions in different places, the Association should hold a session in which the matter may be discussed and remedies suggested and approved to check the decrease. The Association should also see that such remedies are applied in practice.

2. Representatives from the Association should approach our rich sheths and sowcars and request them to provide funds for
(a) the endowment of scholarships,
(b) the establishment of boarding-houses wherever necessary,
(c) for the founding of Udasin Ashramas
(d) for the collection and preservation of manuscripts in libraries in important centres in India,
(e) for the publication of the Sacred Books of the Jainas with translation and commentaries in English and in other important languages,
(f) for establishing a central Jaina museum and archaeological institute, and (g) for forming a fund in aid of poor Jain widows.

3. The Association should find out ways and means for the promotion of education among the Jains and should see that in the next return of census the percentage of the illiterates is very much reduced.

4. The Association should also put a stop to some of the social evils, e. g. child marriage, old-men marrying young girls, and to encourage inter-marriages between the different castes of the Jainas.

—

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Mr. T. S. Gangadharan writes in the November *Scholar* ;—

Among outstanding personalities, who by the influence of their noble example and great work, shape and mould the character and destinies of the younger generation, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri easily takes a prominent place. A statesman of world-wide reputation, a sincere patriot, an ideal educationist, a true social reformer, a great orator and a trustworthy guide of the younger generation, Mr. Sastry is worthy of admiration. Writing about Mr. Gandhi, in an American Magazine, Mr. Sastri quoted a beautiful Sanskrit saying—"Do not tell me of holy waters ; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies at sight." The same is true of Mr. Sastri ; for, to know him is to revere him and honour him.

Mr. Sastri is the guide, friend and philosopher of the young men. The magnetism of his personality

will have a wholesome effect upon all those who come in contact with him. A tall well-built athletic figure, dignified in deportment, majestic in carriage, with a face beaming with culture and radiant with nobility, Mr. Sastri's personality is indeed a tremendous force, often very hard to gauge and extremely difficult to withstand. The majesty of his form makes him awe-inspiring, but his kindly face gives him an air of a *paterfamilias*, to whom the welfare of the children is a matter of abiding anxiety. Indeed, to many of his countrymen, Mr. Sastri is an intellectual giant, a personification of eastern wisdom and western culture. A great scholar both in English and in Sanskrit, Mr. Sastri is no mere Orientalist, nor a pure Occidentalist, but a harmonious blending of the two.

—

About Women

The following paragraphs are taken from the November *Stri-dharma* :

CHILD LABOUR ON INDIAN PLANTATIONS

We strongly protest against the demand of the Indian planters that "lofts" on plantations shall be excluded from the definition of "factory". If this was granted, planters would have the right to employ children without any restriction of hours of the children's work. It is a cruel demand and the Labour Commissioner should see that the rights of small children are not interfered with by Western planters sitting at a Planters' Conference thinking only of coin and not of helpless, immature humanity. How can Indians ask for better conditions for their labourers abroad in the Malay States, in Fiji, etc., if they allow the factory laws relating to the proper care of their own children to be disregarded right here in their own motherland ?

WHERE ARE THEY THAT ACCUSE THEE ?

Four unfortunate and very young women were hauled up in a Bengal Court the other day, charged with soliciting, neither the names nor the addresses of the men had been taken by the police, and their whereabouts were unknown. The Magistrate, without calling any evidence, fined each girl Rs 8. Injustice of this sort is being done every day, and not only in India. Never until there are equal laws for men and women will conditions in the streets of great cities be decent. Soliciting in the streets is, and must be made so legally, an offence for both men and women; the accuser should always be in Court to uphold his or her charge, police evidence is not sufficient in such cases. What is wrong conduct in a woman is also wrong conduct in a man, and we demand an equal moral standard as the ideal for all children of Mother India.

MARRIED WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE

There is a movement in many countries to exclude married women from service in Government posts such as teaching, nursing, clerkships, etc. This we consider wrong in principle, firstly because it will allow only those girls to marry who can find husbands who have large enough incomes to cover all expenses without any help from the wife's earnings. It is not fair t *money factor should unnecessarily limit th* emotional life of thousands of fine young w Secondly, in India, where almost every w is married, it would be impossible to get e teachers, doctors, nurses, etc. unless m women are retained. Thirdly, it is the married women who have the greatest amo experience and stability. Fourthly, it is wro prevent married women giving their be education whether they are paid or not, ma women need a larger sphere of influence their home circle, and born teachers who are mothers are an asset to hundreds of children against this, there is the fact that many w are not in good enough health during their p of pregnancy to do justice to their public It seems that each individual case shoul treated on its own merits being left to the d tion of the chief officer in charge, or better to a Committee of management for such a The ideal would be that each mother shou paid by the State for the care of her childre that men's wages should be altogether re-mod in view of such a revolutionary change in financial value of motherhood.

—

The Balanced Mind

In the October *Hindustan Review*, the Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri thus pleads the balanced mind :—

Do our universities—let me put the que though I do not expect an answer—with ever-increasing specialisation of studies pro of set purpose the type of mind necessar discovering the golden mean, the safe m course between opposing tendencies ? Is the use, even in these tranquil places dedicated to t and wisdom, for the man who hesitates, weighs arguments with care, who resists the s of passion? A recent Governor of one o provinces, who had been a radical in En politics turned out to be unprogressive here once explained the phenomenon to me. He so advice from every quarter on a disputed issue read all the papers dealing with it. The ri and wrongs seemed to him so equally balan that the case for change was never wholly m out. So he said, he let the old arrangement conti it had answered so far. He was a typical conse tive, a perfect Hamlet of politics. But su deliberation is not indecision. It will lead to act quite as often as to inaction. And the action which it leads will be safe and suited to all attendant circumstances, I freely admit that conscientious politician is not popular. His coun of patience and moderation is irritating to ea and enthusiastic natures. Yudhishthira w called many ugly names by Bhima and Draupa But he did not allow himself to be hustl "Unagitated like the sea, immovable like t mountain," he waited till the time arrived and th struck and struck home. The cross-bencher is n beloved of his tribe, but the crossbench mind an ever-present and an ever-growing nee Believe me, it is no disease, no infirmity. On th other hand, it is the crown and summit of libe education. It would be an evil day when it beca

act, and the high function of universities is to er it with tender and unremitting care.

—

The Indian Issue in South Africa

The National Christian Council observes:—

Ve have to remember in connection with this le situation that for the large bulk of the an community the Union of South Africa is land of their birth and they will be strangers ent to India. It is clear therefore that whatmay be the solution of this problem, *it does lie in the direction of repatriation.* Repatriat- a large number of Indians from the country heir adoption to a country which to most of n is at present only a name will be manifestly st; even if it were practical. Only mutual will and real appreciation of the difficulties ing on both sides can bring about any satisry settlement of this difficult question.

—

Infant Welfare

Jerbanoo Mistri writes in the October *al Service Quarterly*:—

he object of infant welfare work being to re- the high infant mortality in India, it stands to on that it can only be achieved by a wide- ad and continuous propaganda throughtout the so that the training imparted to mothers will le them to bring up their children in the way without any outside help. The object never be accomplished *by merely maintaining depots and dispensaries.* If necessity compels workers to take the medical needs of a place consideration, only the minor ailments may eated, but the main object, that is, *education, d never for a single moment be lost sight of,* e amount of money spent and the labour rtaken are to be rewarded with tangible results.

—

To Indian Young Men and Women

r Kirtiker exhorts young men and en thus in the December *Volunteer*:—

ung men and women of India, wake up. You e pillars of the nation. It is you who constitute ation. The bondage of your country is your ondage Do not shirk your duty or be done or all or pass into oblivion as your previous tions have done. Each one of you is a leader self or herself and can choose your action sphere of national welfare and strive to d to achieve the same. Don't you fool your- to the belief and blind faith that you have low necessarily somebody's lead always! every person is built differently physically, or she is gifted differently mentally too. would occur to a poor little budding girl ot strike a tried veteran leader, because our on is such. So, rely on your initiative, if you d act up individually, if not in conserted

Our activities need not be confined to the intelligentsia alone. The real centre of our work is among the masses. They have been suffering the real pinch of starvation as the result of the alien exploitation of our country. Bring home to them in a few words the situation. Acquaint them with their country, the cause of their poverty, their starvation and our slavery and "you are made" as the phrase goes. If one or two of you can at all succeed in sowing this requisite seed now, at the harvest time you will see wonderful results. You are the vanguard of our dear, oppressed and shackled motherland and you are capable of delivering her from her present predicament.

—

The Purpose of Buddhism

Louise Grieve explains the purpose of Buddhism in the following words in the December *Mahabodhi*:—

The religion of Buddhism undertakes to teach us the cause of suffering: it teaches that there is a rational cause for suffering and a rational cure for it; that is the reason we believe it is the right doctrine. It does not give us a theory of original sin to account for all our misfortunes, but shows us that we have made ourselves what we are and that we ourselves can make our future lives what we will. We know that present suffering is caused by past transgression of basic laws, the clinging to self, which is caused by ignorance. With knowledge comes relief from personal suffering but real peace cannot come till we have done all that is in our power for the relief of others.

The Four Noble Truths, 'Sorrow,' 'Sorrow's cause' and 'Sorrow's ceasing' and the Way to Sorrow's ceasing (Eight-fold Path) are subject to a twofold division. The first two, sorrow and sorrow's cause belong to the realm of samsara, ignorance, conformation, desire. The second, sorrow's ceasing and the Eightfold Path belong to the realm of truth, Knowledge, the realisation of the not-self and freedom from desire.

The ultimate goal of every Buddhist is Buddhahood. We cannot all hope to come to earth and manifest here as Buddhas, leading countless thousands to enlightenment, for it is in the nature of things that a Buddha comes only at immense intervals of time. But each hopes to attain enlightenment and to give as much of the truth to humanity as the time and the degree of civilization can assimilate. We all hope for freedom from limitation, perfection, enlightenment, Buddha-hood.

So, the purpose of Buddhism is release from suffering. The cause of suffering is the will to manifest as a separate individual 'self.' The cure for suffering is the freedom from the illusion of 'self.'

—

The Co-operative Sale of Jute.

The Bengal Co-operative Journal observes:—

It is gratifying to note that serious efforts are being made by the Bengal Co-operative Depart-

ment to organise the Co-operative sale of jute, which is a monopoly product of Bengal. Any one, who knows the working of the leading jute firms, knows how there is a veritable troop of middlemen intervening between the cultivator and the mill, and how the larger portion of the profits goes into the pockets of various middlemen like *beparis*, *farias*, and purchasers. It often happens that the cultivator, after his jute is ready, disposes of it at any price that he can get, for he cannot wait for good prices. Besides, the cultivators, who are generally illiterate, are not in touch with the Calcutta market and has to accept any prices that are offered.

A Co-operative Jute-grower's Association has already been started and registered at Chandpore.

—

Landholders' Income and Income-Tax

The Chittagong Bar Magazine writes :—

The Bengal Zemindars have at last been discovered to be enjoying privileges and exemptions to which they are not entitled. Their income from permanently settled estates hitherto expressly excluded from the purview of the Income-Tax Act is being represented as unjust and unwarranted by the terms of Reg. I of 1793. It is now being argued that the revenue or jama that is realised from the holders of permanently settled estates is not tax, but State's share of the produce of the soil. The net assets after this payment constitute Zemindar's income which is assessable under the Income-Tax Act precisely like other incomes.

The Bengal Zemindars can take care of themselves, if they be wide-awake. What we who are not Zemindars are concerned with is that the apportionment of revenue between the Central and Provincial Governments has been so made that though Bengal pays most of the income-tax, it goes to the Central Government. Any more revenue from that tax without the Bengal Government getting all or a large portion of it, would be a further act of injustice to Bengal

—

Commercial Travelling.

The Editor writes in the December *Students' Own Magazine* :—

The Commercial Traveller is a man who goes about different markets to find buyers for a given commodity or manufacture. Successful salesmanship consists in creating a demand where there was none before. This requires great energy and zeal and a great amount of pushing backed up by a capitalist who can for some time patiently wait for the results. The Commercial Traveller who is nothing but a salesman who ought to be always on his legs has to come across various kinds of people, the model of gentleness and politeness on the one hand, and stern, rigid and dry people on the other. The salesman has not therefore to lie down on a bed of roses. To safeguard the interests of his firm, he must be ready to sacrifice his comfort. At the same time, he ought to be honest in charging his travelling expenses. Of course, a little more of these does not matter much to the firm for which the Commercial Traveller is working, if he can show a big outturn of work. If the traveller can go on foot or have a tram, he ought not to have a tonga, but when saving of time means securing of more business, he should not hesitate to incur a little more expenditure.

Young Indian boys often make bad travellers, because, in the first place, they lack the necessary go. At school or college, the great thing nearest their heart is to have a chair or stool in the office; it matters little if by breathing bad air and by constantly sitting for hours together, they shatter their health.

Commercial travelling is a great aid to the widening of one's general knowledge. One learns a lot of things while travelling in train and talking with the buyers. To use the words of Bacon, he becomes a ready man. Boys who may be willing to work and be prepared to bear even a little bit of rough treatment ought not to hesitate in taking to this line, for in a couple of months it can not only turn out to be paying but also provide the costly experience without which a business cannot be safely run. To those who mean to start a new business, our serious advice is : "Please do not gamble with your money. Gain business experience through commercial travelling. You will have then laid a firm foundation for the business you mean to start."

—

Where Students are paid to go to School

We read in the December *Oriental Watchman* :—

Detroit automobile manufacturers have started something new by paying boys to go to school. They take the boys at twelve years of age and give them the ordinary school education with the addition of special training in making automobile parts which pass the most rigid inspection. By the time they are eighteen years old, they are ready to take a responsible position in the mother factory. The boys are paid nineteen cents per hour, about ten annas, for a forty-eight hour week, or about thirty rupees per week, besides special allowances for vacation time and a special saving fund. Surely a good example that might be followed in other lines.

—

The Buddha's Sermons

The Blessing writes :—

During His uninterrupted ministry of forty-five years, the Blessed One had occasion to address all sorts and conditions of people from the humble outcaste to the boastful Brahmin and arrogant Kshatriya. And the Buddha adapted each discourse to the needs of the people immediately concerned and the occasion. Each sermon is a special prescription, intended to meet the requirements of a particular disease.

us, who today read these "prescriptions" of
reat Physician, it sometimes seems that con-
tory remedies are advised and sometimes,
certain inconstancy of behaviour characterized
ster.
y does the Buddha at times exalt the house-
fe, calling it "a high blessing"—and again
tize it as "a den of strife"? Why, to the
me question, does the Master sometimes
afe an answer, sometimes remain silent,
metimes even administer a rebuke?
solution to these puzzles is clear only to
ho sees the whole picture of the Buddha
na. To one who studies that Dhamma
thetically, earnestly and deeply, never for-
that the Suttas are but prescriptions for
maladies, there comes the understanding
h up the immense picture, putting each
gly irregular fragment in its proper place
vast panorama of harmonious adjustment re-
the patient toil.

—

Indian Loan Words in Arabic.

fessor Muhammad Shahidullah observes
September number of *Peace* :—

occurrence of a foreign word in a language
peculiar significance of its own. It has its our
. Like a tale-bearer it gives a world of informa-
the student of philology. Max Muller has made
of Indian words for ape, peacock, algum and
ound in the Old Testament. What a vista
past has the word *Baveru* for Babylon found
Buddhist Jatakas opened out! What a history
ek words in Sanskrit like *hora, kendra* etc.,
I shall give below a number of Indian words,
Sanskritic, found in Arabic These words
hat the Arabs even before the birth of the
of Islam had commercial relationship with
This evidence of philology is corroborated
her sources, e.g. Periplus of the Erythraean
itten in the 1st cen. A. C.), and other Greek,
nd Arabic works. I am here, however, only
ed with philology.

then gives a long list of Indian words
in Arabic.

—

The New Turkey.

G. Sherwood Eddy has contributed a
teresting article on the New Turkey
December *Young Men of India* from
we make the following extracts :—

ce of the Sultan was the President of the
, Turkey's 'Theodore Roosevelt,' Mustapha
a far greater soldier than Roosevelt and
al executive personality. In place of the
s Caliph of pan-Islam was the secular
a new nationalism that has abandoned
erialistic dreams of a 'holy war' and the
g alliances of pan-Islam, for the healthy
ment of the new Turkey. Instead of calling
on the Shaik-ul-Islam, we motored with the modern Mayor of Constantinople to see the new town planning, the new parks, streets, ice plant and sanitary city slaughter houses. We passed some of the empty palaces of the Hamidian regime, now turned into orphanages and schools.

Instead of the battleships and foreign diplomats who had so long exploited Turkey in old degenerate Constantinople, we stood on the walls of the citadel at Angora, Turkey's typical new capital and looked out upon her panorama of nation-building. At our feet were the dust and din of the new born town which is rising on the plain below. And on the far horizon was the dust of dashing autos and of some of the 1,800 powerful tractors that are making the high land of Turkey's inland desert to blossom—if not like the rose, at least with the more practical crops of wheat and corn of her thoroughly modern dry-farming.

We passed the new Parliament buildings and kept our appointments with four members of Mustapha Kemal's modern Cabinet to study the progress of the new-Government.

The new nationalist Turkey stands in bold opposition to the old Ottoman religious imperialism. May I try and describe the change by noting the following contrasts :

1. Turkey's new *independence* has been indicated in war and peace in place of her old inferiority complex following a long series of defeats, both on the field of battle and of modern life, Mustapha Kemal is at once the Washington and Roosevelt of the new movement.

2. Turkey's new *Nationalism* stands out in contrast to the old Ottoman imperialism and its entangling interference in the world affairs of pan-Islam. A score of the lands and dependencies that had suffered under the misrule of her corrupt Hamidian regime have been torn away, and the present Government is glad to concentrate on the efficient rule of their own people and abandon the ancient misrule of conquered dependencies. Her new nationalism demands a new compact unity of all as loyal Turks. Leaving religion as a matter of personal choice, it refuses, as does America, to permit hyphenated communities which are disloyal agents for the interference and intrigue of foreign powers.

The new nationalism brings hope and courage for new achievement.

3. Her new *Economic Development* is marked. Everyone knows that the Turk was a good soldier and farmer, and that individually the educated Turk was a most winsome and attractive gentleman. It was prophesied, however, by those who had seen the worst of the Sultan's misrule that he could not organize his political life or succeed in business and commerce, as these had been left chiefly to Armenians and Greeks, who had now been expelled.

To the surprise even of his friends, the new Turk is most effectively setting his house in order. He has abolished the corrupt 'tithe' system of tax-collectors. He has reduced the prevailing practice of graft, bad enough as it still is in Turkey as in America.

Yet more surprising is the fact that Turkey as was predicted has not gone economically to smash, but has not only made good but increased her trade in almost every branch save in silk. Her adverse trade balance has been reduced from thirty to ten per cent, in three years, and 1926 promises

an excess of exports over imports. Turkey has fairly large potential resources in her soil and minerals. A single forest in the north is almost as large as Belgium.

Turkey's agriculture has never been so prosperous. We saw her new model farms and government experiment stations. We witnessed a few of the nearly two thousand tractors in operation, and saw their promising experiment in modern dry farming. We found signs of promise in the new agricultural banks, and the providing of tractors for the farms enabling them to purchase them out of the increase production of the first three years' crops. More than forty were purchased this month. The growth of co-operative societies, as well as the Government's almost forcible assistance in new methods of farming for the peasants, was gratifying.

4. Turkey's new Western method of *Education* is in striking contrast to the Ottoman religious instruction in the reactionary Moslem schools. Save for half-a dozen theological schools and one critical modernist school of theology in the national University, the Government has closed all the old Moslem religious schools and is adapting a thoroughly modern and secular French school system. It desires to educate its people just as the new Japan became in a single generation a nation of readers, and like the new Japan and the new France after the revolution, in breaking from all medieval superstition and reactionary religious control, they may plunge temporarily into a purely secular, and often materialistic or agnostic, education.

The teaching of religion is permitted two hours a week in the schools for the adherents of each religion, provided the members of other religions are not present and worship in their own churches or mosques on Sunday. The aim is completely to secularize eductaion, separate church and State, and combine Turkish culture with Western civilization in the new system.

5. The new *Woman* of Turkey has taken the place of the veiled inmate of home and harem. The President of the new Republic could now say in an address what no sultan or caliph could have said or thought for fourteen centuries, 'Mothers, wives, sisters, upon you rests the new Turkey.' The women in the cities, especially the younger generation, are eagerly availing themselves of their new liberty. We found, in Constantinople, in place of the old seraglio, women now entering the university, legal, medical and teaching professions. We even passed a Turkish woman driving her own motor car. Although Muhammad and the *Koran* permit four wives and permit polygamy and concubinage, Turkish law now enforces monogamy and forbids polygamy. The new woman is indeed coming to her own in Turkey.

6. The new *Youth Movement* of Turkey is organized in the Ojak or Turkish Hearth. This movement, which began fourteen years ago, under the present Minister of Education, aims to unite nationalism and modernism, Turkish culture and Western civilization. It already enrolls some 24,000 members in 152 branches. It is the missionary institution of the new order. It is the secular counter part of the Y. M. C. A. in other lands, aiming to supply for the youth of both sexes, physical, educational, and social culture, through classes, lectures, recreation and entertainment. Both within and without this organization, it is the youth of the rising generation that are the proud patriots of the new nationalism and that are furnishing the leadership of the new Turkey.

7. The new *Constitution*, the new Parliament, courts and codes of law, all bear the marks of the new regime. Power no longer resides in the sacred Book, nor caliph as successor of the Prophet, nor an autocratic sultan. Now, as in the American constitution, it is 'We the people' who have the power. The president, who is elected by the Parliament and appoints his cabinet responsible to that body, has much more power at present than the president of the United States.

The new law codes of Turkey are based no longer on the *Koran* as God's final revelation from heaven and the customs of tribal Arabia of the sixth century, but upon the Code of Napoleon and the best practice of the West.

Turkey has turned right-about-face from the past to the future, from the East to the West, from religious authority to secular, from imperialism to nationalism, from autocracy to democracy.

One change, seemingly insignificant, is characteristic of the whole movement. The new Turk has put off his oriental, religious fez and put on a European hat.

We saw by the papers, the week we were in Constitantinople, that all the dervish religious orders and their monasteries are abolished.

The Maharaja of Jodhpur.

Of the Maharaja of Jodhpur the October *Feudatory and Zemindari India* writes in part as follows:

The reports of his doings in England are not such as would encourage one in the belief that His Highness has derived any benefit, moral or material, by his sojourn in that country. We were hearing constantly of his style of living. An Indian Prince is expected to live in a style which will be befitting his dignity and rank. But extravagant living, a studied display of one's wealth, is altogether different. It is vulgar and necessarily detracts from one's dignity. It may attract the less thoughtful from motives of self-interest and gain, but it is likely to repel those whose friendship and appreciation are worth having. From the accounts we have had, we fear that the Maharaja of Jodhpur adopted a style of life which can only be called extravagant. He played the Prince, recalling to one's mind the Arabian Nights Entertainments. After all, the Maharaja cannot afford to throw away the State revenue in this wise. He is reported to have bought motor-cars to the value of three lakhs. What is worse he has budgeted for an annual expenditure of three lakhs on the maintenance of a motor-garage. There is no sense of proportion in this, especially when it is said that the State spends only about two lakhs on education, that is a lakh less than on a motor-garage. In all well-governed States, the expenditure on education should bear a fair proportion to the total revenue. In fact, it is an index to the enlightenment of the Ruler and the progressiveness of his administration. A Ruler who

s 3 lakhs on a motor-garage and 2 lakhs on lucation of his people is a poor specimen of ministrator and statesman. If the Maharaja ihpur is really anxious to give a good account nself as a Ruling Chief, he must first shed his a for extravagance and apply himself to the mate task of improving the lot of his people.

—

Social Reform in Indian States.

'he same Magazine observes :—

e can understand the objection to State legisla- in social matters in British India where the is held to mean foreign domination, and the le may reasonably be averse to a foreign v seeking to set right their social customs. may contend that the State is likely to judge by their own western standards and cannot hend aright the social or religious conscious- of the people But in an Indian State, the tion will not hold good. In most cases, the r and his people belong to the same religious asion, and have common social usages and ices There can be no suspicion that the r seeks to overturn their social organism and fere with their religious beliefs. That is why ates like Baroda and Mysore, social legislation not meet with the same measure of opposi- as in British India We believe that Mysore he way by raising the marriageable age of boys girls by legislation. It is true that off and on have been attempts to evade the provisions e law by Mysore subjects celebrating marriages de the jurisdiction of the State But there has a general acquiescence in the enactment as a esome measure to prevent baby and child age There is considerable scope for healthy ation of the kind in India States. For instance, ures can be enacted for the better control of ous and charitable endowments. Here, there e opposition on the ground of alien religionists ng to interfere with the management of Hindu es and trusts. Much might be done to elimi- professional prostitutes and nautch girls from e services As we said, a lead has been given tates like Baroda and Mysore and, other cannot do better than follow them We are hat lesser States like Datia are promoting social ion. The Maharaja of Datia recently said private bill has just been introduced to raise rriageable age of boys and girls which shows e people of Datia though still behind in on do not wish to be backward in social ement.' We dare say there are many other Chiefs who are equally anxious for the social ment of their people, and as they have the ge of the people being with them, it must for them to promote legislation which will to such advancement.

—

Tagore as a Story-teller.

e following are among the introduc- emarks in Mr. K. S. Ramswami Sastri's article on "Tagore as a Story-teller" in the November *Kumbakonam College Magazine* :—

Tagore has not only summed up in a wonderful way the greatest of the poetical ideals and achieve- ments of India, but has also struck out new paths in many directions in the fairy land of the literature of beauty. He has experimented with the rich possibilities of metre and melody in the vernacular. He has given it a new charter of freedom of move- ment and expression, without violating the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty. He has conquered and made his own a new province of dramatic *motif* and expression. The originality of his genius has expressed itself also in a new and rich and valuable expansion of the realm of Indian fiction—a province where the achievements of the Indian genius were poor and sterile, despite the rich variety of local life and local colour.

Tagore's excellence as a teller of short stories is due to his wonderful lyrical gift which enables him to seize the vital elements of emotion in human situations and present them with the perfect insight of sympathetic imaginative vision.

Tagore is not a successful painter on the larger canvas of historical romances, novels of adventure, and imaginative studies of contemporary life and manners on a large scale. He does not sound all the depths and shallows of human passion and human desire. His mental approach to his theme is that of a poet who simplifies and isolates the central situation and shows the heart-beats of passion there. All the stories in the volume show very well Tagore's special excellences as a story-teller of genius.

—

The Dewanship of Mysore

The *Karnataka* observes :—

Would it not be humiliating if we had to admit—which we do not think we have to do—that after forty-five years of well-approved administration, we are yet without trustworthy men of our own and have still to look outside the State for some one to run it? At this rate, it must be hopeless that we can ever find the man we need among our men. Whatever the risks we should any day prefer a local man, and the risks involved therein are the price that must be paid, some time or other, if local talent should have opportun- ities of getting trained for the highest responsibility. But there is a sure way of minimising those risks and of rectifying the short-comings of that arrangement, and that is to give the locally chosen Dewan the assistance of a colleague selected from among our non-official public men.

—

Ford Motors and the Blind

We read with pleasure in the October *Light to the Blind* :—

It was a matter of controvertial nature, if the blind could be trained and made fit to be employed in work-shops. Suffice it to say that there are several instances where the blind have not fallen short of the expectations of their good and kind employers.

But there is the foundation work to be done; that is providing the blind with necessary training. This being done, we can say, a great number of the blind can earn their livelihood independently and shun that life of begging which has been the inevitable means of livelihood when proper kind of education is denied them. The western countries who waited and realised the truth, have earmarked certain industries solely to be followed by the blind. The following letter should, we hope, give the readers a testimony to the ability of the blind and the goodness of the people of America.

"Answering your enquiry, we now have 80 blind men in our employ. They count small stock: assemble bolts and nuts, gaskets, thums, arrange commutator rolers, etc They earn the same as our other employees—our flat rate is six dollars per day, (Rs. 18). They have been in our employ for 10 years down to those more recently trained

"A few hour's time is needed for training before they proceed independently as the other employees. For special kinds of work assigned, they are equal to sighted men, if not a little faster. They receive the same compensation as the sighted for equal quality of work and equal speed. The work of the blind is about the same as that done by the sighted —Ford Motor Company. (Sd.) E. G. Liebold."

—

Origin of the Word Satyagraha

In the December *Current Thought* occurs the following description of the origin of the word "Satyagraha" :—

None of us knew what name to give t movement. I then used the term 'passive resis in describing it. I did not quite understand implication of 'passive resistances' as I call I only knew that some new principle had into being. As the struggle advanced, the p 'passive resistance' gave rise to confusion a appeared shameful to permit this great strug be known only by an English name. Again, foreign phrase could hardly pass as current among the community. A small prize was then announced in "Indian Opinion" to be award the reader who invented the best designatio our struggle. We thus received a numb suggestions. The meaning of the struggle had then fully discussed in "Indian Opinion," an competitors for the prize had fairly suffi material to serve as a basis for their explor Srt. Maganlal Gandhi was one of the compe and he suggested the word 'Sadagraha,' me 'firmness in a good cause.' I liked the word it did not fully represent the whole idea I w it to connote I therefore corrected it to 'Satya Truth (Satya) implies love and firmness (Ag engenders and therefore serves as a synony force. I thus began to call the Indian move 'Satyagraha,' that is to say, the Force whi born of Truth and Love or non-violence and up the use of the phrase 'passive resistanc connection with it, so much so that even in En writing we often avoided it and used instea word 'Satyagraha' itself or some other equiv English phrase This then was the genesis o movement which came to be known as Satyag and of the word used as a designation for it.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The United States of India."

During the last cold weather the American socialogist Professor Edward Alsworth Ross visited India, touring through many provinces. He gives in the December *Century Magazine* "the record of a first-hand study" of the Indian political situation under the heading "The United States of India." He begins thus :—

In Delhi in a house of lofty rooms overlooking a venerable garden I talked with Mahatma Gandhi who had just finished his weekly "twenty-four hours of silence." He looked the perfect ascetic, for only lately he had concluded a three weeks' fast in penance for the riots between Hindus and Mohammedans. "I doubt," he said, "if the rule of the Moguls or Mahrattas had much effect on the lives of the common people of India. In their seven hundred thousand rural villages they continued to manage their common affairs through the *panchayat* or elected Council of Elders. But this British *raj* is infinitely more penetrat searching, and oppressive. The people's initia is stunted as never before. Still, we have no of *forcing out* the British; we hope to gain end by touching their heart and imagination.'

Mr Ross wishes to tell the Ameri public what it is that critics of British i complain of.

Long ago, they assure us, before the Moha medan conquests, 1200-1600 A. D., before break-up of empire and the anarchy of the ei teenth century, every Indian village had School. Even now, in Burma, thanks to the f schools in the Buddhist monasteries, half of th above five years of age can read and write. But India, after a century—in some parts much mor of British rule, less than a tenth of those abo ten years of age are literate. In the Philippi the proportion is a half. The Americans have h only a quarter of a century for leaving their ma on the Filipinos, yet a tenth of them are in scho as against a bare thirtieth of the Indian populatio The difference reflects the contrast betwe

political ideals and American political The Americans deliberately set out to their brown wards for self-government by of the public school. The British, however, ed no such plan for their Indian subjects. ideal has been aristocratic, for the fine racy that has been growing up in Great n since the Reform of 1832 left no mark on out in the empire. It has been too busy g the battles of the masses at home. So the of the Government of India has been that of d noble families of Britain. The arrival of a when their dark subjects would manage their al affairs was never within the contemplation e earls and marquises sent out to Hindustan ernors and viceroys. They imagined that on he dim future, as far as eye could pierce, the s of India would be ruled from without. 1905 probably no British proconsul dreamed ia's wanting to govern herself Had the British d in educating for citizenship, there would rice as many literates in India as there v are Indeed, in certain native states under ened maharajahs,—Travancore, Cochin and —more of the people read and write than part of British India When it is remembered e chief motive in halting conquest and ing the native states was that they might s dark spots heightening by contrast the y of the well-governed British India all hem, the richness of the joke on the Ruling ill be appreciated. Yes, the Indian Nation- may well resent the design of keeping them tely in subjection rather than assisting o rise and stand on their own feet.

garding Britain's army policy in India, oss observes :—

since the Great Mutiny of 1857 the army f the Government has reflected mistrust. portion of British troops to native is never below one to two and a half, actually it is wo and a quarter. This requires India to keep white troops, although one Tommy costs more than four native soldiers. The Indian bear the brunt of holding in check the ibes of the Northwest Frontier, but among isons stationed about India to prevent risings e nearly as many British as Indians.

ust, too, dictates that Indians shall have to do with the more terrific weapons of warfare. They are not admitted to the ce, the Tank Corps, the Armored Car es, the Royal Horse Artillery, the Field the Medium Artillery. They fire only s which are trained upon the external Professors of physics in private univer- confidentially requested by the Govern- to teach their students anything about telegraphy.

s a bit "thick" that the 137,000 native ould be officered almost exclusively by Until lately the only Indian officers have ed men promoted from the ranks, holding roy's commission" and never rising above major or ressaldar major. Any smooth- British second lieutenant outranks them e holds always the "king's commission." excuse is, "The native troops won't native officer, sir!" Queer, is n't it? troops fight well when led by Turkish officers; Japanese troops fight well when led by Japanese officers; but we are asked to believe that material for the making of good officers does not exist in India. Either the British do not want young Indians to learn the art of war, or else, as an ex-commander-in-chief remarked to the head of the Hindu University of Benares, they "have to provide for their young men."

Of late, qualified Indian cadets, in number up to ten a year, may receive the "king's commission." Inasmuch as the vacancies among the 4,000 white officers commanding Indian soldiers run about 160 a year, at this rate the officer corps will be Indianized when the Greek kalends arrive. The Indian Legislative Assembly votes that a fourth of these vacancies should be thrown open to Indians, but so far its recommendation is unheeded.

There is resentment, too, that an Indian youth who wishes to learn how to defend his country has to spend two years at the War College at Sandhurst in England. The patriots demand that a war college be set up in India to train officers for the Indian Army They remark with bitterness that when they ask for self-government they are met with, "But you are not able to defend yourselves." When they reply, "Very well, give us an opportunity to learn the art of defending ourselves," that opportunity is withheld. They infer that it is the policy of their British masters to treat them as a subject people and that all the fine talk about the British Empire having become the "British-Indian Commonwealth of Free Nations" is eye-wash for the onlooking world. So far as India can see, she is still "dependency" rather than "equal partner".

Critics point out that the Indian Army, which eats up two-thirds of the income of the Central Government, is far bigger than India needs. It is used as a handy reservoir to draw upon when England suddenly needs force "out there"—fighting men in Burma, Tibet, China, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Hedjaz. In fact a third of it is there for imperial purposes, not India's security, but it is India that must foot the bill. Whether this charge is true or not is more than we inexpert outsiders can settle.

Professor Ross then proceeds to give us his observations on Britain's commercial and industrial policy in India.

A candid English professor of political economy in a mission college confessed to me:

"India once had very flourishing industries, shipbuilding and a great carrying-trade. All these were destroyed long ago by the harsh, discriminating policy of the British, and only in our time has an Indian-owned cotton manufacture sprung up. So India came to be an exporter of agricultural produce and an importer of manufactured goods; hence, there was nothing for the people to live by save agriculture. The result has been a continual subdivision of the soil, the growth of peasant indebtedness, and the phenomena of overpopulation. How frightfully overpopulated Japan would be had she been restrained from fostering her manufacturing industries by tariffs and otherwise!"

The trade policy of Parliament and, to a less extent, of its *alter ego*, the Government of India, has been consistently directed to giving British industries the upper hand over their Indian com-

petitors. In the old days, no duties were imposed on English goods imported into India, while Indian imports into England were made to pay a high duty. The Government of India was not allowed to levy an export duty on raw materials which the English manufacturer was interested in. By a shrewd use of export duties, India's exports to countries other than Britain were forced to flow through Britain and leave a profit with her. Indian products were taxed on crossing frontiers between Indian States, while British goods were exempt from inland transit duties.

In the teeth of England's commercial ascendancy the United States, Germany, and Japan have built up their industries by a thorough-going use of trade restrictions and protective tariff. India's nascent industries were equally in need of shelter, but, no ! the purest free-trade doctrine was applied to them. Manchester raged at any duties on her cotton piece-goods imported into India and hypocritically professed fear of "an increase in the cost of articles of clothing to the poorest of the population of India." Between 1875 and 1882 she succeeded in clearing away all such duties, so that the Government of India was only one in the world which raised no revenue from imports. When, thirty years ago, fiscal necessity obliged that Government to reimpose a general import duty of 5 per cent., the Lancashire manufacturers were so jealous of the bit of protection which thus would come to Indian cotton-mills that they sought and actually obtained the imposition of a "countervailing excise duty" on the product of Indian mills. At a time when other countries were levying duties of 40 or 50 per cent, on foreign goods to protect their infant industries, Indian industries might not enjoy the petty shelter of a 5 per cent. revenue tariff. Such ruthless treatment of India's infant industries was bitterly resented, and not long ago the Legislative Assembly at Delhi by a large majority asked for repeal of the excise The Fiscal Commission of 1922, composed of eminent economists and business men of both races, declared :

"The existing Cotton Excise Duty should, in view of its history and associations, be unreservedly condemned, and the Government of India should frankly express their desire to clean the slate"

But still it functions !

It has only recently been suspended

There are other policies which sacrifice Indian Industrial interests, says Professor Ross.

India's gold reserve and other large balances are kept in England and lent to English business men when they might be kept in India and lent to Indian business men. In vain have Indian economists urged the setting up of a State bank. Nor has India an industrial bank such as has benefited German and Japanese industries. Little has been done for industrial education, higher or lower. Save in Bengal and Mysore, no attention has been paid to teaching the manual arts and the handicrafts in the government elementary schools. In the fourteen universities the liberal arts colleges are well cared for, but there is no decent engineering college in India.

Valuable mineral deposits have been leased to foreigners, while Indians have not been incited to exploit their own resources. Only now is a sch[ool] of mines being established. A British econom[ist] in India gives it as his opinion that the Gove[rn]ment has come into such relations of depende[nce] and assistance with the steamship lines pl[ying] between India and Great Britain that there [is] now no chance for Indian shipping. He justi[fies] the Nationalists in feeling that the cards [are] stacked against Indian enterprise.

There is both conscious and unconscio[us] humour in the passages which follow.

That the English rule India solely with ben[e]volent intent will do to tell children ; on the oth[er] hand, only cheap cynics see the English as me[re] exploiters. The guiding conception of the relatio[ns] of the two peoples has been that of a *partner[ship]* Britain's idea is to produce a benefit by selling [to] the Indians at a price fixed by herself a neces[sary] of life which she is adept at producing, viz [law] and order, by hooking up Indian public reven[ues] with British administrative capacity and engin[eer]ing skill so as to produce profitable public work[s] by fructifying India's undeveloped natural [re]sources with British technical knowledge [by] bringing together in manufacturing enterpr[ises] Indian labor and British capital.

In this partnership, to be sure, Britain has [the] say, India being a sleeping, not to say a comat[ose] partner. The English have decided what en[ter]prises shall be undertaken and have fixed [the] terms on which their trained ability, experie[nce] or capital shall work with Indian revenues, natu[ral] resources, or labor. It has been theirs to se[e] how the fruits from their domination or investm[ent] in India shall be shared. Naturally, they h[ave] seen to it that their share is a goodly one

Regarding the causes of India's pover[ty] the American Professor has somewhat fanta[stic] notions. Says he :—

Bitter polemic rages over the question whe[ther] the lot of the Indian people has been bett[er] under British rule. The Nationalists pictur[e an] overtaxed people sinking into an ever de[eper] poverty. But the evidence is conflicting, and [even] the professional economists of both races ar[e in] doubt as to the underlying trend. Even if th[ere] has been no improvement in the material cond[ition] of the masses, it does not follow that the Br[itish] have hogged the economic benefits from rail[ways,] irrigation mines and plantation. The Nationa[lists] are excessively loath to recognize the cardinal [fact] that in the last forty years the Indians *have a[dded] a fifth to their numbers.* Here perhaps is w[here] most of India's dividends from her partne[rship] with Britain have gone. Instead of living b[etter] she has chosen to plow back her share in ord[er to] rear therefrom fifty million more human beings

But we wish to tell the Professor [that] In 1881 the population of England [was] 24,614,001 ; in 1921 it was 35,67[...] Therefore in forty years England ad[ded] to her population very much more [than] a fifth of it. And its density is [...] per square mile, whereas the density [of] India's population is only 226 for the Bri[tish] provinces, 100 for the Indian States and [...]

whole country. Why then is England rer than India ?

essor Ross shows in the following s how immensely Britain profits from session of India.

n's gain from her dominion over India foots up a tidy sum. Her banking-houses siness in India net fifty million dollars a inancial commissions. On their Indian busitish shipping concerns collect one hundred millions of dollars. The British capital he Government of India or invested in ailways, tramways, canals, mines, mills, ns and trade runs well above three billion the annual return from which can hardly han one hundred and eighty million dollars. possible to learn just how many British il or military places under the Government a business or profession in India, but the cannot be less than 15,000. These men have twice the income they could com-England.

the viceroy costs $.270,000 a year without for his personal staff and household which bring the total well above $.400,000. er of his council gets more than twice the member of our cabient. The commander-draws a salary of $.32,000. The pay of rnor of a province ranges from $.22,000 to A member of the governor's council has of $21,000. High Court judges are paid ; political residents of first class, the same second class 11,000. The number of offi-h salaries of from $9000 to $.15,000 runs the hundreds. Every retiring civil servant heral pension.

half an eye, one can see that Britain will vily when India ceases to be her close t. A self-governing India will not favor Canada or New Zealand does. Mining ons will no longer be given exclusively h companies Non-British capital will be elcome, while a National Government will rifice everything to the regularity of to foreign capital. Continental and Yankee will shoulder its way into the banking ying trade of India. Two-thirds of the ent posts held by the British will be over to Indians, while the remainder, the historic example of Japan, will go to f various nationalities. Since at least a f a billion dollars of annual income is at may be sure that the governing class Britain will cling to their control over relinquish it only in order to avoid he

above, according to Mr. Ross, are the ounts in the indictment of British

-off should be listed such substantial as security, justice, honest and capable ation, impartiality between races, castes, es, economic advance, and introduction ence and culture of the West. Even the liberty and representative government to Indians appeal when they arraign alien entered the Indian mind by the study tical masterpieces of Milton and Burke h schools and colleges the British set up in India. Casting up the account one sees justification for vigorous protest on the part of the Indians, but not for burning indignation.

The "blessings" which he mentions have neither been accurately stated, nor are some of them unmixed blessings. "Security" has been obtained by and has produced emasculation, impartiality between the British and Indian races does not exist, there has not been any real economic advance for the bulk of the people, and so on and so forth. So, as Mr. Ross, neither knows the facts accurately nor has he a sufficiently sympathetic imagination, it is not to be wondered at that he sees no justification for burning indignation. He continues :—

Wherefore, then bomb outrages, conspiracies to assassinate British officials and (in 1922) 40,000 political offenders in jail or deported ? After copious converse with the Nationalists I could see no sins of contemporary British rule big and black enough to account for the intensity of their feelings. Really their indictment is a rationalization of feelings which have their roots elsewhere.

Mr. Ross puts the cart before the horse. Most of the 40,000 men sent to jail were imprisoned for doing or saying things which are not offences in free countries That is a cause for burning indignation. The number and significance of bomb outrages and conspiracies have been vastly exaggerated

The American writer narrates the Jalianwala Bagh atrocities, the crawling order, the martial law horrors, etc., and all that led to them. Was there no cause for burning indignation in them ? He says that "these atrocities stand out of line with the British record in India and should be laid to war-hysteria." Let the cause of these devilries be what they may, they certainly do *not* "stand" entirely "out of line with the British record" ; in proof whereof let Mr. Ross read "*The Other Side of the Medal*" by Edward Thomson (The Hogarth Press, London), 1925.

Another root of bitterness is purely psychological, says Mr. Ross :

viz., the galling sense of inferiority begotten by the overbearing ways of some of the British. You come upon no end of cases

The cases he relates need not all be quoted ; but the following requires either confirmation or contradiction :—

The leader of the Swarajist party is the Hon. Motilal Nehru of Allahabad, a highly cultivated Kashmiri Brahman. A few years ago he was at the head of the bar and took no interest in politics. His admirers among the High Court judges sought and gained his consent to let them put up his name for membership in the Allahabad Club. Certain young British thought fit to blackball him on racial

grounds, and from that day he gave up his practice, threw himself into politics on the side of the Extremists, and now is more of a thorn in the bureaucrats' flesh than any other man in India save Gandhi.

Mr. Ross explains how as time passes the British supercaste capping the hierarchy of Indian society does not approach the people, rather it recedes, and adds:—

Once at a dinner after patient listening to rash paradoxes I broke out

"Gentlemen, you can't *imagine* how queer what you are saying sounds. It is as if you should argue: 'The water is rough, now is a good time to rock the boat.' 'The ice is thin, therefore let us stamp on it.'"

Their cure for Indian disaffection was "firmness," which, being interpreted, means, "Yield nothing and shoot to kill."

"So you think human nature works that way?" I queried

"Ah, but these are Orientals and Orientals crave a master. The sterner you are with them, the *more they will love you!*"

The fact is these isolated British, mingling too much with one another, become the prey of the most dangerous delusions, for there is nothing you will not believe if it is what everybody you *meet* is saying. Constant access to the native mind would save them, but that is just the thing the average bureaucrat lacks. On the strength of a few formal or official contacts he *imagines he* understands native character. "Egad, sir, I have been among these beggars *twenty years*, and *I know!*"

Really the natives he meets wear masks. When a crisis arrives and the masks are dropped he gets stunning surprises. No one who sees what hallucinations infest official circles will retain any faith in that darling maxim of the brass-bound Imperialists, "Trust the man on the spot." Often the judgment of this warped, atrabiliar, bedeviled man on the spot is worth considerably less than nothing *at all*.

Professor Ross has noticed how alien rule saps character:

I recalled the high head, squared shoulders, and eye-flash of the Japanese as they pass foreigners in their streets. "We are masters here," their bearing says. Here in India, not so. In our presence most Indians, even the educated, act as if unsure of themselves. They have been sat upon so often! Not, of course, the Swarajists, who have broken with the British; they are sturdy in manner, even defiant. But many others are unmanned by the consciousness that, no matter how able, patriotic, or right they may be, it is always the foreigner who decides. As you note that characteristic droop of the shoulders, that deferential air, you feel it unnatural that the will which reigns here originates *sixty-five hundred miles away*.

The Nationalists warn that alien rule is emasculating Indian character, for the British are coming to be more masterful, the Indians more subject. A century ago treaties would be made between British officials and native potentates as equals. But gradually the Indians are sinking into a common subjection. The native princes are but gorgeous puppets who would never dream of l a finger against the real lords of the land. civil population is disarmed as never before. doubt," exclaimed an indignant bishop, "if people should be as helpless as these people l been made." Thanks to the Arms Act, the autl ties know the location of every firearm in na hands. While there is nothing for Indians to f with but sticks and stones, they are menaced the most terrible engines—tanks, armored machine-guns, airplanes, and aerial bombs. M over, thanks to the wireless-masts at every the heads of police and troops all over India c municate as if they sat in one room. No wo Mohammed Ali said to me with a wry smile:

"With the Mahatma (Mr. Gandhi) non-violen an article of faith, with me it is a matte policy."

A noble English educator, who has dev himself to the Nationalist cause, testified: ' clutch of this Government is all-pervasive. cannot dream how it really is. A few poli crimes by youthful hotheads will bring under picion every social worker in Bengal. The p will get him or he will be blackmailed. Ind cannot find a place where they can take their initiative and work out their own salvation. S dog one everywhere. I have caught them their hands in my desk. This is one of the governments in the world, many officials f work their heads off, yet it doesn't fit."

Said an Indian professor of economics, "Yea year we are losing in initiative."

"How can that be?" I asked, "for this Br dominion has been here a long time."

"The bureaucratic machine constantly tou our lives at more and more points, so tha sphere of matters open to us to settle for ourse is ever narrower. Unless our bright, ambitious y men pursuing higher studies can look forwar controlling some sections of this huge mac they will lose initiative and become more more emasculated.

Mr Ross says that "the Swarajists in India is ripe for self-government now, the sociologist shakes his head." The rea are then stated.

India is two-thirds as big as the United S and has near thrice our population. Not onl there great diversity of race, but 147 tongues in use. Ten languages boast from ten to a hun million speakers apiece, while four others from five to ten million speakers each. The bul the people do not think of themselves as Ind but as Mahrattas, Bengalis, Punjabis, Madrasis, puts. The modern sentiments of Indian nation is of recent origin, and it is doubtful if one ma five feels it. At present there is a common as tion to be rid of foreign rule; but, were that ef ed, the latent oppositions would become a and threaten the social peace. India has been characterized as "marching in uneven stages thr all the centuries from the fifth to the twenti There are, say, half a million with the equiva of a high school or university education; but there are tracts "where it would be fantas dream of representative institutions." Like t ocean depths to which sunlight and air n penetrate, there are in India "soundless d

gh which the cry of the press and the platnever rings"

ie Mohammedans are outnumbered three to y the Hindus but have not forgotten that once were the masters. Mr. Gandhi characterizes ormer as bullies, the latter as cowards. Fretly the antipathy between the communities has l up—crimson! Lajpat Rai said to me at re. 'These bloody Hindu-Moslem riots furnish British with an argument we hardly know to reply to." They are so unaccountable that suspect the hand of England, the *tertium ens*, is behind them. Not that the secret ce incites Mohammedans to sacrifice a cow in or the Hindus to make triumphant music passing a mosque, but that the man who on the excited crowd in a religious procession sent a hurled brickbat by attacking a temple obably in the pay of the police. The Punjab Bengal have a majority of Mohammedans, and is their feeling undergoes a wonderful change possible that these great provinces would to remain outside an Indian Union just as Ireland remains outside the Irish Free

ie Hindus still are split by caste, that of patriotism and fellow-citizenship. There sixty-seven main castes, none with less two thirds of a million members. As for sub-caste—that group of families into you can marry, from whom you can take and food—there are thousands of them! determines one's religious, social, economic, domestic life from the cradle to the grave. rains and in city streets, among the collegein reformed and progressive circles, caste no r counts for much, but among the people treat is that of a glacier When a British e president declares, "Caste will be here a n million years hence", one must smile; but l long be a great obstacle to nationhood Will trust a man of another caste to represent in the legislature? Until they do, the Hindus t be said to be in the *civic* stage of social opment

ie non-Brahmans, who outnumber the mans ten to one, resent the prevalence of the in the public services and the liberal professo that in South India they have insisted special representation in the legislature. concession may yet make no end of trouble. there are fifty-five millions—a fourth of all s—below caste, the impure or "untouchables", dread lest a caste-controlled government legalize the disabilities they are under. The of course will never do this.

h such a make-up of population it would surprising if instead of cooperating politihe discordant elements presently reached e another's throat—which would quickly ack personal rule of the familiar Oriental When I compare the confusion in China he Manchu emperor was set aside in 1911 e rosy hopes the revolutionary leaders con- me in 1910, I wonder whether *Swaraj* in might not prove to be as disappointing as the lic of China is.

Swarajists point to Japan as a brilliant le of an Oriental people making good politi- They forget that Japan is homogeneous, with mon speech, culture, and history. Then it inherited an imperial house "descended from the gods". The traditional loyalty to the mikado held things together until the Japanese had gained experience in working representative institutions. Only just now has the franchise been broadened from four million voters to fourteen millions. In India, on the other hand, there is no venerable dynasty to shelter the infant State. The people will have to create their government out of hand and in the open. With only one man in six literate and one in sixty literate in English, is it safe to count on general obedience to the authority of a National Parliament sitting at Delhi? The Indian Moderates believe that but for the British "steel frame" holding discordant elements together, they would fall apart, go to fighting with one another or be devoured piecemeal by the stronger native States.

The writer then narrates how dyarchy arose and what it is. Unhappily the reforms have not worked as intended.

They were well conceived, but in steering his proposals through Parliament, Mr. Montagu had to make grave concessions. Then it was left to the Government of India to frame regulations for their working The officials proceeded to lay down regulations which whittled away much of the power granted to the Indians Gradually the Indian Moderates who served as ministers for the provincial councils came to realize that the governor had the kernel while they had the shell. Hence those who are for "working the councils for all they are worth" are losing ground, while the Swarajists who wish to follow a policy of obstruction until such vital matters as law and order and finance are handed over to Indian control, are every day stronger.

Eminent Indian British recommend pacifying the Nationalists by granting the provinces responsible Government. The British would still control the Government of India, and Delhi would manage foreign affairs, relations with the native States, defense, irrigation, railways, posts and telegraphs, currency, public debts, arms, shipping, commerce, opium cultivation, emigration and immigration. Even with full provincial autonomy India would still be a long way from *Swaraj*.

Professor Ross's own conclusions are;—

For a country so huge and diverse, the unitary State is unthinkable. What is coming is a United States of India Nor will the existing nine provinces make up the future federal system. To give reasonable play to regional peculiarities and interests they will have to be broken up into perhaps two score of States. Then of the 731 Native States comprising more than a fifth of the people of India, most will eventually disappear, but certainly half score or more will become commonwealths of the Indian Union.

This emerging nation will probably be realized piecemeal. Too much moved to think accurately, both British official and Indian Nationalist misconceive what is most likely to happen. Both imagine a dramatic moment, the embarkation of the last boat-load of English! The Briton foresees them leaving with the grim remark: "Have it your own way, then. Wish you joy of your *Swaraj!*" knowing that already the Pathans are pouring down from the hills, the Afghans streaming through Khyber Pass, the Gurkhas descend-

ing from Nepal, upon a rich and defenseless India, while the princes of the Native States seize key positions in their vicinity. On the other hand, the Nationalist pictures the withdrawal of the British as the removal of an incubus. He sees myriads of spies and informers losing their jobs, while hosts of released political prisoners are greeted ecstatically by a people rejoicing in their new-found freedom.

Now, barring a successful Indian revolution at some moment of Britain's extremity, *there will never be a last boat-load of British*. The cork helmets will not leave Delhi until some of the provinces have forgotten what a British official looks like. Even after the reins of power are handed over at Delhi, great numbers of British will be kept on as invaluable experts to serve the new Government. Finally, there will be a British governor-general with his staff, such as Canada has, to serve as symbol of the unity of the British-Indian Commonwealth of Free Nations.

—

Do American Indians Talk Old Chinese?

New light has been thrown on the ancestry of the American Indian by Dr Edward Sapir, noted Canadian anthropologist, now on the faculty of the University of Chicago, says Science Service's *Daily Science News Bulletin* (Washington). Dr, Sapir says that his research work on Indian linguistics has convinced him of the identity of the language of certain Indian tribes with that of the primitive Chinese. We read ;

"The similarity of the two tongues and the linguistic distribution of tribes scattered at random over the Americas have convinced Dr. Sapir that these groups must have entered this continent as a wedge from Asia By a close comparison of the primitive Chinese, Siamese, and Tibetan, all in the same language category, with the language of the 'Nadine group' of North America, Dr. Sapir has found the same peculiarities of phonetics, vocabulary, and grammatical structure on both sides of the Pacific Ocean

It is probable, according to Dr. Sapir, that the migration of Asiatics speaking primitive Chinese or Tibetan took place some time in the past, and that these immigrants settled or moved over the mountains and plains, some remaining in northwestern Canada to become the Tlingits, and others moving out to the Queen Charlotte Islands off the west coast to form the Haida group and still others penetrating to the deserts of the Southwest.

—

The Student Habit

The Lancet publishes an address by Sir Arthur Keith, M. D., from which the following paragraphs on "the student habit" are quoted :

Of all the men it has been my fortune to meet in the flesh, Clifford Allbutt, Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Cambridge, came nearest to my ideal of the real student and the perfect gentleman. He died in February of present year, having reached his eighty-ninth y For seventy of those years he was a profes student, and yet at the end of his term he car his load of learning with ease and comfort as i were a garment which had become part of h He never suffered, so far as one can learn, f that fell disease which so often wrecks the li of budding students, mental dyspepsia. For brain managed its affairs as a good woman runs household; every article admitted to his mind first to be sampled; when admitted, the right pl was found for it; every article admitted had to to the efficiency and comfort of his mental hou hold : every room had to be furnished and u And yet at the end of a lifetime of toil—a which had been his constant pleasure—he continued to make additions and alterations to mental furniture. His mental household like t of a thoughtful, happy, generous housewife, p pered in that which it gave away. The giv away kept the rooms of his mind sweet and liv

I have cited the example of Clifford Allbu order that I may make clear to you what I m by the 'student habit.' He could sit down by hour and apply himself with a sense of pleasure gleaning knowledge from the written or prin page, drinking in and assimilating facts obse or explanations given by men who had toiled years long gone by. He applied himself with e ease to the writings of his contemporaries, r who were still toiling in their laboratories o their wards. The men or women who can a themselves thus have acquired the student ha Of all the struggles men undertake, that which e in making the brain the willing slave of study the most arduous Of all mental habits it is one most difficult to come by, and the one wh is most easily lost.

Many men who are masters of research, w force secrets from Nature by experiment, w prefer to glean their knowledge at first hand a are, I admit, the rarest and highest form of schola often despise the habit I wish to extol—the stud habit. There have been, and there are, success medical men who turn aside from books, who le their medical papers unopened in their wrappe who prefer to be guided in thought and action what their fingers have felt and their eyes se If by neglecting the student habit they gain som thing, they also lose much, and it will go ill w their harvest of knowledge if their successors tr them in the same selfish way as they have de their predecessors.

I do not claim for my ideal student, Cliff Allbutt, that he was a pioneer who opened great new fields of knowledge, but he attains my ideal because he checked what he saw a what he suspected against the observations the theories of the great minds that have pav the highways of medicine. Nature had endow *him richly, but he could never have done* what did nor been what he was unless he had acqu the student habit. I speak as an old student ordinary ability, to young students born into same happy estate, and I say that the acquisit of the student habit is one of the most valu assets that a man or woman can carry into line of life.

—

Archery and Fencing as Sports for Women

...e read in the *Women Citizen* :

...chery and fencing, two ancient forms of ...g, have come down to modern times, ... of their deadliness and some of their ...ur, as sports—and sports of interest ...e gentler sex, at that. When duelling went ...f favour as an institution of "honor," fencing retained to give poise and quickness of eye ...oung men society. Today there are women's ...g clubs in the large American cities, where wealthy women have taken up fencing as favorite sport. The deadly arrow of our own ...s exists only in the museum; the bow and ... approved by the archery associations is ...t at the sporting goods store as athletic ...ment But in these modern days you must a target from the sporting goods section, too, ...d of an enemy's heart to aim at.

...cently, archery has been growing in po...ity

—

What Americans can Do for China

...ne of the things which, in the opinion *The New Republic* Americans can do for ...a is stated as follows :—

...nericans are for the most ignorant of the ...which their armed forces are playing in the ...ry occupation of China by the powers. After ...massacre at Shanghai in which unarmed ...ts and workers were shot down by the ... on May 30, the United States supplied ...n out of twenty warships to maintain the ...ment of the foreign concession which is ...sible only to a limited number of foreign ...ts—in flagrant disregard of American ...ples—and our marines were quartered in a ...e university and high school to maintain ... law. There is reason to suppose that the ...can forces were given this prominence in ...o divide with the British the odium caused ...original massacre. Even in so-called normal ...United States gunboats patrol the Yang-tse- ...to an extent comparable to that of a foreign ...which should penetrate the Mississippi system ... as Pittsburgh. Obviously this military ...ion of China is a derogation from her ...gnty as serious as extraterritoriality or ... control, and far more dangerously provo... The withdrawal of our military and naval ...rom China is one way in which the United ...can dissociate itself immediately from the ...of force, and recognize the right of China ...aster in her own house. And this withdraw... ...take place if the American people, whose ...nd guns are being used, resolutely insists ... in Congress and at the White House.

—

"The White Peril"

...fessor Harry F. Ward, who visited India last winter, observes in *The World Tomorrow*, November, 1925 :—

The end of the colonial period has come. One race will no longer consent to be governed by another. It is no longer possible to do good that way. If there is any statesmanship left in the white race, it will frankly abandon the attempt and seek to discover what "self-determination for all peoples" may mean in all the aspects of organized life, not only in Europe but clear to the ends of the earth.

Such an attempt will necessarily involve the abandonment of the idea of profit and the practice of economic exploitation. It is a commonplace that the points of hottest conflict between the races, as between the classes, are the points where profit is highest If there were no profit for the white man in China or India or the Philippines, there would be no objection to their Independence. If we cannot accept the idea that the earth is for the development of all the children of man, if we cannot learn how to administer it for purposes of mutual aid, then we must resign ourselves to a future of increasing conflict between the races. Unless we can construct its economic base, the ideal of world fellowship will remain only an ideal, the possibilities of fusion that now exist in the realm of mind and spirit will remain unrealized.

For the development of these two basic concepts—self-government for all peoples and the earth as the source of our common wealth—the next practical steps are the announcement by the "great" powers of their intention of restoring full sovereignity to all subject peoples with a definite date set and methods of transfer of control specified, and the calling of a world-wide economic conference to arrange for the development and distribution of basic necessities according to need. Until these two steps are taken there will be no diminution of interracial antagonism and conflict.

—

"The New Age"

To the same monthly Rabindranath Tagore contributes an article on "The New Age", in which he says, in part :—

This spirit of interdependence is the spirit of meekness in life which gives it the unseen and inexhaustible strength to inherit the earth that we find in the green grass whose banners of conquest are humble and yet ever victorious.

I am here to remind you that the new age has brought a new King and only those who have the imagination to see the New Comer and the loyal sympathy to receive him in a proper manner will find his own true place. So long we have been serving our tribal idol. We have not yet awakened to the fact that the tribe has become a shadow, that its temple has come down to the dust and that the idol lies shattered. It will be a piece of wasteful folly to imagine that we can still propitiate it with the blood of human victims and with the food plundered from the famished.

The God of Humanity has arrived at the gates of the ruined temple of the tribe. Though he has not yet found his altar, I ask the simple men of

faith, wherever they may be in the world, to bring their offering of sacrifice to him and to believe that it is far better to be wise and worshipful than to be clever and supercilious, I ask them to claim their right of Man to be friends of men and not their right of a particular proud race who boast of their fatal quality of being the rulers of men. We should know for certain that rulers will no longer be tolerated in the new world, as it basks in the open sunlight of mind and breathes life's free air

In the geological age of the infant earth, the demons of physical force had their sway. The angry fire, the devouring floods, the fury of storms, continually kicked the earth into frightful distortions. These titans have at last given way to the reign of life If there had been spectators in those days who were clever and practical, they would have wagered their last penny on these and would have waxed hilariously witty at the expense of the helpless living speck taking its stand in the arena of the wresting giants Only a dreamer could have declared on that day with an unwavering conviction that those demons were doomed because of their very exaggeration, because of those formidable qualities which, in the parlance of modern school-boy science, are termed Nordic.

I ask you once again, let us—the dreamers of the East and the West—keep our faith firm in Life that creates and not in the Machine that constructs, in the power that hides its force and blossoms in beauty, and not in the power that bears its arms and chuckles at its capacity to make itself obnoxious. Let us know that the Machine is good when it helps not so when it exploits life, that science is great when it destroys evil, but not when the twain enter into unholy alliance

Before I conclude I ask your leave to say that I believe in the individuals in the West, for on no account can I afford to lose my faith in man They also dream, they love, they intensely feel pain and shame at the unholy rites of demon worship that tax the whole world for their supply of bleeding hearts They cherish in their minds the creative faith which by its magic, secretly fashions the images of a perfect expectation in the midst of the boisterous dissipations of unbelief. In the life of these individuals will be wedded East and West. their lamps of sacrifice will burn through the stormy night along the great pilgrim tract of the future, when the names of the statesmen who tighten their noose round the necks of foreign races will be derided, and the triumphal tower of skulls in memory of the war-lords will have crumbled into dust.

Fascist Imperialism and Terrosism

The London *Review of Reviews* writes :—

One of Mussolini's personal organs, *L'Impero* (The Empire), of Rome, declares that the ideal which its name represents has now reached the stage of "assured realisation". The leading Nationalist organ, *Idea Nazionale*, writes. "Liberty is not an end in itself but a means to attain the fulness of a Destiny which becomes Imperial when a race possesses Imperial capacity. The Italian ... Hence it is clear that the military war which Italy waged and won in th[e] name of that Destiny, not in the name of va[gue] humanitarian or international ideologies, must no[w] continue more intensely to amplify and, especial[ly] to correct the results of the war." Mussolin[i] himself has recently caused to be published [in] England and in America an article in which [he] glorifies the Fascist "counter-attack after [the] Matteotti affair," and adds:

"The violence of recent episodes makes [it] a living issue *Violence is moral provided* [it is] *timely and surgical and chivalrous* (The itali[cs] are Mussolini's) But since the revolutionary par[ty] holds the power, violence must confine itself [to] creating and maintaining a sympathetic atmosph[ere] towards the use of this governmental violen[ce] Private and individual ungoverned violence [is] anti-Fascist"

The plight of patriotic Italians who cannot a[nd] will not bow to the will of the dominant facti[on] is likely to be hard and may in some cases [be] tragic. If they stay in Italy they and their famil[ies] are in constant danger, and they may at a[ny] moment be deprived of their livelihood. If th[ey] take refuge abroad their property is liable to co[n]fiscation and they may be deprived of Itali[an] citizenship. Professor Salvemini, the emine[nt] historian who is now in a place of safety [has] decided to resign his chair at Florence Univer[sity] and has addressed to its Rector the follow[ing] dignified letter

"The Fascist Dictatorship has now totally su[p]pressed in our country those conditions of freed[om] in the absence of which University teaching [of] history—as I understand it—loses all trace [of] dignity, because it classes necessarily to be [an] agency of free civil education and is reduced eith[er] to servile adulation of the dominating Party or [to] to a mere exercise of erudition, foreign alike to [the] moral consciences of the teacher and of [the] taught.

"Therefore I am compelled to part from [my] young hearers and from my colleagues—with de[ep] sorrow, but certain that I am discharging towar[ds] them a duty of straightforwardness even more th[an] a duty of consistency and respect towar[ds] myself.

"I shall return to serve the country in edu[ca]tion when we shall have regained a civil gov[ern]ment.

Professor Sulvemini contributes to [the] same journal (November-December) an arti[cle] on "The Terror in Florence", detailing [the] cudgellings, the murders, lootings, burni[ngs] and wreckings committed in the central stre[ets] of Florence, and quoting the following wo[rds] of Mussolini :—

"If necessary, we shall use the bludgeon [and] also steel. A rising faith must needs be intoler[ant]. Either my faith is true, or yours; either your[s or] mine. If I think that mine is true, I cannot s[uffer] secret murmurings, petty ambushes, skul[king] calumny, base slander. All these must be put d[own,] overthrown, buried."

University Courses in Matrimony

In *Liberty* Eleanor Early has given

unt of the college for Women at Boston y, which has instituted a special course aining for prospective brides, "a course ue in the history of Education."
e student who has taken the complete course has satisfied the examiners of her proficiency, titled on entering the bonds of matrimony ace after her name the letters C. B., that is, fied Bride When the course in matrimony initiated, the "Chair of Love and Marriage" offered to a lady who was believed to have a success of matrimony in her own case, rs. Macdonald, and was accepted by her. Macdonald is the university's official trainer des
ach department in college is contributing to lea Every professor and instructor is pledged rther it For instance; The professor of ology illuminates the mental processes of male and emphasises the differences in the ology of men and women with a view to ishing a more sympathetic understanding en husbands and wives. The professor of nting has introduced a system of personal ousehold budgeting that guarantees immunity all the usual errors of domestic finance. professor of economics dwells particularly problems of the average American home. e professor of sociology discusses the new n of the sexes, giving a place in the sun wage earning wife. Marriage is made a nd study Girl students analyse its cause fect They know its liabilities as well as ets And no man can sell them the proposi- ecause the night is full of stars and the air of roses. They know the transitory elements ance too well for that."
MacDonald employs the epigram as a of instruction. Here are a few charac- examples of her *ex cathedra* utterances:
ver marry a man just because you love

e in a cottage is a fallacy. Money talks."
mance and roses fade. But rent and bills e always with us."
ood provider wears better than a dancing "

ollowing is a typical test question from an tion paper set to students in the matri- class at Boston: "Mary Brown is a golf She hates country club crowds and cock- d cigarettes. Her husband is happier at than at home. They love one another, r tastes are entirely different. Mary, a philosophic turn of mind, decides inish this paragraph in not more than two words"

—

Tea and "slave" labour

London *Inquirer* writes :—

ibition were extended to tea, most of us d depressed. But, although tea-drinking erly advocated by some well-known men mulating and restorative action, no such on of its value is held now. apparently, t experts. Moreover, attention is drawn (in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta) to the necessity for using what is practically "slave" labour in the countries where tea is chiefly grown. It is because wages being so high, the vast amount of care involved in the cultivation of the trees, the picking and curing of the leaves, would cost too much that the tea industry has not been developed in the United States, "although it has long been known that the tea tree thrives well over an area a hundred times greater than all the tea plantations in India and Ceylon."

—

The Great Encyclopaedia of China

We read in the *China Journal of Science and Arts* :—

After prolonged negotiations which seemed at one time destined to failure, it has been finally decided by the Peking Government that the Great Encyclopedia. *Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu*, is to be reprinted by the Commerical Press of Shanghai. Arrangements looking to this end were completed more than a year ago, and the 36,000 volumes were boxed and ready for shipment on a special train which was to convey them to Shanghai, when decided opposition to the scheme on the part of some scholars of the old school blocked it. Its opponents suggested that if the Commercial Press was to be allowed to reprint this great work the firm should send the necessary staff to Peking to undertake the work of photograhing the volumes and thus avoid the possible risk of loss during transportation. The Commercial Press maintained that the added cost of carrying on this work in Peking beyond what would be the maximum expense in Shangahi would increase the price to prohibitive figures. At last the saner arguments of the Commercial Press have prevailed and the great work of reproducing this vast theasaurus is to be undertaken at the large printing establishment of the Commercial Press in Shanghai.

This Encyclopedia has been stored in the beautiful Wen Yuan Ko, a two-storied building with green roof immediately in the rear of Wen Hua Tien, which has been used in recent years by the Government Museum for the exhibition of paintings and writings. Two years ago I had an opportunity of visiting the Wen Yuan Ko and examining this Encyclopedia. The volumes are about eighteen inches in length and twelve inches wide. As a rule six volumes are included in one set and are protected by binding boards of Persian cedar (*nan niu*). The labels of each volume are of thin yellow silk and the inscriptions were written by calligraphists of the Nan Shu Fang of the Palace. The whole set of books is transcribed by hand in a standard style of writing and in this respect may be compared to the best manuscripts of the Middle Ages in Europe, when pious monks copied the writings of the early Church Fathers.

When this Encyclopedia was completed in 1772 A. D., under the patronage of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, seven sets were written. Of these one was stored in the Wen Yuan Ko in Peking, one in the Wen Ch'ao Ko, Mukden, one in the Wen Ch'in Ko, Jehol, and one in the Wen Yuan Ko, at the old Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan).

It is proposed to reproduce thirty sets of the

The students include those of the preparatory and special courses of the universities. The number of students in 1923 is unknown.

A Woman Winner of the Nobel Prize

Victor Vinde writes in *Les Nouvelles Litteraires* :—

[Sigrid Undset is one of the Nobel Prize winners for 1925. Her literary work divides itself into two distinct cycles—the *Contemporary Novels and Tales* (beginning with *Marthe Oulie* in 1907 and ending with *Clouds of Spring* in 1921), and the three volumes of *Kristin Lavransdatter*, which appeared between 1920 and 1922.]

Undset is the first writer to consecrate her whole life to the study of woman. No doubt there have been, and still are, highly talented writers who have devoted to woman pages of an affecting beauty of a real spiritual greatness, of a fine psychological insight; but for these writers women have been only an object of study. Nothing of the kind in Undset. She does not study an object with the curiosity of the bystander or of the amateur. She subjects herself to a kind of vivisection for the sake of responding to a secret agony which torments her, of discovering the cause of that invisible pain.

Madame Undset has in the strict sense no style. As a Norwegian critic has expressed it, she is contemptuous of style. She has, however, a manner quite her own in writing. She prefers to proceed by means of psychological monologues,—brusquely interrupted from time to time by descriptions, accumulating certain details of secondary importance and deliberately omitting important details for the reader to reconstruct himself.

The work of Sigrid Undset cannot easily be analyzed in a few lines. Here I have wanted only to emphasize the curious fact that in her work man gives the impression of cowardly and irresponsible being but it must not be forgotten that man is only a secondary personage in it. What Undset especially undertakes to clarify is the emotional life of woman, the awakening of emotion in the young girl, in the woman in love, in the wife, in the mother. Her marvelously developed maternal instinct has allowed her to reveal to us the psychology of children, and few writers have achieved such a note of truth in the study of childhood as Undset in *The six Handkerchiefs, Little Girls*, and *A Child*.

The masterpiece of Sigrid Undset is her great work on the Middle Ages, *Kristin Lavransdatter*. It is not an historical work, for the period in which the author sets it—the beginning of the fourteenth century—is in the history of Norway wholly devoid of events. Having studied for fifteen years the manners and the common life of men and women in modern society,—studies collected in her contemporary novels and short stories,—Undset considered herself sufficiently well documented to undertake the portrayal of manners in the Middle Ages, a method which has left her more liberty from every point of view, since her narrative is not encumbered with historical details, and which, at the same time, has allowed her to make religion play a more important role. Sigrid Undset, who has just been converted to Catholicism, has created in this book a magnificent idealistic work that will mark a date in the literature of the twentieth century.

I know nothing finer, more moving, more perfect, in the European literature of the moment than that curious figure of a woman, Kristin Lavransdatter.

When Art is Great

John Dewey writes in the *Journal of the Barnes Foundation* :—

Art is great in proportion as it is universal, that is, in proportion as the uniformities of nature which it reveals and utilizes are extensive and profound—provided, however, that they are freshly applied in concrete objects or situations. The only objects, insights, perceptions which remain perennially unwithered and unstaled are those which sharpen our vision for new and unforseen embodiments of the truth they convey. The "magic" of poetry—and pregnant experience has poetic quality—is precisely the revelation of meaning in the old effected by its presentation of the new. It radiates the light that never was on sea or land but that is henceforth an abiding illumination of objects.

Solar Eclipse in Sumatra

Popular Mechanics says :—

To watch the eclipse of the sun, January 14, a party of scientists from the naval observatory in Washington, D. C. has gone to Sumatra in the Dutch East Indies. The phenomenon will last only two minutes, but in that time the observers hope to make motion pictures and color plates which will show more about the sun's gases and other features. The expedition has devoted three months to erecting their look-out station and telescope tower. Other parties from England, Germany and France as well as one from Swarthmore college, will be at Sumatra. An Italian group will be stationed in Africa.

What Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations Mean

The Indus for November, 1925, writes :—

In addition to the first twenty already selected for the Indian Civil Service this year, the Civil Service Commissioners have announced that the next sixteen candidates have been also taken up. Seven of these are Indians. Messrs. M. K. Kirpalani, B. B. Sarkar, G. D. Khosla, R. Jagmohan, H. Hussain, K. G. Ambegaokar, V. K. R. Menon, and we heartily congratulate them on their success. The proportion, therefore, between Indian and British recruits this year is fifteen to twenty one—a fine attempt at the Indianisation of the Services indeed! While in India hardly more than five candidates are appointed from amongst the competitors for the Civil Service Examination at Allahabad, in England, the number selected is as much as seven times that and more.

What is the good of holding simultaneous examinations both in London and in Allahabad, if such flagrant unfairness is to be allowed? This disgusting mockery of "justice and fairness" must be stopped at least in the name of common sense. For even a "boob" can see through the game.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR PEOPLE

[Presidential Address at the Indian Philosophical Congress]

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MY timidity makes it difficult for me properly to enjoy the honour you have done me to-day by offering a chair which I cannot legitimately claim as my own It has often made me wonder, since I had my invitation, whether it would suit my dignity to occupy such a precarious position on an ephemeral eminence, deservedly incurring anger from some and ridicule from others While debating in my mind as to whether I should avoid this risk with the help of the doctor's certificate, it occurred to me that possibly my ignorance of philosophy was the best recommendation for this place in a philosophers' meeting,—that you wanted for your president a man who was blankly neutral and who consciously owed no allegiance to any particular system of metaphysics, being impartially innocent of them all The most convenient thing about me is that the degree of my qualification is beyond the range of a comparative discussion,—it is so utterly negative. In my present situation, I may be compared to a candlestick that has none of the luminous qualities of a candle, and therefore suitable for its allotted function, which is to remain darkly inactive.

But, unfortunately, you do not allow me to remain silent even in the circumstance when silence was declared to be prudent by one of our ancient sages. The only thing which encourages me to overcome my diffidence, and give expression in a speech to my unsophisticated mind, is the fact that in India all the *vidyas*,—poesy as well as philosophy,—live in a joint family. They never have the jealous sense of individualism maintaining the punitive regulations against trespass that seem to be so rife in the West.

Plato as a philosopher decreed the banishment of poets from his ideal Republic But, in India, philosophy ever sought alliance with poetry, because its mission was to occupy the people's life and not merely the learned seclusion of scholarship. Therefore, our tradition, though unsupported by historical evidence, has no hesitation in ascribing numerous verses to the great Sankarácharya, a metaphysician whom Plato would find it extremely difficult to exclude from his Utopia with the help of any inhospitable Immigration Law Many of these poems may not have high poetical value, but no lover of literature ever blames the sage for infringement of propriety in condescending to manufacture verse

According to our people, poetry naturally falls within the scope of a philosopher, when his reason is illumined into a vision. We have our great epic Mahábhárata, which is unique in world literature, not only because of the marvellous variety of human characters, great and small, discussed in its pages in all variety of psychological circumstances, but because of the ease with which it carries in its comprehensive capaciousness all kinds of speculation about ethics, politics and philosophy of life Such an improvident generosity on the part of poesy, at the risk of exceeding its own proper limits of accommodation, has only been possible in India where a spirit of communism prevails in the different individual groups of literature. In fact, the Mahabharata is a universe in itself in which various spheres of mind's creation find ample space for their complex dance rhythm It does not represent the idiosyncrasy of a particular poet but the normal mentality of the people who are willing to be led along the many-branched path of a whole world of thoughts, held together in a gigantic orb of narrative surrounded by innumerable satellites of episodes

The numerous saints that India successively produced during the Mahomedan rule have all been singers whose verses are aflame with the fire of imagination. Their religious emotion had its spring in the depth of a philosophy that deals with fundamental questions,—with the ultimate meaning of existence. That may not be remarkable in itself ; but when we find that these songs are not specially meant for some exclusive pundits' gathering, but that they are sung in villages and listened to by men and women who are illiterate, we realise how philosophy

has permeated the life of the people in India, how it has sunk deep into the sub-conscious mind of the country.

In my childhood, I once heard from a singer, who was a devout Hindu, the following song of Kabir.

পানীমে মীন পিয়াসীরে
মুকো শুনত শুনত লাগে হাঁসীরে
পূরণব্রহ্ম সকল ঘটবরতে,
ক্যা মথুরা ক্যা কাশীরে।

When I hear of a fish in the water dying of thirst, it makes me laugh.
If it be true that the infinite Brahma pervades all space,
What is the meaning of the places of pilgrimage like Mathura or Kashi?

This laughter of Kabir did not hurt in the least the pious susceptibilities of the Hindu singer; on the contrary, he was ready to join the poet with his own For he, by the philosophical freedom of his mind, was fully aware that Mathura or Kashi, as sites of God, did not have an absolute value of truth, though they had their symbolical importance. Therefore, while he himself was eager to make a pilgrimage to those places, he had no doubt in his mind that, if it were in his power directly to realise Brahma as an all-pervading reality, there would have been no necessity for him to visit any particular place for the quickening of his spiritual consciousness He acknowledged the psychological necessity for such shrines, where generations of devotees have chosen to gather for the purpose of worship, in the same way as he felt the special efficacy for our mind of the time-honoured sacred texts made living by the voice of ages

It is a village poet of East Bengal who in his songs preaches the philosophical doctrine that the universe has its reality in its relation to the Person He sings

মম আঁখি হইতে পয়দা আস্‌মান জমীন
শরীরে করিল পয়দা শক্ত আর নরম
আর পয়দা করিয়াছে ঠাণ্ডা আর গরম।
নাকে পয়দা করিয়াছে খুববয় বদ্‌বয়।

The sky and the earth are born of mine own eyes.
The hardness and softness, the cold and the heat are the products of mine own body,
The sweet smell and the bad are of my own nose.

This poet sings of the Eternal Person within him, coming out and appearing before his eyes just as the Vedic Rishi speaks of the Person, who is in him, dwelling also in the heart of the Sun.

রূপ দেখিলাম রে নয়নে আপনার রূপ দেখিলাম রে
আমার মাঝত বাহির হইয়া দেখা দিল আমারে।

I have seen the vision,
The vision of mine own revealing itself,
Coming out from within me.

The significant fact about these philosophical poems is that they are of rude construction, written in a popular dialect and disclaimed by the academic literature; they are sung to the people, as composed by one of them who is dead, but whose songs have not followed him. Yet these singers almost arrogantly disown their direct obligation to philosophy, and there is a story of one of our rural poets who, after some learned text of the Vaishnava philosophy of emotion was explained to him, composed a song containing the following lines·

ফুলের বনে কে ঢুকেছেরে সোনার জহরি
নিকষে ঘসয়ে কমল আ মরি মরি।

Alas, a jeweller has come into the flower garden,—
He wants to appraise the truth of a lotus by rubbing it against his touchstone.

The members of the *Baul* sect belong to that mass of the people in Bengal who are not educated in the prevalent sense of the word I remember how troubled they were, when I asked some of them to write down for me a collection of their songs When they *did* venture to attempt it, I found it almost impossible to decipher their writing—the spelling and lettering were so outrageously unconventional. Yet their spiritual practices are founded upon a mystic philosophy of the human body, abstrusely technical. These people roam about singing their songs, one of which I heard years ago from my roadside window, the first two lines remaining inscribed in my memory

খাঁচার মধ্যে অচিন্ পাখী কমনে আসে যায়।
ধরতে পারলে মনোবেড়ি দিতেম তারি পায়।

Nobody can tell whence the bird unknown
Comes into the cage and goes out.
I would feign put round its feet the fetter of my mind,
Could I but capture it.

This village poet evidently agrees with our sage of the Upanishad who says that our mind comes back baffled in its attempt to

reach the Unknown Being; and yet this poet like the ancient sage does not give up his adventure of the infinite, thus implying that there is a way to its realisation. It reminds me of Shelley's poem in which he sings of the mystical spirit of Beauty:

> The awful shadow of some unseen Power
> Floats, though unseen, among us; visiting
> This various world with as inconstant wing
> As summer winds that creep from flower to flower,
> Like moonbeams that behind some piny mountain shower,
> It visits with inconstant glance
> Each human heart and countenance.

That this Unknown is the profoundest reality, though difficult of comprehension, is equally admitted by the English poet as by the nameless village singer of Bengal in whose music vibrate the wing-beats of the unknown bird,—only Shelley's utterance is for the cultured few, while the *Baul* song is for the tillers of the soil, for the simple folk of our village households, who are never bored by its mystic transcendentalism.

All this is owing to the wonderful system of mass education which has prevailed for ages in India, and which to-day is in danger of becoming extinct. We have our academic seats of learning where students flock round their famous teachers from distant parts of the country. These places are like lakes, full of deep but still water, which have to be approached through difficult paths. But the constant evaporation from them, forming clouds, is carried by the wind from field to field, across hills and dales and through all the different divisions of the land. Operas based upon legendary poems, recitations and story-telling by trained men, the lyrical wealth of the popular literature distributed far and wide by the agency of mendicant singers,—these are the clouds that help to irrigate the minds of the people with the ideas which in their original form belonged to difficult doctrines of metaphysics. Profound speculations contained in the systems of Sánkhya, Vedánta and Yoga are transformed into the living harvest of the people's literature, brought to the door of those who can never have the leisure and training to pursue these thoughts to their fountain-head.

In order to enable a civilised community to carry on its complex functions, there must be a large number of men who have to take charge of its material needs, however onerous such task may be. Their vocation gives them no opportunity to cultivate their mind. Yet they form the vast multitude, compelled to turn themselves into unthinking machines of production, so that a few may have the time to think great thoughts, create immortal forms of art and to lead humanity to spiritual altitudes.

India has never neglected these social martyrs, but has tried to bring light into the grimy obscurity of their lifelong toil, and has always acknowledged its duty to supply them with mental and spiritual food in assimilable form through the medium of a variety of ceremonies. This process is not carried on by any specially organised association of public service, but by a spontaneous social adjustment which acts like circulation of blood in our bodily system. Because of this, the work continues even when the original purpose ceases to exist.

Once when I was on a visit to a small Bengali village, mostly inhabited by Mahomedan cultivators, the villagers entertained me with an opera performance the literature of which belonged to an obsolete religious sect that had wide influence centuries ago. Though the religion itself is dead, its voice still continues preaching its philosophy to a people, who, in spite of their different culture, are not tired of listening. It discussed according to its own doctrine the different elements, material and transcendental, that constitute human personality, comprehending the body, the self and the soul. Then came a dialogue during the course of which was related the incident of a person who wanted to make a journey to *Brindaban*, the Garden of Bliss, but was prevented by a watchman who startled him with an accusation of theft. The thieving was proved when it was shown that inside his clothes he was secretly trying to smuggle into the garden the *self*, passing it on as his own and not admitting that it is for his master. The culprit was caught with the incriminating bundle in his possession which barred for him his passage to the supreme goal. Under a tattered canopy held on bamboo poles and lighted by a few smoking kerosene lamps, the village crowd, occasionally interrupted by howls of jackals in the neighbouring paddy fields, attended with untired interest, till the small hours of the morning, the performance of a drama, that discussed the ultimate meaning of all things in a seemingly incongruous setting of dance, music and humorous dialogue.

These illustrations will show how naturally, in India, poetry and philosophy have walked

hand in hand, only because the latter has claimed its right to guide men to the practical path of their life's fulfilment. What is that fulfilment ? It is our freedom in truth, which has for its prayer :

Lead us from the unreal to Reality.

For *satyam* is *anandam*, the real is joy.

From my vocation as an artist in verse, I have come to my own idea about the joy of the real. For to give us the taste of reality through freedom of mind is the nature of all arts. When in relation to them we talk of aesthetics, we must know that it is not about beauty in its ordinary meaning, but in that deeper meaning which a poet has expressed in his utterance : "Truth is beauty, beauty truth" An artist may paint a picture of a decrepit person not pleasant to look at, and yet we call it perfect when we become intensely conscious of its reality. The mind of the jealous woman in Browning's poem, watching the preparation of poison and in imagination gloating over its possible effect upon her rival, is not beautiful ; but when it stands vividly real before our consciousness, through the unity of consistency in its idea and form, we have our enjoyment. The character of Karna, the great warrior of the Mahabharata, gives us a deeper delight through its occasional outbursts of meanness, than it would if it were a model picture of unadulterated magnanimity The very contradictions which hurt the completeness of a moral ideal have helped us to feel the reality of the character, and this gives us joy, not because it is pleasant in itself, but because it is definite in its creation.

It is not wholly true that art has its value for us because in it we realise all that we fail to attain in our life ; but the fact is that the function of art is to bring us, with its creations, into immediate touch with reality. These need not resemble actual facts of our experience, and yet they do delight our heart because they are made true to us In the world of art, our consciousness being freed from the tangle of self-interest, we gain an unobstructed vision of unity, the incarnation of the real, which is a joy for ever.

As in the world of art, so in God's world, our soul waits for its freedom from the ego to reach that disinterested joy which is the source and goal of creation. It cries for its *mukti* into the unity of truth from the mirage of appearances endlessly pursued by the thirsty self. The idea of *mukti*, based upon metaphysics, has affected our life in India, touched the springs of our emotions and supplications for its soar heavenward on the wings of poesy. We constantly hear men of scanty learning and simple faith singing in their prayer to *Tara*, the Goddess Redemeer.

তারা, কোন্ অপরাধে দীর্ঘ মেয়াদে সংসার-গারদে
থাকি বল্'

For what sin should I be compelled to remain
in this dungeon of the world of appearance ?

They are afraid of being alienated from the world of truth, afraid of their perpetual drifting amidst the froth and foam of things, of being tossed about by the tidal waves of pleasure and pain and never reaching the ultimate meaning of life Of these men, one may be a carter driving his cart to market, another a fisherman plying his net. They may not be prompt with an intelligent answer, if questioned about the deeper import of the song they sing, but they have no doubt in their mind, that the abiding cause of all misery is not so much in the lack of life's furniture as in the obscurity of life's significance It is a common topic with such to decry an undue emphasis upon আমি আমার, *me* and *mine*, which falsifies the perspective of truth For, have they not often seen men, who are not above their own level in social position or intellectual acquirement, going out to seek Truth, leaving everything that they have behind them ?

They know that the object of these adventurers is not betterment in wordly wealth and power,—it is *mukti*, freedom They possibly know some poor fellow villager of their own craft, who remains in the world carrying on his daily vocation, and yet has the reputation of being emancipated in the heart of the Eternal. I myself have come across a fisherman singing with an inward absorption of mind, while fishing all day in the Ganges, who was pointed out to me by my boatmen, with awe, as a man of liberated spirit. He is out of reach of the conventional prices which are set upon men by society, and which classify them like toys arranged in the shop-windows according to the market standard of value.

When the figure of this fisherman comes to my mind, I cannot but think that their number is not small who with their lives sing the epic of the unfettered soul, but will never be known in history. These unsophisticated Indian peasants know that an Emperor is a decorated slave remaining chained to his Empire, that a millionaire is kept pilloried

by his fate in the golden cage of his wealth, while this fisherman is free in the realm of light. When, groping in the dark, we stumble against objects, we cling to them believing them to be our only hope When light comes, we slacken our hold, finding them to be mere parts of the *All* to which we are related The simple man of the village knows what freedom is—freedom from the isolation of self, from the isolation of things which imparts a fierce intensity to our sense of possession He knows that this freedom is not in the mere negation of bondage, in the bareness of belongings, but in some positive realisation which gives pure joy to our being, and he sings

যেজন ডুব্‌ল সখী তা'র কি আছে বাকি গো।

To him who sinks into the deep nothing remains unattained

He says

মনরে আমার মনের সাথে মিল্‌বি যদি আয়,
তুই মনেতে একমন হ'য়ে আজব সহর চ'লে যাই।

Let my two minds meet and combine
And lead me to the City Wonderful

When the one mind of ours which wanders in search of things in the outer region of the varied, and the other which seeks the inward vision of unity, are no longer in conflict, they help us to realise the *ajab*, the *anirvachaniya*, the ineffable The poet saint Kabir has also the same message when he sings

By saying that Supreme Reality only dwells in the inner realm of spirit, we shame the outer world of matter, and also when we say that he is only in the outside, we do not speak the truth.

According to these singers, truth is in unity and therefore freedom is in its realisation The texts of our daily worship and meditation are for training our mind to overcome the barrier of separateness from the rest of existence and to realise *advaitam*, the Supreme Unity which is *anantam*, infinitude. It is philosophical wisdom having its universal radiation in the popular mind in India that inspires our prayer, our daily spiritual practices. It has its constant urging for us to go beyond the world of appearances in which facts as facts are alien to us, like the mere sounds of a foreign music, it speaks to us of an emancipation in the inner truth of all things in which the endless *Many* reveals the *One*, as the multitude of notes, when we understand them, reveal to us the inner unity which is music.

But because this freedom is in truth itself and not in an appearance of it, no hurried path of success, forcibly cut out by the greed of result, can be a true path And an obscure village poet, unknown to the world of recognised respectability, untramelled by the standardised learning of the Education Department, sings

নিঠুর গরজী,
তুই কি মানসমুকুল ভাজ্‌বি আগুনে?
তুই ফুটফুটাবি, বাস ছুটাবি সবুর বিহনে।
দেখ্‌না আমার পরমগুরু সাঁই,
সে যুগযুগান্তে ফুটায় মুকুল তাড়াহুড়া নাই।
তোর লোভ প্রচণ্ড, তাই ভরসা দণ্ড
এর আছে কোন্ উপায়?
কয় সে মদন, দিস্‌নে বেদন, শোন্ নিবেদন,
সেই শ্রীগুরুর মনে,
সহজধারা আপনহারা তাঁর বাণী শোনে,
রে গরজী।

O cruel man of urgent need, must you scorch with fire the mind which still is a bud? You will burst it into bits, destroy its perfume in your impatience. Do you not see that my lord, the Supreme Teacher, takes ages to perfect the flower and never is in a fury of haste? But because of your terrible greed, you only rely on force, and what hope is there for you, O man of urgent need? "Prithi" says Madan the poet,—"Hurt not the mind of my Teacher Know that only he who follows the simple current and loses himself, can hear the voice, O man of urgent need

This poet knows that there is no external means of taking freedom by the throat It is the inward process of losing ourselves that leads us to it Bondage in all its forms has its stronghold in the inner self and not in the outside world; it is in the dimming of our consciousness, in the narrowing of our perspective, in the wrong valuation of things

The proof of this we find in the modern civilization whose motive force has become a ceaseless urgency of need. Its freedom is only the apparent freedom of inertia which does not know how and where to stop. There are some primitive people who have put an artificial value on human scalps and they develop an arithmetical fury which does not allow them to stop in the gathering of their trophies. They are driven by some cruel fate into an endless exaggeration which makes them ceaselessly run on an interminable path of addition. Such a freedom in their wild course of collection is the worst form of bondage. The cruel urgency of need

is all the more aggravated in their case because of the lack of truth in its object Similarly, it should be realised that a mere addition to the rate of speed, to the paraphernalia of fat living and display of furniture, to the frightfulness of destructive armaments, only leads to an insensate orgy of a caricature of bigness The links of bondage go on multiplying themselves, threatening to shackle the whole world with the chain forged by such unmeaning and unending urgency of need

The idea of *mukti* in Christian theology is liberation from a punishment which we carry with our birth In India it is from the dark enclosure of ignorance which causes the illusion of a self that seems final But the enlightenment which frees us from this ignorance must not merely be negative Freedom is not in an emptiness of its contents, it is in the harmony of communication through which we find no obstruction in realising our own being in the surrounding world It is of this harmony, and not of a bare and barren isolation, that the Upanishad speaks, when it says that the truth no longer remains hidden in him who finds himself in the All

Freedom in the material world has also the same meaning expressed in its own language When nature's phenomena appeared to us as manifestations of an obscure and irrational caprice, we lived in an alien world never dreaming of our *swaraj* within its territory With the discovery of the harmony of its working with that of our reason, we realise our unity with it, and, therefore, freedom It is *avidya*, ignorance, which causes our disunion with our surroundings It is *vidya*, the knowledge of the Brahma manifested in the material universe, that makes us realise *advaitam*, the spirit of unity in the world of matter

Those who have been brought up in a misunderstanding of this world's process, not knowing that it is his by his right of intelligence, are trained as cowards by a hopeless faith in the ordinance of a destiny darkly dealing its blows, offering no room for appeal They submit without struggle when human rights are denied them, being accustomed to imagine themselves born as outlaws in a world constantly thrusting upon them incomprehensible surprises of accidents

Also in the social or political field, the lack of freedom is based upon the spirit of alienation, on the imperfect realisation of *advaitam*. There our bondage is in the tortured link of union One may imagine that an individual who succeeds in dissociating himself from his fellows attains real freedom, inasmuch as all ties of relationship imply obligation to others But we know that, though it may sound paradoxical, it is true that in the human world only a perfect arrangement of interdependence gives rise to freedom The most individualistic of human beings who own no responsibility, are the savages who fail to attain their fulness of manifestation They live immersed in obscurity, like an ill-lighted fire that cannot liberate itself from its envelope of smoke Only those may attain their freedom from the segregation of an eclipsed life, who have the power to cultivate mutual understanding and co-operation The history of the growth of freedom is the history of the perfection of human relationship.

The strongest barrier against freedom in all departments of life is the selfishness of individuals or groups Civilisation, whose object is to afford humanity its greatest possible opportunity of complete manifestation, perishes when some selfish passion, in place of a moral ideal, is allowed to exploit its resources unopposed, for its own purposes For the greed of acquisition and the living principle of creation are antagonistic to each other Life has brought with it the first triumph of freedom in the world of the inert, because it is an inner expression and not merely an external fact, because it must always exceed the limits of its substance, never allowing its materials to clog its spirit, and yet ever keeping to the limits of its truth Its accumulation must not suppress its harmony of growth, the harmony that unites the *in* and the *out*, the end and the means, the *what is* and the *what is to come*

Life does not store up but assimilates, its spirit and its substance, its work and itself, are intimately united When the non-living elements of our surroundings are stupendously disproportionate, when they are mechanical systems and hoarded possessions, then the mutual discord between our life and our world ends in the defeat of the former The gulf thus created by the receding stream of soul we try to replenish with a continuous shower of wealth which may have the power to fill but not the power to unite. Therefore, the gap is dangerously concealed under the glittering quick-sands of things which by their own accumulating weight cause a sudden subsidence, while we are in the depth of our sleep

But the real tragedy does not lie in the destruction of our material security, it is in the obscuration of man himself in the human world. In his creative activities man makes his surroundings instinct with his own life and love But in his utilitarian ambition he deforms and defiles it with the callous handling of his voracity This world of man's manufacture with its discordant shrieks and mechanical movements, reacts upon his own nature, incessantly suggesting to him a scheme of universe which is an abstract system. In such a world there can be no question of *mukti*, because it is a solidly solitary fact, because the cage is all that we have, and no sky beyond it. In all appearance the world to us is a closed world, like a seed within its hard cover But in the core of the seed there is the cry of Life for *mukti* even when the proof of its possibility is darkly silent When some huge temptation tramples into stillness this living aspiration after *mukti*, then does civilisation die like a seed that has lost its urging for germination

It is not altogether true that the ideal of *mukti* in India is based upon a philosophy of passivity The Ishopanishad has strongly asserted that man must wish to live a hundred years and go on doing his work , for, according to it, the complete truth is in the harmony of the infinite and the finite, the passive ideal of perfection and the active process of its revealment, according to it, he who pursues the knowledge of the infinite as an absolute truth sinks even into a deeper darkness than he who pursues the cult of the finite as complete in itself He who thinks that a mere aggregation of changing notes has the ultimate value of unchanging music, is no doubt foolish , but his foolishness is exceeded by that of one who thinks that true music is devoid of all notes. But where is the reconciliation? Through what means does the music which is transcendental turn the facts of the detached notes into a vehicle of its expression? It is through the rhythm, the very limit of its composition We reach the infinite through crossing the path that is definite It is this that is meant in the following verse of the Isha

বিদ্যাঞ্চাবিদ্যাঞ্চ যস্তদ্বেদোভয়ং সহ
অবিদ্যয়া মৃত্যুং তীর্ত্বা বিদ্যয়ামৃতমশ্নুতে ।

He who knows the truth of the infinite and that of the finite both united together, crosses death by the help of avidya, and by the help of vidya reaches immortality.

The regulated life is the rhythm of the finite through whose very restrictions we pass to the immortal life. This *amritam*, the immortal life, is not a mere prolongation of physical existence, it is in the realisation of the perfect, it is in the well-proportioned beautiful definition of life which every moment surpasses its own limits and expresses the Eternal. In the very first verse of the Isha, the injunction is given to us ***Ma-gridhah, Thou shalt not covet*** But why should we not? Because greed, having no limit, smothers the rhythm of life—the rhythm which is expressive of the limitless,

The modern civilisation is largely composed of *atmahano-janah*, who are spiritual suicides It has lost its will for limiting its desires, for restraining its perpetual self-exaggeration Because it has lost its philosophy of life, it loses its art of living. Like poetasters it mistakes skill for power and realism for reality In the Middle Ages, when Europe believed in the kingdom of heaven, she struggled to modulate her life's forces to effect their harmonious relation to this ideal, which always sent its call to her activities in the midst of the boisterous conflict of her passions There was in this endeavour an ever present scheme of creation, something which was positive, which had the authority to say . *Thou shalt not covet, thou must find thy true limits* To-day there is only a furious rage for raising numberless brick-kilns in place of buildings The great scheme of the master-builder has been smothered under the heaps of brick-dust. It proves the severance of *avidya* from her union with *vidya* giving rise to an unrhythmic power, ignoring all creative plan, igniting a flame that has heat but no light

Creation is in rhythm,—the rhythm which is the border on which *vidyancha avidyancha*, the infinite and the finite, meet We do not know how, from the indeterminate, the lotus flower finds its being So long as it is merged in the vague, it is nothing to us, and yet it must have been everywhere Somehow from the vast it has been captured in a perfect rhythmical limit, forming an eddy in our consciousness, arousing within us a recognition of delight at the touch of the infinite which finitude gives. It is the limiting process which is the work of a creator, who finds his freedom through his restraints, the truth of the boundless through the reality of the bounds. The insatiable idolatry of materials, that run along an ever-lengthening line of extravagance, is inexpressive ; it belongs to

those regions which are *andhena tamasavritah*, enveloped in darkness, which ever carry the load of their inarticulate bulk The true prayer of man is for the Real not for the big, for the Light which is not in incendiarism but in illumination, for Immortality which is not in duration of time, but in the eternity of the perfect.

Only because we have closed our path to the inner world of *mukti*, has the outer world become terrible in its exactions It is a slavery to continue to live in a sphere where things are, yet where their meaning is obstructed It has become possible for men to say that existence is evil, only because in our blindness we have missed something in which our existence has its truth If a bird tries to soar in the sky with only one of its wings, it is offended with the wind for buffeting it down to the dust All broken truths are evil They hurt because they suggest something which they do not offer Death does not hurt us, but disease does, because disease constantly reminds us of health and yet withholds it from us And life in a half world is evil, because it feigns finality when it is obviously incomplete, giving us the cup, but not the draught of life. All tragedies consist in truth remaining a fragment, its cycle not being completed

Let me close with a *Baul* song, over a century old, in which the poet sings of the eternal bond of union between the infinite and the finite soul, from which there can be no *mukti*, because it is an interrelation which makes truth complete, because love is ultimate, because absolute independence is the blankness of utter sterility The idea in it is the same as as we have in the Upanishad, that truth is neither in pure *vidya* nor in *avidya*, but in their union

হৃদয় কমল চল্‌তেছে ফুটে কত যুগ ধরি।
তাতে তুমিও বাঁধা, আমিও বাঁধা, উপায় কী
করি।

ফুটে ফুটে কমল ফুটায় না হয় শেষ।
এই কমলের যে-এক মধু রস যে তা'র বিশেষ।
ছেড়ে যেতে লোভী ভ্রমর পারে না যে তাই।
তাই তুমিও বাঁধা, আমিও বাঁধা,
মুক্তি কোথাও নাই।

It goes on blossoming for ages the soul-lotus in which I am bound as well as thou, without escape There is no end to the opening of its petals, and the honey in it has such sweetness that thou like an enchanted bee canst never desert it, and therefore thou art bound and I am, and mukti is nowhere

(By the courtesy of THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY, which also publishes it in its January number

CAWNPORE

CAWNPORE is a city in the Allahabad Division of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, situated on the south bank of the Ganges, forty miles south-west of Lucknow. The river in front presents a large and motley assemblage of steam vessels and old-fashioned Indian river boats It formed from early times a frontier outpost of the people of Oudh and Bengal against their northern neighbors.

"In the middle of the eighteenth century, the land lying between Jajman (4 miles to the east) and Bithoor (13 miles to the west of modern Cawnpore) is said to have been practically a waste. About the year A. D. 1750, Hindu Singh, Rajah of Sachendi, came on the eighth day of the moon, in the month of Bhadra, known among Hindus as Janmashtami or the anniversary of Krishna's birth, to bathe in the Ganges, near the site of old Cawnpore Pleased with the place, and assured that any city founded on so auspicious a day could not fail to become famous, he himself made the beginnings of a town, and before departure left instructions with his dependant, Raja Ghan Shyan Singh Chauhan, of Ramaipur (a town 13 miles from Cawnpore, on the road to Hamirpur), to complete the buildings and supply the new town with inhabitants From the circumstances of its foundation, the new town was known as Kanpur (*The City of Krishna*). A Gateway and *Ghat* built at this time still exist, as also traces of the original rampart."

Cawnpore, as a place of note, is of recent origin, being indebted for its growth, besides its commercial facilities, partly to military and political considerations. In 1777, being then an appendage of Oudh, it was assigned by



Cawnpore Birdseye View of a part of the City of Cawnpore

(1903), Nana Sahib wished to spare the women and children, and there is no evidence that personal indignities or dishonour were inflicted on the unhappy women We have also to record that in the latest book written with reference to the Mutiny, *The Other Side of the Medal* (1925), by Edward Thompson, the author says .—

There is long overdue a new orientation in the histories of India We must no longer stress the Black Hole of Calcutta, and ignore the seventy suffocated Moplah prisoners of our railway vans , we must no longer stress Cawnpore, and ignore Benares

the nawab as the station of a subsidiary force; and in 1801 it became, in name as well as in fact, British property

In histories of India and Guide-books to Cawnpore written by British authors, much space is given to what happened here during the sepoy rebellion, the entire blame being laid on the Indians We have no desire to revive the memories of those days either in defence or in condemnation of either of the parties We will only note that, according to Forrest's *Indian Mutiny*



Cawnpore. Bird's-eye View of Different Factories of Cawnpore



Cawnpore. Edward Memorial Hall (side view)

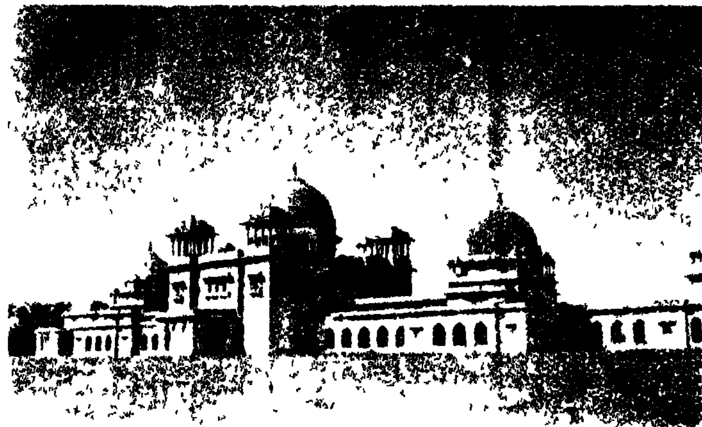
and Allahabad and Delhi and Renaud's march on Cawnpore. If there was one phrase more than another in Romesh Dutt's dignified appeal to us which should win our respectful sympathy, it was his request that the darker incidents of the mutiny (or such as we choose shall be told) should be expunged from books, "at least as recorded in school-books meant for boys" Why should Indian boys be compelled to read about the fiendish work at the well, when there is not a word said about Neill's fiendish work on the way to the well ?—p. 126

At present Cawnpore is chiefly known as the junction of four railways, the East Indian, Oudh and Rohilkhand,



Cawnpore Gagman Ghat with Temple of Mahadeo

Rajputana, and Indian Midland, and as a great centre of industries and commerce The harness, shoes and other leather-work manufactured here are wellknown Factories for manufacturing other articles are the Cotton Mills for the manufacture of tents, twill lining, towels, etc, woollen mills, jute mills, flour mills chemical factory, brush factories, etc The sale of oil seeds and food grains reaches a very high figure In addition to these a great number of hides and skins are imported for sale, a great proportion of which are used in the local factories and the rest exported. Besides these staple articles, various raw products, e g, gum, bristles, etc, are imported from the district and sold for local and foreign consumption In mercantile importance, Cawnpore ranks in India next to the five seaports, Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Madras and Rangoon' Next to these ports, Cawnpore is also the most important market in India for piece-goods



Cawnpore Agricultural College

In 1881 the population of Cawnpore was 151,444, in 1911 it grew to 178,557 According to the census or 1921, the population was 213,041

A very large proportion of the population of Cawnpore is composed of Hindus, such Mahomedans as there are being in a great measure descended from the followers of various notabilities who crossed the river to escape the wrath of different kings of Oudh.



Cawnpore. Temple in the middle of the Weston Road. On the right side of the temple is the masque for which firing took place when this Road was being made.

Modern in its origin, this city cannot boast of the possession of any splendid buildings, as is the case with



Cawnpore Christ Church



Angle of Memorial Well

the neighboring stations of Agra and Lucknow, though it has of late years improved upon its former condition.

There are some noteworthy educational institutions in Cawnpore, such as Christ Church College for general education, the Agricultural College, the institution for technological research and training, etc

The kindly feeling of the residents has found expression in the establishment of a "Poor House" for distressed Indians, situated behind the Subadar Tank Cemetery, and still supported in the main by funds raised in previous years There are some other charitable institutions

(Compiled from various sources)

GLEANINGS

The 1924 Éruption of the Hawaiian Volcano

Tremendous scientific and spectacular interest attaches to the explosions at Kilauea Volcano in Hawaii National Park, in May, 1924, for this series of explosions is the first ever witnessed by white men at Kilauea.

In 1790 there was a similar series of eruptions, although evidently a more violent one. The account of the eruption of 1789, was gathered by the Rev I. Dibble, from the lips of those who were



Dust Column 1,000 feet high



Dust Cloud about 7,000 feet high

part of the company and present at the scene and is as follows

The ground began to shake and rock beneath their feet, and it became quite impossible to stand Soon a dense cloud of darkness was seen to rise out of the crater, and almost at the same instant, the thunder began to roar in the heavens and the lightning to flash It continued to ascend and spread around till the whole region was enveloped and the light of day was entirely excluded.

"The darkness was the more terrific, being visible by an awful glare from streams of red and blue light, variously combined through the action of the fires of the pit and the flashes of lightning above Soon followed an immense volume of sand and cinders, which were thrown to a great height, and came down in a destructive shower for many miles around

Halemaumau, the lava lake of Kilauea, the famous "Pit of Everlasting Fire," is located near the southwest end of the crater floor, and is the main vent in Kilauea Prior to the eruptions of May, 1924, the lava lake had gradually subsided until the lava disappeared from sight on February 21st, leaving a pit 380 feet deep. This pit remained empty of lava from February 21st on, and was exceedingly quiet until April 29th, when large amounts of dust began to rise from it. The walls of the pit began to avalanche, causing slight earth tremors in the vicinity of the crater, and the rock dust resulting from these avalanches rose as small dust clouds This stage continued until the night of May 10th, when occurred the first explosion which threw out rocks On Saturday night, May 10th, or early on Sunday morning, May 11th, a sudden explosion took place in Halemaumau It lasted only a few minutes and the volcano again returned to a condition of steaming, avalanching, and forming of dust clouds. The avalanches and dust clouds, however, were much larger and more continuous than before and minor explosions continued at frequent intervals until Sunday morning, May 18th

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A New Link in Man's Ancestry

Just discovered at Taungs, South Africa, by professor Raymond A. Dart, this remarkable fossil skull appears to represent a creature intermediary between man and the apes, but with a brain of distinctly human type. Few discoveries in human evolution have aroused so much interest,

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authority throughout the country, particularly in the far west, is still a young man, notwithstanding a notable record in establishing identities from



Fossil Skull Found in Africa



Infancy of Gigantic Flower
[After 22 days the bud is only 19 inches long]

he short-lived, 8-foot Flower of Sumatra

The illustrations, pp 89, 90, ows the curious flower known *amorphophallus titanum* was only about nineteen hes high after twenty-o days of life, but twelve ys later it was four t, four inches high and bud had opened. Our ge illustration shows the l-grown flower forty days l It was then eight feet h and is shown unfolding bell-shaped spathe that sed three days later. e scent of this flower described as "evil"

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An American Criminologist's Feat

Edward Oscar Heinrich, S., consulting crimi-logist of Berkeley, lifornia, and recognized



An Example of Bengali Script
[This bit of evidence figured conspicuously in the trial of the Hindu-Ghadr Revolution Plot cases]



Twelve days Later
[The flower is now about 4 feet 1 enches high]



The Full-Blown Amorphophallus Titanum
[The flower is now forty days old and is 8 feet high Three days later the flower collapsed]

seeming trivialities His office is in San Francisco, his home on one of the loftiest hills in Berkeley, across the bay

"Is it any more difficult, Mr. Heinrich, to detect a forgery when the writing is done in a foreign language ? And is it necessary that the examiner be an accomplished linguist ?"

"No—to both questions During the World War enemy agents busied themselves in an attempt to hatch a nasty brood of troubles for John Bull, and by making their headquarters in San Francisco, Uncle Sam was drawn into it The idea was to stir up enough strife to warrant sending troops to India, thereby making that many less effectives available for use on the western front. This was known as the Hindu-Ghadr Revolution Plot.

"During the trial of these cases I served the United States and British governments jointly. Examinations were made and authorship established of documents and papers written in Bengali, Gurmuki, Hindustani, Urdu, German, Spanish and English, and I lay no claim to being a linguist." He had produced some sheets of paper with lines of characters that resembled shorthand notes all jammed up tight.

"This is Bengali script. (p. 89.) Do you see how this W-like character is formed ? And this one that looks like the letter V ? See how it is joined to the next character in every case ? These are some of the peculiarities of this man's writing which help-

ed to clear up a great many questions and to convict him.

"In work of this kind, while it is not essential that an examiner should be a linguist, it is necessary that the fundamental movements by which writing is executed be thoroughly understood

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Ant Legions Fight Savage Battle in a Zoo

They staged a battle over in the London Zoo recently The keepers turned a thousand or more animals loose, urged them to attack each other, and before the melee was over, several hundred had been killed and many others badly wounded The London newspapers carried running accounts of the fight, excited spectators came to view it

Why was such a thing allowed? Well, you see all the "animals" were ants That made it pretty safe for the human onlookers But if you think that the battle was any less ferocious or deadly than a combat between tribes of wild-cats or herds of elephants, you are mistaken The ant, when properly aroused, can give any animal lessons in ruthlessness

The most remarkable thing, however, was the way in which the opposing armies planned their campaigns and conducted their attacks It was proof of that illuminating remark made by the great English naturalist, Sir John Lubbock, when he said "Of all animals, the ant is nearest to man in all his actions" The remarkable intelligence of the ant, which makes him one of the most versatile creatures alive, has long aroused wonder, and here is a demonstration that he can use his brains in the heat of battle as well as in the calmer days of peace

It all started on a bright Monday morning, when one of the keepers at the Zoo placed a little wooden chip, not on an ant's shoulder but over the moat that separated two ant colonies—an old one that had been there for three years, and a new one just arrived The chip served as a bridge, and for the first time made possible communication between the two nests

A member of the old colony got curious. He sneaked across the bridge and penetrated into the new nest of ants He never came back

That meant war, the old ants decided But they did not lose their heads and dash pell-mell across the bridge only to be swallowed up in a possible ambush Instead, they chose 10 of their best warriors and sent them out as scouts These daring ants crawled across the chip of wood, with the muddy water of the moat menacing them from below, and crept cautiously into the enemy's territory

They found nothing All the new ants were hidden away in their nest, unaware of the catastrophe impending The wise scouts went back home

An excited council of war must have followed, for in a few minutes there issued from the old nest an imposing array of warriors marching in ranks as orderly and well defined as the Macedonian phalanx A few scattered ants running alongside threw the white sand up into little mounds that could serve as fortifications in case "earthworks" were needed for defense. Then the whole band, now greatly augmented, swarmed across the bridge.

A lone ant of the new colony was out taking the air when he saw the hostile band come pouring toward him. He was brave, but he also was wise Therefore he hurried back to the nest to warn the others In a few seconds all his comrades were streaming out to the attack

The carnage that followed was terrific It sounds almost unbelievable, but the fight lasted for four days and nights

On one occasion an armistice was arranged, but it lasted only a few hours Evidently the terms were broken by one side or the other, for the battle was resumed, and more wounded lay quivering on the white sand or floating helplessly in the water beneath the bridge, while dead bodies lay strewn around everywhere With their big mandibles, the warriors slashed at one another in individual combat They tossed the weaker ones into the moat or failing this, cut off their opponents' limbs and left them helpless

By Thursday afternoon the invaders from the old colony had been driven back across their bridge and practically annihilated Their fortifications were useless, for the rout was complete. The new ants took some of their captives for slaves, killed the rest, and then went back home The workers cleared the dead from the field, and all was peace.

The intelligence and power of organization shown by the ant in time of war is no less marked in time of peace This amazing little animal not only is an efficient warrior he is also an architect a mathematician, a perfect nursemaid, a professional strong man, a farmer, a doctor, and an undertaker of distinction He displays teamwork and a force of will, equaled only by his fondness for gay life (including, alas! intoxication) and sports Doctor Hermann Eidmann, famous entomologist, of Munich, Germany, assures us, too, that the ant can talk!

Consider, first his skill as an architect In East Africa may be found tall, slim towers of earth built up by the white ant, or termite. Some of these towers are 20 feet high. Imagine a creature only a quarter of an inch long constructing a piece of architecture 20 feet in height! It is as if the ancient Egyptians had built 12 pyramids one on top of the other. And the Egyptians at least had primitive tools, while the ant works with nothing except the limbs that nature gave him

In the mountains of Pennsylvania are found some of the largest "ant cities" in the world Most of them are built underground, and the biggest one covers 30 acres. Think of 30 acres of ants! Think of the bewildering complexity of the subterranean passageways, and you will wonder how an ant ever finds his way back to his starting-place Yet he does, by some mysterious sense of direction

The ant is the most efficient builder in the world, for he carries all his "tools" and material with him. For instance, he can make a sort of millboard for his home by chewing up certain vegetable matter and causing it to stick together by means of a glue secreted in his glands

Perhaps the most striking demonstration of the ant's intelligence is afforded by the manner in which he builds a shelter among the branches of a tree by "sewing" leaves together. The full grown ant can spin no "thread," but the larva can, for it has to make a cocoon. So the adults fetch up their larvae, which have been spinning their silk cocoons A number of worker ants pull the edge of two

leaves together. An adult holds a larva in its mouth, pokes the latter's head down on the leaves and the little larva begins to emit silk at a good rate. The ant holding it draws it back and forth across the two leaves, and since the silk sticks and hardens almost immediately, a large number of such contacts have the value of stitches, and the "sewing" process soon is finished

The ant was the originator of the cooperative institution. He knows more about teamwork than any 10 football coaches combined.

Just for callous curiosity, take a spade some day, find an ant hill, and cut it clean in two. Then notice what happens. For a few minutes the little animals will run around in desperation, but so as if some mysterious voice were commanding the they will stop their aimless scutterings and g down to work, each doing the task nearest at han One will pick up the pupae, which cannot stan the light of day, and carry them into the deep caverns, another will seize a grain of sand an start to repair the nearest breach, still another w carry away any debris that has fallen in t tunnels.

And the most peculiar thing about it all is th apparently no one ant directs the work. The is no leader, no boss. Yet they work like machine.

THE SACRIFICE

By SEETA DEVI

1

THE day had been fearfully hot, but a gentle breeze now started shaking the leaves of the neighbouring cocoanut tree The door of the big bedroom of the Chakrvartis opened noisily and a girl of twenty-five or thereabouts came out She looked on all sides and then called out, "Kanu, O Kanu!"

She got no reply She came down to the yard and saw that the front door stood wide open She stood in the doorway looking anxiously out A young girl, dressed in a striped red sari and a pair of tinkling anklets, came and asked "Aunt Sari, will you come with me to the tank?"

"How can I?" said Sari or Sarojini "I don't know where that good-for-nothing brat of mine has run to I wonder whether he could have fallen into a tank or pit!"

"How you talk!" said the young girl. "Why should he fall into a tank? I saw him just now playing in Chhidam's house with his grandchildren"

"The young scamp!" said Sarojini "He is as wicked as he is ugly He is born a Brahmin, but he cannot make friends with any but low-caste people. Ever since he came here, he got stuck at Chhidam's. I wonder what there is so attractive there. If my aunt hears about it, she will beat me with a broom. These people are Mahomedans; I wonder whether the child takes anything there!"

There is no strict observance of the purdah in village society, especially for the daughters of the village. Sarojini did not even vei herself as she started out, saying, "Shail will you come out with me a little way?" Shaila objected a little, saying "But aunt, mothe told me to return very soon."

"Why, madame?" asked the elder gir jestingly, "is your bridegroom coming to day?" Shaila blushed deeply, but made no other answer

"Very well, go back," said Sarojini, "i is not very far off, I can go alone." She let go of Shaila's hand and went off alone.

Chhidam's house stood at a little distance. As she came near it, she saw her four year old son Kanu sitting in their yard and feeding a kid with grass and new leaves. Chhidam's grandson was collecting these materials and his granddaughter was busy trying to put her anklets on the legs of the kid. The poor creature had very little taste for this adornment, but its objections were not at all listened to

Sarojini slapped the child's face vigorously and then dragged him off home. The boy roared lustily all the way. As soon as she reached the house, the first person she saw was her venerable old aunt, who was sitting in the sun, nodding and yawning. "Why are you beating the child?" she asked her niece

"What else is to be done? she replied; "he is a wicked young imp and will come to a bad end. I found him playing by the side of the big tank. He will get himself drowned one day."

"I did not go to the big tank," howled

Kanu, "I want the kid, O O, Oh." Sarojini slapped him even more soundly to shut him up There would be a mighty to-do if her aunt came to know that the child had been to a Mahomedan's house.

"What a wretch you are," said the old lady, "you have got only one baby left, and yet you are beating him day and might" She began to yawn and nod again. Sarojini felt very depressed all of a sudden She left the child and entered her bedroom.

Sarojini's husband's home was in a neighbouring village. At first, after her marriage she used to come home once a year, regularly But after the children began to come, these annual visits grew less regular This time she had come after five years These years had brought her joys and sorrows with no niggardly hand. Of her three babies two had left her Sarojini's heart was full of fear for the one that was left. Would God leave him to her, unfortunate woman that she was? She wanted to pour out all the wealth of her heart before the altar of this child-god but drew back in fear So her treatment of the child was most inconsistent. Sometimes she would lavish an amazing amount of love on him, sometimes nothing but blows and scoldings would fall to his share. In his father's house Kanu did not have a very happy time, because he had no way of escape from his mother and had to submit to this capricious treatment. All the servants of the house were busy with him the whole day If he made but one step out of the front door, he was at once captured and brought back

But he breathed with relief when he came here His mother spent most of her time gossiping and playing cards with her friends and sisters-in-law and had very little time to spare for him. The family was poor and did not keep any servants. So if he could once escape from his mother, there was no one to restrict his movements.

He made full use of this newly found freedom. He made friends with all the children of the neighbourhood, be they high-caste or low His great favourites were Chhidam's grandchildren Besides the children, there were puppies, kittens and a kid. He loved the kid most of all. He called the kid Panu, rhyming it with his own name Kanu, and presented it with the new coat, he had received from his parents this year as a Pujah gift. His mother, of course, retrieved the garment in no time. Kanu next tried to make a present of his shoes, but had to give up in despair as he could not solve the problem of putting two shoes on four feet.

But the strict orthodoxy of his grandfather's house was a torture to him. Ever and anon he would be brought back in disgrace from Chhidam's house and washed and purified Sarojini herself was not very orthodox, but she feared her old aunt and had to give way to their injunctions But as she had come back after a long time, she spent a good deal of her time with her old play-fellows and so Kanu could roam about at large to his heart's content.

The few days of the Pujah festival passed away all too soon. Sarojini must go back now. She had obtained permission to visit her father's home with great difficulty She had promised to get back before her husband's sister left for her own home. This sister-in-law had kindly consented to look after the house for the few days Sarojini would be absent

On the day they were to leave, Kanu was dragged back from Chhidam's house with great difficulty He clasped Panu in his arms and nobody could loosen his hold. The old Mahomedan felt sorry for the boy and said "Please let him have the kid, madam."

Sarojini turned up her nose at this impudence "Why should he take it?" she said sharply "Kanu, let go at once!" She dragged off the child by main force. "Take away your kid", she ordered the old man, "he will not stop, unless you take it away from before his eyes."

As Sarojini was about to enter the carriage, her aunt said, "Look here, my dear, don't beat the child too much You have got only one left. And try to remember that you are born a Brahmin, and must act as one Don't mix freely with all the low-caste people; it is a sin."

2

Kanu was very depressed for a few days after his return to his father's house. In the evening, as Sarojini went to give him his cup of milk, she found him sitting silent in a corner of the room "Are you ill?" she asked anxiously The child shook his head.

"Then why are you sitting with your face pulled so long?"

"I am hungry," roared Kanu all of a sudden.

Sarojini pushed the cup of milk to his lips and said, "Well, can't you ask for food, when you are hungry? You can talk like a parrot when nobody wants you to, but you are dumb, when you should"

Kanu pushed away the cup, after taking one or two gulps of milk. "Have you finished?" asked Sarojini

"The milk is bad, I won't take it", said the boy.

"Bad indeed!" said the mother "I don't know what has happened to you, you little nuisance, you are always sniffing and finding fault with everything" She went away with the milk

As soon as her husband returned she went to him and said "You don't take any care of the child at all. He is getting queerer every day He won't take any kind of food, and how is such a young child to live without food?"

"Why are you here, may I ask?" said the husband angrily "Am I to work at the office and look after the child, too? I have no objection to working as a nurse to your boy, if you would kindly look after the office."

She went back with his eyes full of tears She had come for a little sympathy and she got this! Her heart was heavy, partly with fear for her child and partly with anger against her husband

Kanu became more and more unmanageable everyday. He would not take food, he would not bathe or sleep Before, he used to fall asleep at eight and slept like a top all through the night Now he woke up with a cry three or for times during the night and would sleep again only after a great deal of petting and cajoling

A few days before the Kali Puja, Sarojini got up in the morning and found that Kanu was burning with fever Bereavement had come more than once in her life, young as she was She was almost petrified with fright After a while she shook up her sleeping husband and said, "Kanu has got fever."

"Have you looked well?" asked her husband sleepily

"I have, as much as I could", said she weeping. "You get up and see"

Kanu's father got up and examined him well Then he began to put on his coat and said, "Don't feed him now, I am going far the doctor".

He went out. A black shadow seemed to have descended over every thing and all seemed dark to her She sat beside her child and felt too nervous to be afraid even.

Her husband Birendra returned after a while, with the doctor He examined the child, wrote a prescription and went out Birendra asked him something and he answered in English Sarojini's heart grew cold with fear and she asked him anxiously, "What did the doctor say?"

"Nothing much," said Birendra; "the season is not good and he told us to be careful" He went out quickly as if afraid of her asking him anything more

Sarojini could not attend to anything that day She did not even take her meals. Luckily her sister-in-law was still there, or the whole family would have gone without food that day. Next day, in the morning, Birendra went to take the temperature of the child. "Has the temperature fallen?" asked Sarojini anxiously

Birendra shook his head This young couple had made the acquaintance of the god of death all too soon, and they sat silent now, without speaking to each other.

After a while Kanu opened his eyes and said, "I want fried rice, mother"

Sarojini passed her hand across his brow and said, "I have not got it now I shall give it after a while Take a little milk now, there's a good boy,"

Kanu had not the slightest desire to be a good boy He shook his head and cried, "I won't take milk, I want fried rice Take me to grandfather's house, they have got fried rice there"

"All right, I shall try it now, you take this milk first", said his mother, consolingly.

But Kanu would not be consoled; he pushed away the cup of milk and wept, "I want to go to grandfather's house"

"Very well", said his mother, "we shall go there, get well first"

But Kanu did not show any sign of getting well His fever grew worse, and complications developed Sarojini's constant weeping drove Birendra to the town, from whence be fetched a doctor of great reputation He prescribed a good many medicines, but these did not seem to mend matters much. The child grew weaker and weaker He did not even weep or talk.

An old man practised homeopathy in the village. Sarojini went to him and wept out her tale. He heard the history of the disease and said: "Well, little mother, I

can prescribe medicine, but my treatment will not go with the doctor's treatment."

"I won't give him doctor's medicine, I will give yours only ?

When she came home, she found that Birendra had already given the child its medicine. Sarojini decided that two good medicines would have double effect, and administered the homeopathic medicine also This occurred more than once The fever showed no partiality for either treatment, but went on increasing

In the early morning, she dreamed an ill-omened dream and woke up in tears She ran to her sleeping husband and said, shaking him, "Please look after the child a bit I am going to Kali's temple"

You need not go anywhere now," he said "Prepare Kanu's milk first" Sorojini did not listen to him

She came back after a long while She had been praying before the goddess with all her heart and soul and had lost all count of time She had forgotten even about the child's meals

When she came back, she saw her husband sitting with an angry scowl on his face "What on earth have you been doing ?" he asked ; "the sick child had been crying for food Have you no sense at all ?"

Sarojini shivered with fear, lest his anger should offend the goddess She changed the topic at once and said, "I have promised the goddess a pair of kids, if my child gets well. Have you fed Kanu, or shall I bring his milk ?"

Birendra's face still scowled disapproval "Do you think he would remain without food so long ? I have spoiled half the milk, it boiled over upon my hand It is hurting me like the devil , see if you can give me something to put on it"

Sarojini sat up through the whole night. She felt overpowered with sleep now and then, but the memory of last night's frightful dream brought her back forcibly from before the gates of dreamland

As the eastern sky grew rosy with the approach of dawn, her heart felt light all of a sudden She ran to Kanu, and placed her hand on his brow The fever seemed much less She did not believe her own senses. Misfortune had made her mistrustful even of small pieces of luck. She placed her hand again on the child. This time too the fever seemed less. She woke up her husband "Just put your hand on Kanu once," she said.

"Why, why?" he cried sitting up in fright, "is the fever worse?"

"No, no," said Sarojini; "it seems less to me, so I want to be confirmed."

Birendra left his bed and approached his son, thermometer in hand. Sarojini gazed intently at that small tube of glass, with her two eyes full of hope and fear It seemed as if her whole life hung in the balance Birendra took away the thermometer and went to the hurricane lantern. He examined it closely and long His wife grew alarmed and asked, "What are you doing with it for such a length of time? Is not the fever less? Why do you not speak ?"

Birendra looked up at his wife's face, which had grown pale with fear "Don't be afraid," he said consolingly, "did fear ever help matters? Why do you weep like a child ? Kanu's fever is much less. See for yourself," he held out the thermometer to her Sarojini took it and saw that he had told her the truth

She went and threw herself on her bed. All her anxiety and agony of mind flowed out in the form of tears from her eyes. Birendra understood He sat silently by her, and stroked her head.

Kanu's fever had really left him. He began slowly to recover. He began to talk, to ask for forbidden things, to quarrel with his mother and even to try to run out of the room. Sarojini had been working like a giant all these days She had passed most of her nights without sleep, still she knew no fatigue of body or mind. Suddenly all her strength seemed to have left her She had to drag herself up forcibly from her bed in the morning. She felt sleepy and tired all the day. She sat by the kitchen fire and nodded with sleep. Her cooking grew too bad to be believed.

'You need not cook any more," said Birendra, after a few days. "One day you will fall into the fire. I have engaged a cook The doctor had prescribed a change for Kanu. I see that Kanu's mother needs a change more"

Kanu grew better without any change of air Sarojini had to be on the alert the whole day, lest Kanu would give her the slip and escape out of the house Though the cooking was no longer her duty, yet she was still too tired to look after a convalescent child. So she would grow irritable now and then and her old habit of beating the child would possess her again But the hand

raised to strike would drop by her side again. This one too had been about to leave her. But for the mercy of the goddess, there would not have been any one left to annoy the unfortunate mother Kanu used to prepare himself for the blow with his head bowed down and his back arched, but when the impending blow would retire from halfway, he would become dumbfounded with astonishment and the howl he had kept ready to announce his disapproval of his mother's behaviour, would die in his throat

A few days passed away like this Then Sarojini said to her husband, "You are keeping mighty quiet, have you forgotten that our principal duty still remains undone ?"

"What is that, if I may ask ?" said Birendra.

"I have promised to sacrifice a pair of kids to the Goddess Kali Must not we see to it now ?"

"Alright," said Birendra shortly That day in the morning, as Kanu came out of the bedroom after taking his morning cup of milk, he jumped with surprise and cried out with gladness ringing in his voice, "Panu, Panu, see mother Panu has come to us"

Sarojini ran out hastily A man had been despatched to the weekly country fair to purchase the kids. He had returned with them and tied them to a post in the big yard, without her knowing anything about it At Kanu's shout of glee, she ran out and then felt ready to sink down at the sight that met her eyes Kanu had clasped Panu in his arms and was dancing with joy. He was feeding it, stroking its glossy back and trying to lift it in his arms Panu did not seem to enjoy these proceedings much, but he was taking the grass and other food offered quietly Sarojini grew alarmed. How would it be possible to take away the kid from Kanu ? But what else could be done ? The kid had been bought as a sacrifice to the goddess and sacrifice it they must It would be a terrible sin to think otherwise. For the good of Kanu, they must give him a little pain

She tried to deceive the child "What a silly you are,"she said, "this is not Panu. Panu is not so big

Kanu laughed in scorn at his mother's ignorance. "Oh no, it is Panu Do you think I don't know ? See, here are the marks of anklets round his legs." The kid had white marks on the legs Sarojini had hoped to convince Kanu, with her lies, but she had to retire discomfitted from the contest.

Kanu did not give any trouble to any one that day. He did not budge an inch from Panu's side. The kid was so well attended to, that it bleated in fear and discomfort. At night Sarojini found it on her bed by Kanu's side This time Kanu received some good slaps, but that did not diminish his ardour a bit He too went with Panu, to the yard, to share the bed of straw Sarojini had to admit defeat again and she arranged for the kid's staying inside, close by the door The sacrifice was to take place the next day How was Kanu to be persuaded to give up his playmate ? His mother began to feel very nervous about it At last she decided to take away the kid very early in the morning when Kanu would be still asleep and to place it in some neighbour's house. From thence it could be safely transferred to the temple.

But Kanu was even quicker than his mother His protective instinct warned him of danger beforehand Sarojini got up early, but found to her dismay that Panu was no longer there As soon as she had got up, she had found Kanu absent from the room She knew that both the runaways would be found together She informed her husband, then sent out a servant to look for Kanu and Panu She herself stood at the front door, looking anxiously in every direction for a sign of the missing ones

No sign could be found of them, but a messenger came from the temple and informed her that it was nearly time for the sacrifice and the priest had asked them to come soon with everything ready.

"We are just starting," said Sarojini to the man, but she could not think of any way of managing this Unless Kanu and the kid were found, what could be done ? She forcibly dragged herself away from the front door and made all the other arrangements for the ceremony She bathed and dressed and Birendra too was driven into getting ready.

Just at this time a clamour at the front door was heard The child's cry mingled with the kid's bleating Everybody ran to the door. A servant was trying to take away Panu from the child's grasp Kanu clung to the kid with all his might and wept loudly

Sarojini ran to Kanu and caught hold of him. The servant at once snatched away the kid and disappeared in a hurry. Kanu

one beat and scratched like mad, weeping all the time and crying, "I won't let Panu be killed."

Sarojini could not imagine who could have given the child this information. She tried to take him in her arms and comfort him. "Who told you that Panu is to be killed ?" she asked; "they are taking it only to bathe it, because it is very dirty."

Kanu struggled frantically to get away from her "You are telling me a lie," he cried ; "Bhola has told me that you will kill him. I won't let you"

Sarojini was very late for the sacrificial ceremony. She could not soothe Kanu and at last left him crying in her sister-in-law's charge and hurried to the temple. The priest had waited for her and began as soon as she arrived The ceremony was over very soon

Sarojini felt very nervous as she returned home She wondered how she would find everything. She heard the sound of Kanu's weeping even before she had entered the house As she entered, she was informed that Kanu could not be fed by any means, he had fallen down and cut his forehead while trying to run out of the house She entered her bedroom and found her sister-in-law sitting by Kanu, trying to make him sleep Kanu had a bandage round his forehead, through which a red stain was slowly making its appearance

Sarojini's heart suddenly seemed to turn to ice with fright The stream of blood, she had just seen in the temple, seemed to have rolled here and touched her child's forehead She had offered blood to the goddess for her child's good, but her child's blood had flown in consequence. Her eyes filled with tears and she bowed down again and again in her mind to the goddess and asked pardon of her for her child's misbehaviour.

Birendra had been out for a walk. Coming back, he found his wife in tears and asked in surprise, "What is the matter ?"

"Go in and see," said Sarojini. Birendra went in without a word. He came out immediately after and said, "Don't you know yet that one has to call a doctor if some one is down with fever? You have got three servants in the house and they all know the doctor's house."

Sarojini's face turned white. "Has he got fever again ?" she asked.

Birendra got annoyed and said, "You don't know even that ? Then what on earth were you weeping about ? Go in and see to the child. I am going for the doctor You are all so supremely wise and needs must take away the kid by force from the boy. There were only those two kids in this world one would suppose."

"How can you talk so ?" said his wife weeping "The kid was purchased as an offering to the goddess ; what could I do but take it ?"

"Very well, you have taken it and now stand ready to bear the consequences" With this he walked out of the house

The doctor came. "A relapse again ?" he asked with a grave face. "This is rather serious Such a young child, to have two attacks, within such a short time ! Be extremely careful. Have this prescription made up at once and don't let the child get up at all. He must be kept well covered, too"

Birendra did not go to his office that day. He sat by the side of his son and attended to him. But the child was extremely restless. He would not lie down, he would not take any medicine and nothing could stop his loud weepings. His fever increased and gradually he began to sink.

On the morning of the third day he said suddenly, "I want Panu"

Birendra stroked his body soothingly. "Get well first, my darling," he said, "and I will bring you Panu"

The child pushed away his hand "No, you won't", he wept, "you have killed him."

Sarojini was sleeping the sleep of utter exhaustion She dreamed that goddess Kali stood before her, saying, "It is getting late, where is my sacrifice ?"

At the agonised call of her husband, she sat up in alarm. But one little playmate had already departed in search of the other. The child started on his last journey, dressed in the new coat which once he had presented to Panu.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

By M P SARANGAPANI

OF one who had rendered noble services to France, Anatole France wrote, "Such a life is a masterpiece" With equal justification, and no less truth, one might repeat the sentence in regard to the life of the late Dr Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya, the father



Mrs Sarojini Naidu
From a photograph taken in Durban, 1920

of Mrs Sarojini Naidu Aghorenath was born in the village of Brahmangaon, in the district of Dacca, in the year 1851. He was the youngest of four brothers After a distinguished academical career in the Presidency College, Calcutta, he proceeded to England with the Gilchrist scholarship of £ 300 a year for further studies. He joined the B. Sc. classes at the Edinburgh University, studying under Professors Crum Brown and Tait. Having stood first in the B. Sc., he obtained the Baxter Prize in Physical Science in 1875. Soon after, he won also the much-coveted Hope Prize in Chemistry, standing first in a competitive examination for which some of the professors from Cambridge and London also sat He then went to Germany, and carried on research work for two years at the university of Bonn, and studied "Crystallography" under Prof. Vomrath, Heat and Electricity under Prof Clausius, and Organic Chemistry—the Benzine Group—under Prof Kekule Returning from Germany to Edinburgh, he took his D Sc in 1877 After completing his foreign education he had just returned to India when his father died The late Nizam of Hyderabad, who was keen on spreading education in his Dominions, and who had come to know of Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya's brilliant intellectual qualities, invited him to organise education in his State Aghorenath accepted service under the late Nizam, and set to work with zeal immediately In a short time, education began to make rapid progress in Hyderabad, all through the initiative and organising ability of the young, enthusiastic educationist He first established the Nizam College, and then set about establishing schools both for boys and girls, all over the Nizam's Dominions His pioneering work was at once recognised, and thereafter he was known as the 'Father of Education' in the State. More than all his educational work, however, was his exemplary life that extorted the admiration of all for its nobility and purity, for its embodiment of all great ideals, of truth, of love, of justice and patriotism Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya and his wife (who wholeheartedly cooperated with her husband in all his activities) threw open their home to all who might choose to come without any the least distinction. There were many students who were practically permanent residents of their home, and who were all brought up, so to speak, with equal tenderness and solicitude, cared for equally, along with his own children, of whom Aghorenath was blessed with eight, four sons and four daughters. All the children in the house who were not his own called Aghorenath

Chattopadhyaya their "uncle". It was natural that in such a home no notion of caste, creed or race should have entered the mind of the young, who must have lived in perfect comradeship and love In that delightful and perfect commonwealth of children, all social and credal and racial differences should naturally have vanished and they must have lived as one happy family of brothers and sisters. There were no distinctions All had equal privileges of a common home. To a cup of tea and hearty and endearing talk even strangers were welcome, at all time of the day The home of Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya was known as the 'Seat of Learning', because there met all men of learning and culture and distinction—moulvis, pandits, European scholars, lawyers, public men, and indeed everybody who had some pretence to scholarship

SAROJINI'S CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

Such was the home into which Sarojini came The fortunate circumstances of her life cannot be measured in terms of worldly riches but by other riches more valuable than gold, more lasting Fortunate, indeed, she was to have been born of so great parents as Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya and his wife There is no doubt whatever that the first influences in her life shaped her general attitude once for all, which stood many a test, in the future, when she was confronted with thorny problems in her personal as well as public life Sarojini Chattopadhyaya, the eldest living of Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya's children, was born at Hyderabad on the 13th of February, 1879. True educationist that he was, Aghorenath allowed his children to grow in perfect freedom There was no sort of 'don't do that, don't do this' code in the house. Thus she enjoyed unrestricted freedom in the home She was also brought up, in a sense, in the lap of luxury. Her father employed an English governess and a French governess with a view to giving her an excellent training She had the luxury of having her own room, her own library, her own furniture and her own wardrobe, even when she was but a child' Aghorenath showed special attention to all her requirements Being an educationist himself, he took pleasure in giving lessons in nature study and science by means of simple conversation to all the children in his house. And quite early Aghorenath laid the foundation of Sarojini's sound general knowledge Though Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya and his wife spoke Bengali in the home, the children all spoke to their parents only in Urdu, which was no doubt due to the influence of environment This had one excellent result· the children became all good linguists. As Sarojini grew a little older, she had a Persian



Dr. Aghorenath Chattopadhyava

teacher, and she had to take up Persian as second language in her school course Appearing for the Matriculation examination of the Madras University when she was only in her twelfth year, she passed that examination creditably Quite early she had developed a taste for literature By the age of fourteen she had read almost all the English poets, her favourite authors probably being Shelley, Tennyson and Browning, as she read them more than others. About this period she showed signs of a fast developing mind, a mind that responded most sensitively to the beauty of external phenomena She had a

distinctly poetical bent. In her, as yet, the poetic soul was struggling for self-expression. In her letter to Arthur Symons she speaks of how her inborn poetic instinct struggled for mastery over circumstance, and how it ultimately triumphed



Srimati Baradasundari Devi,
(Mrs Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya)

"One day, when I was eleven, I was sighing over a sum in Algebra. It *wouldn't* come right, but instead, a whole poem came to me suddenly. I wrote it down. From that day my 'poetic career' began. At thirteen I wrote a long poem *a la* 'Lady of the Lake'—1,300 lines in six days. At thirteen I wrote a drama of 2,000 lines, a full-fledged passionate thing that I began on the spur of the moment without forethought, just to spite my doctor, who said I was very ill and must not touch a book."

It is not everyone who sits down to work a sum in Algebra, and gets disgusted with it, that could do the alternative feat of composing a whole poem on the instant, still less could one spout forth a drama, however short, on the spur of the moment, just to spite the doctor, who, in the ordinary performance of his duty, had pronounced the patient as too weak for any mental strain and advised stopping of book-reading. No surer evidence was required, after this amazing demonstration, to prove that Sarojini had the true poetic gift. The poet in her was all along struggling for self-expression, but the time was not come yet for the awakening of her full powers. That was still in the future. After passing her Matriculation examination, some time later, she wrote a little Persian play (in English) called "Meher Muneer". (It is not clear whether it is to this one or some other that Sarojini refe in her letter to Arthur Symons, just quote This play was, probably, influenced by h Persian study, which she was then makin Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya, who had alwa encouraged his daughter's literary proclivitie got this printed in the local press, as generous mark of his appreciation and furthe encouragement. A few copies of the littl Persian play were distributed to a fe friends, and one copy was presented to th late Nizam in the year 1895. On seeing th work, and having already learnt of youn Sarojini's preoccupations with poetry, an sincerely desirous of encouraging true genius His Exalted Highness sent a message to Dr Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya to inquire wha his daughter would have as royal gift This little incident resulted in Sarojin being granted a foreign scholarship o £300 a year, with first-class passage, in 1895

FOREIGN EDUCATION AND TRAVEL

Sarojini was then at the early age of sixteen, but of fears she knew none, though she was unwilling at first to go to England. She went to Bombay, and from there she sailed for England, with an old family friend to keep company during the voyage. In England she had the unique privilege of being the ward of the great Miss Manning, who was the pioneer worker for Indian students in England. To Miss Manning's salon some of the highest literary figures in England, and other highly cultured men in society, resorted. Here it was that Sarojini first met Mr (now Sir) Edmund Gosse, who later stood sponsor to her in England, through the kind offices of Miss Manning. She met in the same place other literary critics of London who were to be her friends, met the late William Archer, the distinguished dramatic critic, who did so much to popularise Ibsen in England, met also Mr. Heinemann, her future publisher. As the rules of no college at Cambridge would permit the admission of a student before eighteen, and as Sarojini was then only sixteen, she attended lectures at King's College, London, until she could join Cambridge. Meanwhile, she had to be getting ready for her "Little-Go" at Cambridge. At eighteen she was admitted into Girton College, but obviously that kind of life did not suit her. She got tired of university life, with its routine and discipline. Her



Mrs Sarojini Naidu,
President, 40th Indian National Congress
(From a Photograph taken in England a few years ago)

contemporaries in Cambridge used to say of her: "You have a little Indian girl here, who does nothing but write poetry!" In a few months her health broke down, and her career at Girton came to an abrupt end. Leaving Cambridge, she travelled on the continent, sojourning in Switzerland and Italy for a few months in the year 1897. The grandeur and beauty of the natural scenery of Switzerland and of the beauty-spots in Italy, no less than the historic past of Italy, stirred Sarojini's heart to its very depths Italy, the mother of the Renaissance, Italy the land of Dante, the home of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and Italy which produced a Mazzini and a Garibaldi, must have appealed to her imagination by the rich legacy of history.



Major M G. Naidu, M.B., C. M., (Edin.) Retd. Principal Medical Officer, H. E. H. The Nizam's Service, Hyderabad

A TURNING-POINT

When Sarojini was in London, and after she got herself once introduced to Edmund Gosse, she was a frequent visitor to that critic's house, and soon became one of the most intimate and welcome of his guests. She had then been writing a lot of poetry, and one day in one of her irrepressible moods blurted out the truth to her host. Mr. Gosse requested to be allowed to see her compositions, and a big-sized bundle of MSS. was placed in his hands by Sarojini, a slip of a girl, who had entertained



Miss Leilamani Naidu (Second Daughter of Mrs. Naidu, studying at Oxford)

ambitions of achieving poetic fame in a language that was totally foreign to her! He scrutinised the bundle, and was utterly disappointed with the stuff. He was in an embarrassment, but there was no way out of the difficulty He knew that Sarojini was young, enthusiastic, he would take the risk and advise her. Let Mr. Gosse himself speak

"I advised the consignment of all that she had written, in this falsely English vein, to the waste-paper basket. I implored her to consider that from a young Indian of extreme sensibility, who had mastered not merely the language but the prosody of the West, what we wished to receive was, not a rechauffe of Anglo-Saxon sentiment in an Anglo-Saxon setting, but some revelation of the heart of India, some sincere penetrating analysis of native passion, of the principles of antique religion and of such mysterious intimations as stirred the soul of the East long before the West had begun to dream that it had a soul Moreover, I entreated Sarojini to write no more about robins and skylarks, in a landscape of our Midland countries, with the village bells somewhere in the distance calling the parishioners to church, but to describe the flowers, the fruits, the trees, to set her poems firmly among the mountains, the gardens, the temples, to intro-

duce to us the vivid populatious of her own voluptuous and unfamiliar province, in other words, to be a genuine Indian poet of the Deccan, not a clever machine-made imitator of the English classics '

Sarojini accepted the good-natured criticism of Mr. Gosse, tendered to her with the best of motives, and what was more, acted up to his suggestion and advice The result was that, when ten years later she published



The eldest son of the family, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, an exile from home since 1901, when he was only 21 years of age

her first volume of verse, and still later two more volumes, her poetry struck an individual note, not to speak of its matchless lyric passion Her maturer work, especially "The Bird of Time" (1912), was of such quality that, in the words of Mr. Gosse himself, there was "nothing, or almost nothing, which the severest criticism could call in question."

Marriage and Domestic Life

After a stay of three years in England, with an interval of a brief sojourn on the continent, in September of 1898 Sarojini returned to Hyderabad. Even before she had left for England, in 1895, when she was only sixteen, the great struggle of her life began. But she must be constant to her love, and loyal to the man to whom she had a given her love. And so in the De of the year in which she returne England, she married Dr M. Govind Naidu, the man of her choice, br through the bonds of caste, firm i resolve never to desert her cherished though friends might fail her and her community scoff at her and call her a ren It has been throughout a happy domest that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu enjoyed, t occasionally marred by illnesses caus the general poor state of health whic her lot from the beginning. Her consti was delicate, and any little cause upset In one of her dejected moods, she wro Arthur Symons in 1904.

"Do you know I have some very be poems floating in the air and if the g kind I shall cast my soul like a net and c them this year. If the gods are and grant me a little measure of It is all I need to make my life perfect, very 'Spirit of Delight' that Shelley w dwells in my little home, it is full of the m birds in the garden and children in th arched verandah."

Yes, "it (health) is all I need to my life perfect" Dr M. C. Naidu w most loving of husbands that one imagine, and Sarojini found in him th filment of her soul's deepest yearning children she was blessed with four, two and two daughters In worldly riches she fairly endowed The poet in her was emerging, finding fuller expression. She not yet realised some of her most cher dreams. Would she be cut off in the of her life? That was the doubt that lingered in her mind. That was the cau her despondency, deep-rooted pessir Though frail in body, and delicate in health, the spirit in her was defiant, willed and purposeful.

"The Golden Threshold"

The period of despair, and the fear "any tomorrow I might die," was soon The clouds that darkened the sky of her h her aspirations, her ambitions, soon l Next year, in 1905, Mr Heinemann publi the first volume of Mrs Sarojini Na verse, called "The Golden Threshold," an introduction from her friend Ar Symons The poetry in this volume ha 'Eastern magic' which at once extorted miration and secured for it the unanim verdict of the English press that it

beautiful poetry." It was hailed by the terary critics of London as "pure gold," surprisingly individual," "authentic poetry," nd as expressing the "soul of the East". here was fundamentally something human these poems, said one of them, which emed to prove that the best song knew thing of East or West. It might be said Mrs Sarojini Naidu, as it was said in the se of Byron, she awoke one fine morning d found herself famous. Then followed o more volumes, "The Bird of Time" 912) and "The Broken Wing" (1917), the rmer being introduced by Mr Edmund sse The poetry in these volumes, especially The Bird of Time," added to her already ll-established reputation as a lyrical poet fine sensibility Sarojini, too, has had some rrow, and a good deal of suffering, which r service in the cause of the country (which e passionately loves) brought in its train. t her lyric energy slackened not a bit, as en her last volume "The Broken Wing" ll show The experience gained, on the ntrary, served only to give a richer, graver usic to her poetry, though something of e youthful ecstasy has passed out and some ern purpose has stepped in And that is all the poet's advantage

Some Personal Impressions

Mrs Sarojini Naidu's personal charms are any Some of us who are privileged to ow her intimately cannot but regard her th high admiration for some of her excellent rsonal qualities which endears her to one d all who come into contact with her. Her arms of manner, exquisite courtesy, ild-like simplicity, these combined to make r the most lovable of friends and the most urteous of hosts. She is the embodiment the very highest culture that one could nk of, having been the product of both ltures, oriental and occidental. A sense of ture greets one on entering her drawing-om, where dwells the very spirit of beauty, ile comfort has not been neglected. There a happy combination of beauty and comfort, e by side, beautiful objects of Eastern craft, hly coloured carpets and curtains, flower ses containing clusters of flowers, seeking to ease the aesthetic sense of a visitor, while nges meant for comfort-loving people e also provided Fragile in person, yet ere is a dainty grace in Sarojini's person-ity. Of her eyes, it might be recalled, rthur Symons has said: "Her eyes were like deep pools, and you seemed to fall through them into depths below depths." Mrs. Naidu is an engaging conversationalist. Her wit and vivacity adds zest to her conversations. Sarojini loves a company of friends more than anything else. When she was once under her doctor's orders that she should rest quiet and must not receive friends or visitors, she had dozens of them pouring into



Mrs Naidu's youngest brother, the poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya and his wife Srimati Kamala Devi

her room ! It is a touching scene to see how she is adored by her children in the household People who have seen Sarojini move from town to town, like some royal personage, and seen her only in public life, hardly realise that she has another side to her life. As wife, as mother and as the mistress of the house, she is an ideal person. Her conduct in domestic life is one of the most admirable aspects of her many-sided activities. Her devotion to her husband is exemplary, her

ove for her children is limitless, and her reatment of her servants in the home is nost sympathetic and kind.

First Entry into Politics

For many years past, before she threw ıerself into the Non-Co-operation movement, Irs. Sarojini Naidu had been taking some art, though she never entered controversial olitics of the movement, both in social and olitical work as patriotic duty demanded. Ier occasional public work, however, brought er into contact with many an eminent olitician in the country Of the early oliticians who influenced her most, and who ndeed might be said to have induced her) take to public work, was the late Mr. Gokhale. It was a long and intimate riendship that she enjoyed with him Irs. Naidu tells of how Gokhale would often peak to her of the joy and privilege of ervice for the country, of the unequalled pportunities for such service. When they 'ere both alone, in the gathering twilight f one evening, stirred by some great emo-on, Gokhale spoke to Sarojini

"Stand here with me, with the stars and hills r witness, and in their presence consecrate our life and your talent, your song and your peech, your thought and your dream to the otherland. O poet, see visions from the hill-tops nd spread abroad the message of hope to the ilers in the valleys"

These noble words of exhortation and oble counsel, at once solemn and inspiring, 'ere in the nature of an imperative com-nand, with perhaps a sting of admonition in , that should have roused a quick response) the call of patriotic duty that was addressed the poet Those were the stirring mes when national affairs seemed dark in-deed, when the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims was getting more nd more strained, when the gulf of separa-on between the Moderates and the Ex-emists was getting wider and wider. okhale was sick at heart with such politics was an impossible task for any single olitician, however great, to bring the country ound to sane and constructive politics. ortunately, however, the clouds that were ıreatening the political sky slowly lifted. he historic session of the new Muslim eague met in Lucknow on the 22nd March, 913, to adopt a new constitution which was sound the keynote of loyal co-operation ith the sister community in all matters of national welfare and progress. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had the unique privilege of attending and addressing the huge assembly of Muslims. Here it was that she first appeared on the public platform as the ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity and concord. Then, in the Bombay Congress of 1915, held under the presidency of Sir (now Lord) S. P. Sinha, she spoke from the Congress platform, for the first time, in support of the Resolution on Self-Government, concluding her eloquent speech with a poem on the higher vision of a United India It is from that day that her political career may be said to begin. At the Calcutta Congress, which was presided over by Mrs Besant, in 1917, she made an impassioned speech, and concluded .

"I am only a woman and I should like to say to you all, when your hour strikes, when you need torch-bearers in the darkness to lead you, when you want standard-bearers to uphold your banner and when you die for want of faith, the womanhood of India will be with you as the holder of your banner, and the sustainers of your strength. And if you die, remember, the spirit of Padmini of Chittore is enshrined with the manhood of India" (Loud cheers.)

She also spoke at the Muslim League, held at the same time and in the same place, in support of the resolution demanding the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukut Ali

Madras Provincial Conference

The Madras Provincial Conference, held at Conjeevaram in May 1918, over which she was called to preside, proved one of the most stormy of sessions held in the annals of the Congress. But she showed conspicuous ability and tact in managing and conducting the proceedings of the Conference. She delivered an extempore speech calling upon young men to enroll themselves in the service of the empire. She then justified her entry into the political field, leaving her sanctuary of poetry and dreams. She said

"Standing before you to-day, I feel a thrill of pride to say that henceforth I am not only with you but of you · for, in this great city, I have seen once more the Vision Beautiful to which my life is dedicated. Often and often have they said to me. "Why have you come out of the ivory tower of dreams to the market place ? Why have you deserted the pipe and flute of the poet to be the most strident trumpet of those who stand and call the Nation to battle ?" Because the function of a poet is not merely to be isolated in ivory towers of dreams set in a garden of roses, but his place is with the people : in the dust of the high-ways, in the difficulties of battle is the poet's destiny. The one reason why he is a poet is that in the hour of danger, in the hour of defeat and despair,

[th]e poet should say to the [d]reamer: "If you dream true, all [d]ifficulties, all illusions, all despair [a]re but *Maya*: the one thing [th]at matters is hope. Here I [st]and before you with your [hi]gher dreams, your invincible [co]urage your indomitaple vic[to]ries." Therefore, to-day in [th]e hour of struggle, when in [y]our hands it lies to win victory [fo]r India, I, a weak woman [h]ave come out of my home [I], a dreamer of dreams, have [c]ome into the market place, [a]nd I say, 'Go forth, comrades, [t]o victory."

Joins the Satyagraha Movement

It was in the early months of the year 1919 that Mahatma Gandhi first inaugurated in India what was known as the Satyagraha movement, as a protest against the Rowlatt legislation Mrs Naidu was one of the earliest to take the pledge It was wholeheartedly in support of Gandhi's method of protest that she went about exhorting the people to join Gandhi's movement during her tours in Madras and in other places in the north She even sold prohibited literature in the streets of Bombay on the 6th of April, on the Satyagraha Day



Standing (from left to right) Bhupendranath Chattopadhyaya, (till recently asst accountant general in the Nizam's service, now secy. Bharat Insurance Company, Poona,) Ramendranath Chattopadhyaya (3rd son of the family), Srimati Sunalini Devi (Mrs. A S Rajan),
Sitting (from left to right) Srimati Ushabala Devi (Mrs. B. Chattopadhyaya), Srimati Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, (Moral Sciences Tripos, Cambridge, Editor, Shama'a, Madras), Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, Srimati Suhasini Devi (Mrs A C. N. Nambiar)

Franchise for Indian Women & on Deputation

When the question of franchise for Indian [w]omen became a burning topic in political [c]ircles, she stood up as the spokeswoman of [h]er sex in the All-India Women's Deputa[ti]on to the Hon'ble E S. Montagu, Secretary [of] State for India, during his historic visit to [In]dia in connection with a scheme of a future [c]onstitution for India Earlier she had [s]poken on behalf of the Indian women in [F]iji, but now she fully identified herself [w]ith the claim of Indian women for political [e]nfranchisement. At the call of patriotic [d]uty, Mrs Naidu went to England as a [m]ember of the All-India Home Rule League [D]eputation, to plead on behalf of her [c]ountry before the British Parliamentary Committee in connection with the formulation of the promised Reform Bill Her Memorandum to the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Indian Reforms on the desirability, nay justice, of granting full franchise and perfect political equality to Indian women will stand as a "remarkable combination of the prose of fact with the poetry of idealism." It won a deservedly high tribute when the chairman, on behalf of his committee, said "If I may be allowed to say so, it illuminates our prosaic literature with a poetic touch".

Follower of Mahatma Gandhi

Returning to India after her deputation to England, she recognised in Gandhi her ideal of a political leader, one "great enough

to accept and sustain the leadership of India." Once she accepted him as her political guru and leader, nothing daunted her from following him through thick and thin. She accepted her master's lead in the matter of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj, which had been agitating the mind of the country. It is as the follower of Gandhi that she spoke henceforward. But while voicing Gandhi's creed, she always imparted to it her own poetic touch and fervour. She went to England again in April 1920, this time for the benefit of her health. All the same her country's cause claimed her first attention, and she took part in a meeting held at the Kingsway Hall, London, under the auspices of the Indian Khilafat Delegation. Later she spoke in the same Hall on "The Agony and Shame of the Punjab," over which speech there arose an exciting correspondence between herself and the late Mr. Montagu, who was then the Secretary of State for India. To Mr. Montagu's challenge, asking for proof of certain statements of hers, Mrs. Naidu quoted the Congress Report and held her ground in a crushing reply. Allied to this, there was another incident in connection with the Martial Law episode during the Moplah rebellion in Malabar. Mrs. Naidu, in the course of a speech at Calicut in March 1922, spoke of the atrocious and brutal behaviour of the soldiery in Malabar and cited instances of shocking inhumanity. The Government of Madras called on her to give particulars, or to apologise, failing which she would be prosecuted. Hardly had the Government rushed out with their *communique* than an array of evidence was published in the press which corroborated the truth of Mrs. Naidu's allegations. The Government had an ugly exit from a muddle and the threatened prosecution of Mrs. Naidu never came, though she has not up till now withdrawn one clause or one word from her charges. When rumours about Gandhi's arrest became rife, Mrs. Naidu was in constant touch with her leader. The arrest of her leader on March 11, 1922 cast a gloom and depression over the country. Mrs. Naidu has given us one of the most vivid pen pictures of the historic trial on the 18th at Ahmedabad, she being present on the scene.



Mr. A. C. Narayanan Nambiar, Editor, "Industrial and Trade Review of Asia," Berlin, and Srimati Suhasini Devi (Mrs. Nambiar), youngest daughter of the family

True to Her Leader

After Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration, the Non-Cooperation movement was on the wane, partly due to the removal of a commanding personality and partly due to the bickerings among those to whom the leadership of the movement had fallen. The later history of the Non-Cooperation movement and the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Report will bear ample evidence with respect to that. But Mrs. Naidu has remained all along constant to her faith in her leader. That is the reason why she retains still her position as one of the principal leaders of the Non-Cooperation movement, while some of those who were with her in the early stages of the movement have gone into obscurity. It is in recognition of her steadfast services, and her magnificent services in the cause of her fellow-countrymen in Kenya and South Africa, rendered both in Africa and in India, that she has to-day been elevated to the highest position of honour in the gift of the country—the Presidentship of the Congress.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

But Mrs. Naidu's title to her country's

gratitude rests on stronger foundations Her contribution to Hindu-Muslim unity and concord is one of the most valuable and cherished by her countrymen Long before Gandhi, indeed before any politician sought to make it the principal item of national progress in the country, she it was that clung to it, urged the immediate need for it and insisted on the politicians of the country tackling it before any other problem The circumstances of her life have caused her to be a living epitome of what she seeks to achieve Born as a Hindu, brought up in constant association with Mahomedans in a Mohamedan city, and again in her wedded life making her home and friends in the same place, imbibing the culture of Islam, she cannot but now seek to unify the two communities in mutual bonds of love and tolerance Even her criticism of the Sangathan movement, which has been so much misunderstood, has its basis in that harmony of creeds and communities which she seeks to bring about, by mutual understanding, by mutual respect and concern for each other

With but one extract from a speech by Mrs Naidu we will conclude this sketch

> It used to be said with reference to Italian liberty, that Mazzini by himself was merely a dreamer and that Garibaldi was by himself merely a soldier and either of them separately could not have built what is one great liberated Italy of to-day But it was the genius of Mazzini the dreamer Mazzini that became the deed of Garibaldi, that made Italy free And so in the evolution of our national history the Hindus are the Mazzini and Mussalmans the Garibaldi. A combination of the visionary, the dreamer, with the statesman the soldier the mystic genius with the virility of manhood that is what we want today in this great India of ours

NOTES

Sir J. C. Bose's Scientific Career

Sir J C Bose is known to-day as so great a plant physiologist that young journalists and students of science are apt to think that his whole career as an original investigator in science has been concerned with plants But in reality his researches were at first connected with light and electricity It is not necessary to ransack the pages of inaccessible scientific publications to discover the details of some of his earlier researches So well-known, authoritative and easily accessible a work of reference as the Encyclopaedia Britannica mentions some of them For instance, the article on Electric Waves by Sir J J Thomson, F R S, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, latest edition, Vol IX, pp, 203-208 contains references to and descriptions of some of Bose's researches *Re* Coherers,

> "Bose showed that with potassium there is an increase of resistance and great power of self-recovery of the original resistance after the waves have ceased"

Re Generators of Electric Waves,

> "Bose (*Phil Mag* 43, p 55) designed an instrument which generates electric waves with a length of not more than a centimetre or so, and therefore, allows their properties to be demonstrated with apparatus of moderate dimensions."

A description of the instrument and its working, with an illustration, follows, which we need not quote Bose's researches on Electric Waves have been quoted, among other works, in Poincare's Wireless Telegraphy

Menschen Und Menschenwerke, an encyclopaedia in English, French and German, gives an extended account of Bose's scientific career (Vol II, 1925, pp 23-26), which says, in part ---

> "Prof Bose's first researches were on the production of shortest electric waves and of the determination of the indices of refraction of various substances for the electric ray (1894), two problems which coming shortly after Hertz's discoveries and shortly before Marconi's invention, attracted more than passing interest In pursuing these studies, Bose discovered the polarisation and selective absorption of the electric ray by various crystals, important facts in support of Maxwell's theory At that time, too (1894), he was occupied on the technical problem of firing weapons and explosives at a distance by means of wireless waves This was one of the first experiments, attempted also by many scientists in recent times, at using electric waves as transmitters of energy

The same tri-lingual encyclopaedia writes —

> "Among the inventions of the great scientist, in addition to those already touched upon, the following deserve special mention Apparatus for

production of the shortest electric waves (1891) Micro-radiometer for measuring the energy of ...ent rays of the spectrum, the Conductivity ...ance for nervous impulse the Automatic ...nspirograph the Automatic Radiograph ...onant Recorder for Automatic record of periods short as one thousandth of a second, the Resonant ...order for response of plants the Electric ...be for detection of pulsations in the interior of ...s Mechanical and Electric Recorders for ...surement of rate of Ascent of Sap Recorder determination of rate of photosynthesis "

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Presidential Address at the Indian Philosophical Congress

We publish in this issue the presidential ...dress delivered by Rabindranath Tagore ... the first session of the Indian Philosophic... Congress on the 19th of December last, ...der the heading, "The Philosophy of Our ...ople."

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The Indian Philosophical Congress

The holding of an Indian Philosophical ...ngress is a move in the right direction ... proceedings of the first session, which ...s held last month in Calcutta, were con...cted in English and the papers were all ...itten in English So far as the proceedings ...re concerned, it was perhaps best that they ...re conducted in English But some of the ...pers should and might have been written in ...nskrit For, Indian Philosophy is still taught ...d studied through the vehicle of Sanskrit in ...nares, Navadwip, Mithila, etc, in northern ...dia, and several places in western and ...uthern India, and it would be proper to ...erest the professors and advanced students ... Indian Philosophy in these places in the ...oceedings of an *Indian* philosophical con...ss English-knowing professors of philo...phy who hold the chairs of Indian philo...phy in our universities—as for example, the ...ng George V Professor of Philosophy in ... Calcutta University, may be expected to ...ite papers in Sanskrit on some Indian ...ilosophical topics But if they be unable to ... so, some of the professors in our indigen...s seminaries of learning can most probably ... induced to contribute such papers and ...d them We throw out the suggestion, for ...at it is worth, to those whose duty it will be ... hold the second session

It has appeared to us rather inexplicable ...t neither the leading professor of philosophy ...r any of his colleagues in the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University appear to have contributed any papers on any subject. The rules of hospitality may have prevented them from becoming sectional chairmen; but it would not have been a breach of any such rules for them to provide philosophical fare of their own manufacture for the guests, rather, it would have made their hospitality perfect if they had provided such fare As some of these gentlemen have written and published books, shyness could not have stood in the way

The Hon Mr. Justice Greaves, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, welcomed the delegates in a brief and appropriate speech

His Excellency Lord Lytton in opening the Congress said that poets and philosophers had this in common that they were both seekers after joy, and it was with great pleasure that he learnt that the most eminent philosophers of India had chosen the greatest living Indian poet to be the president of their conference

No department of human thought can be segregated from all others and made the subject of isolated research. Religion, philosophy, science, politics are all interdependent Though we ourselves may have no training in science we are profoundly affected in our daily lives by the scientific researches of others Though we may never have studied philosophy the trained intellects of those who have supply, all unknown to us, the foundations of our own spiritual happiness

The man in the street whom you have roused from the lethargy of ignorance whom you have taught to think for himself and of whose existence I am here to remind you demands with ever increasing intensity that life shall be made rich for the many as well as for the few that the changing experiences of every-day life should embody enduring values and that the solution of life's problems shall be found not by escape to another more perfect world but by the attainment of greater happiness in this

The satisfaction of that demand, gentlemen is as much within your power as that of Government Mere material prosperity can never satisfy it, and from politics and science, material well-being only is to be derived

As the first session of the Congress was held in Bengal, it was quite in the fitness of things that Rabindranath Tagore was elected general president and that he expounded, not any system of philosophy contained in any book, but the philosophy of the great bulk of the people of Bengal which was sprung from the soil and racy of the soil This was a blend of poetry and philosophy produced by a wonderful process of spiritual chemistry, which Rabindranath Tagore was best qualified by his genius, experience of life and meditations to expound

—

Hindu University Convocation Address

In his convocation address delivered at the Hindu University in Benares Sir J. C Bose observed —

The life of the tree may be taken as a parable of our corporate life The tree is not a mere congeries of unrelated parts but an organised unity ... our world organism, a shock from the most distant corner reaches all the rest and organises them anew In the life of the tree also a provision has been made for the stimulus of external shocks to ...ch the interior so that the organism may not ...e of inanition It is essential that the different ...ans should be coordinated for the advantage of ...e community for any disharmony means the ...struction of the commonwealth

The tree persists because it is rooted deeply in ... own soil which is the place of its birth It is ... own soil that provides its proper nourishment ...d endows it with strength in struggling against ...e waves of change and disaster that have passed ...er it The shocks from outside have never been ...le to overpower it but have only called forth its ...ent powers It had met external change by ...unter change The decaying and effete ones have ...en cast off as worn leaves and changing times have ...led forth its power of readjustment Its racial ...emory has also been an additional source of ...ength every particle of the embryo within the ...ed may thus bear the deep impress of the mighty ...anyan tree The sprouting seedling thus forces ...s roots into the yielding earth to anchor it more ...fely the stem rises high against the sky in ...arch of light and the branches with their canopy ... leaves spread out in all directions

What is the source of strength that confers on ...e tree its great power of endurance by which it ...erges victorious from all peril? It is the ...ength derived from the place of its birth, its ...ception and quick readjustment to change, and ... inherited memory of the past The efflorescence ... life is then the supreme gift of the place and ... associations Isolated from these what fate ...aits the poor wretch nurtured only in alien ...ought and ways? Death dogs his footsteps and ...bulation is the inevitable end

Is there any such strength for the constant ...ewal of our national life? Is the past to remain ...a mere memory or is it to be a dynamic power ...be wakened up once more in a new pulse of ...thusiasm? That there has been such a latent ...wer is proved by this ancient seat of learning ...th its unbroken history of intellectual efforts ... nearly four thousand years There is then some...ng in Indian culture which is possessed of ...traordinary latent strength by which it had ...isted the ravages of time, and the destructive ...anges which have swept over the earth And ...eed a capacity to endure through infinite trans...rmations must be innate in that mighty civilisa...on which has seen the intellectual life of the Nile ...alley of Assyria and of Babylon wax and wane ...d disappear and which today gazes on the future ...ith the same invincible faith with which it met ...e changing problems in the past.

Let this not lead us into easy complacency, for ...r national life is now at its ebb, and the perils ...ith which we are confronted are even greater ...an at any other time. We must find out what has been India's strength in the past, and what is the weakness that has paralysed her activities.

Prof. Bose examined the assertions of those critics who have denied India's capacity to advance positive knowledge That the ancient Hindus made some progress in some sciences and that some of their descendants have also done some original work in different branches of science prove that we do not suffer from innate or racial incapacity to advance positive knowledge

It may now be asked whether theological bias in India obstructed the pursuit of inquiry The fact is well-known that two different schools of thought flourished here side by side, one of which relied on faith and was supported by established authority The other based itself on pure reason, and refused to accept anything which could not be substantiated by demonstrable truth It is remarkable that the unorthodox were in no way persecuted for their heresy

As regards the modern epoch, Sir J. C Bose said —

Knowledge is never the exclusive possession of any favoured race the whole world is interdependent and a constant stream of thought had through ages enriched the common heritage of mankind India in the past had given out her best for the enrichment of the world Is that power now lost for ever? Let us confine our attention to the advancement of exact scientific knowledge. The specific acquirements for making great discoveries are vivid inner vision, great faculties of invention and experimental skill of the highest order. Aimless experimentation brings forth no great result; unrestrained imagination, on the other hand leads to the wildest speculation, subversive of intellectual sanity. A true enquirer has at every step to compare his own thought, with the external fact: he has to remorselessly abandon all in which these are not agreed In this path of self-restraint and verification, he is making for a region of surpassing wonder When the visible light ends, he still follows the invisible. When the note of the audible reaches the unheard, even then he gathers the tremulous message. Undaunted by the limitation of our senses, he creates artificial organs of unimaginable sensitivenses which require great genius of invention and skill of construction. It is enough to say that Indian workers have shown special aptitude in advancing science by their faculty of introspection, of experimental skill and power of invention.

Wider Synthesis

The excessive specialisation of modern science has led to the danger of our losing sight of the fundamental truth that there are not sciences, but a single science that includes all India from her habit of mind is specially fitted to realise this wider synthesis. One of the greatest contributions in the realm of science would undoubtedly be the establishment of a great generalisation, not merely speculative but based on actual demonstration, that the life reaction of the plant was identical with that of the animal

This great generalisation has been fully

established by the investigations which have been carried out in India. In other fields also great advances have been made by the labours of devoted workers in different parts of India.

With regard to the prevailing unemployment and severe economic distress Professor Bose observed :-

It is tragic that our country with its great potential mineral wealth and possibilities of industrial development should be in this plight. Mining and industrial development by our countrymen on which the prosperity of the country so profoundly depends, have so long been paralysed by an assertion as ignorant as it is unfounded that this country is incapable of producing great discoverers and inventors. These assertions have now been completely disproved. There are now a very large number of young men who could be specially trained in efficiently conducted institutes the standard of which should bear comparison with any in the world. It should also be our aim, as of any self-respecting country to be independent of foreign countries for our higher education and for our economic needs. For carrying out such a programme a far-fetched and comprehensive State policy would be required.

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Objects of the Hindu Mahasabha

In the full text of Lala Lajpat Rai's presidential address, delivered at the Bombay Hindu conference and issued as a supplement to *The People*, the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha are quoted from its constitution:

"The objects of the Sabha are the following :—

(*a*) To promote greater union and solidarity among all sections of the Hindu community and to unite them more closely as parts of one organic whole.

(*b*) To promote good feelings between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them, with a view to evolve a united and self-governing Indian Nation.

(*c*) To ameliorate and improve the condition of all classes of the Hindu community, including the so-called low castes.

(*d*) To protect and promote Hindu interests, whenever and wherever necessary.

(*e*) Generally to take steps for promoting the religious, moral, educational, social, economic and political interests of the entire community.

NOTE.—*The Mahasabha shall not side or identify itself or interfere with or oppose any particular sect or sects of the Hindu community, or any political party, nor shall it interfere with the personal convictions of anybody.*"

In explaining these objects the speaker stated that

The Sabha aims at creating a spirit of unity between the different sections of the Hindu society, without any ulterior design against any other community or class of persons outside that society. Ours is a unifying and integrating function and in no way a disuniting and disintegrating one. The Hindu community is the largest and the biggest in the country that goes by one name. Outside India the word "Hindu" stands for "Indian." It may be a surprise to you to learn that *even in Egypt* a pre-eminently Muslim country, in the compound of the greatest Muslim University (that of Alazhar) in the world, *Indian Muslims are called Hindus* and the quarter reserved for their residence is known as the Hindu section of their Boarding-House. In America, both North and South, all Indians are called and described as Hindus. This would have been an ideal condition of things if the non-Hindu inhabitants of this country had adopted that name without giving up an iota of their respective religious faiths or departing in any way from their religious practices. The name of the country is Hindustan and all those who accept it as their home ought to be called or known as Hindus. But we know that is not so. There are large groups of humanity having their homes in this country who resent being called Hindus, and in its efforts to keep up these differences, the Government of the country has gone even so far as to divide the people of the country for all legislative and administrative purposes into Muslims and non-Muslims. The division, if any, should have been, into Hindus and non-Hindus. But the request for separate recognition having emanated from the Muslims, the Government adopted the present nomenclature, which threatens to become permanent. Some Hindus resent it, but I do not object to it as to me it signifies that except for the Muslims, the whole of political India is one and united. Recent developments, however, indicate that a time may come when every other community known by a separate distinctive name, may get special representation with separate electorates and the Hindus may be the only people in India left to be known as non-Muslims. It looks ridiculous, but nothing is ridiculous which has the approval and the sanction of the gods that be.

As the word 'Hindu' has both a regional as well as a credal meaning, there is some difficulty, though it is not insuperable, for all Indians calling themselves Hindus irrespective of religious belief.

As "organisation means power, influence and prestige, those who neglect to organise must give way to the organised." For this reason we think the Hindu Sangathan or organisation movement is justified. But caste, with untouchability as its worst symptom, stands in the way. Lala Lajpat Rai is for making Brahminism synonymous with Hinduism by admitting into its fold all those non-Brahmins who are not doing the work of the Shudras. He is also for the abolition of untouchability. We have no quarrel with anybody who wants to do away with the numerous divisions and subdivisions of Hindu Society even to a small extent ; we would rather support any such movement. But our own conviction is that half-measures would not be effective.

The following passage from Lalaji's address

supply necessary information on the subject of communalism and communal representation —

In the *United States* there is a thick wall that separates the Jews and the Christians In fact the division s not between the Jews and the Christians but etween Jews and non-Jews. Nor is the distincion of the making of the Jews alone. There are ewish hotels where non-Jews are not admitted, nd there are non-Jewish hotels where Jews and lackmen are not admitted. The Government f the country, however, recognises no such istinctions and a time is sure to come when hese distinctions will altogether disappear even rom the social field. This might have been the ase in India as well, if the Government had not ntervened and created communal compartments or political purposes and out of political motives

So far as secular interests are considered, why hould any one claim any such rights as a Muslim r as a Hindu if the idea be to evolve a common ationhood ? The whole idea of the existence of uch separate interest in a negation of Nationhood nd it must be frankly confessed that those who esire a perpetuation of religious-communal disnctions in the secular line must be considered to e opposed to Nationalism New York is the ggest Jewish City in the world and even there the ews are in a minority as against the Christians, et they have never put forward a claim for communal representation The same may be said of the oloured people of the U. S A who socially form n entirely separate community with whom the hite have hardly any social relations at all. The pulation of the United States is a polyglot popution consisting of the British, the Germans, the alians the French, the Russians, the Spanish, the rabs, etc It is a standing complaint of American blicists that these groups keep up their separate mmunal existence for several generations. But no e has ever asked for communal representation fact of all great countries, the idea is singular India. Its acceptance is entirely due to the desire the foreign rulers to perpetuate our differences d thus make impossible the evolution of a comon nationality The plea that it is a temporary ase and will cease after some time is untenable the face of it, as experience has now abundantly ved that the principle is one which tends to peruate itself when put into practice even for a ort time I have already remarked that it is a nciple of such a kind that if you concede it in our of one community you cannot deny it in case of others.

Lalaji thinks,

No educated Hindu possessed of a feeling heart d love for his community, can help being a ial reformer Social reform on an extensive le is the greatest need of the community, and political advance of a substantial nature can be cured without it.

He would abolish child-marriages, bring out the remarriage of child-widows, remove e ignorance and superstition that corrode e intelligence of Indian women, improve heir food, give them the advantages of open ir and exercise, impart proper education to them, and make them more independent, more assertive, more self-reliant and physically more competent than they are now.

Lalaji is against University examinations, diplomas and degrees for women, though he would place no limitations on women's right to knowledge and scholarship. We are entirely in sympathy with his object, and we think that the more independent educational institutions of an improved type for women we have in the country the better. But just as Mahatma Gandhi s denunciation of the schools, colleges and universities started, maintained, aided or recognised by the Government did not bring into existence and keep alive a sufficient number of good and well-equipped "National" institutions, so severe and merely destructive criticism of the existing schools and colleges for women would, as things stand, practically result in placing "limitations on women's right to knowledge and scholarship" though the Lala is opposed to such limitations.

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Christian Missionaries and Nationalism in Asian Countries

Some of the young nationalists in China, India, Turkey and other Asian countries are avowedly anti-Christian and opposed to all activities of Christian Missionaries. We are fully aware of the dark sides of missionary movements and their denationalising effects. But we must praise them for their systematic and well-planned work and the spirit of sacrifice shown by them According to Dr. Harold Balme, President of Shantung Christian College, "Today, out of approximately 500 modern hospitals in China, 301 are connected with missions, and there are 800 missionary physicians and nurses caring annually for nearly two million Chinese patients" In China, Christian missions "maintain 7,726 primary and secondary schools offering modern instruction to 285,479 scholars and 186 colleges and universities containing 7,664 students." When we look into the contribution of the mission schools and colleges in India, we cannot but admire the result The present tendency of Christian missions is to capture the educational field of the younger generation.

Let us frankly confess that there is no such national movement in India, which maintains such a large number of primary and secondary schools and colleges to promote the educational welfare of the nation.

Instead of merely condemning the Christian missionaries, it is very desirable that some systematic efforts be made so that the nationalist movement in India and other Asiatic countries may enter deeply and extensively into the field of national education Christian missionary education has certain denationalising effects But if the people of Asia do not do their share to awaken the people educationally, they cannot very well object to the activities of the missionaries, when they are of an educational and philanthropic nature

T D

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Admiral von Tirpitz's Opposition to the Locarno Treaties

Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, who stands high in the councils of the German Nationalist Party, formulated on November 14 last ten reasons for voting against the Pact in the Reichstag His ten reasons are :-

(1) That Article I of the Pact cannot be construed as implying no renunciation of German territory, because Article 6 expressly maintains the integrity of the Treaty of Versailles in all its points

(2) That the Western Pact permanently sets up a demilitarized zone upon German soil, the voluntary recognition of which is beneath Germany's honour

(3) That the Pact binds Germany permanently with regard to Danzig the Corridor and Upper Silesia since Germany's enemies would always find good reasons to oppose any revision of these frontiers

(4) That in accepting the agreements, Germany ties herself to the Western Powers against Russia and the ascendant political and military peoples that are behind her This orientation of Germany towards the West would be fatal, especially as the idea is being toyed with in England of a contest between the Western Powers and Soviet Russia, which accounts for Tchitcherin's opposition to the Pact

(5) That the Arbitration Treaties are worthless because in such questions physical force will decide as it always has done

(6) That the League of Nations into which Germany is being compulsorily forced is a League of Germany's enemies, because it does not include either Russia or the United States, and up to the present its actions have always been based on enmity towards Germany

(7) That the agreements are permanent, as all possibility of terminating them in case of need is made practically impossible for Germany.

(8) That it is absurd to speak of a footing of equality between an armed and a disarmed nation and that the spirit of Locarno is only outward courtesy, of which the English especially are masters when they want to attain their ends cheaply.

(9) That alleviations in the Rhineland regime may be granted, as neither England nor France has any vital interest in refusing them to the Rhinelanders, but they may be expected to represent no more than the minimum

(10) That even if they represented the maximum that Germany demanded, they would be dearly bought at the price of a fresh voluntary recognition of the impossible situation created by the Treaty of Versailles

Times (London), *Nov. 14, 1925.*

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League Slavery Convention

INVITATION TO THE POWERS.

Geneva, Oct 20,

The League Secretary-General has forwarded to all the Governments represented in the League, as well as to those of Afghanistan, Germany, Ecuador, the United States, Mexico, Egypt, Russia the Sudan, and Turkey, a draft convention on slavery the approval of which was recommended by the last Assembly

In accordance with the resolution of the Council of September 28, the Secretary-General invites the Governments to adopt without delay measures conforming with the convention and to collaborate in abolishing the slave traffic, slavery, and similar conditions by all practicable means, and, in particular, by the conclusion of special agreements between themselves

The above news item reminds us of the virtual slavery, existing in plantations of India, Ceylon and other parts of the British Empire, where Indians are treated as slaves It would be interesting, if some Indian member of the Indian Legislative Assembly inquired into the actual efforts of the Government of India in giving accurate information regarding the plantation labor situation to the League of Nations The Indian Legislative Assembly should demand that everything which concerns India's relation with the League of Nations and all foreign Powers should be presented before the Assembly for its consideration

T D.

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An Asiatic League.

The New York Herald (Paris edition) editorially writes the following on the possible formation of an Asiatic League —

The report may or may not be true that the formation of an Eastern League of Nations, in rivalry with that of Geneva, is seriously proposed Turkish statesmen are said to have taken the lead in such an incipient movement, with assurance of the support of Soviet Russia *The Western policy of treating the Asiatic peoples as inferiors, with the exception of Japan, and as incapable of wholly managing their own affairs, not to be taken*

into European counsels and as fit subjects of foreign exploitation, if long enough persisted in, would naturally and inevitably have an unpleasant, even dangerous result. Then, ultimately, the dreaded struggle between the Orientals and the Occidentals for dominance of the world might become a reality If the East arms itself after the most destructive modern fashion, its formidable numbers would make this such an Armageddon as even the Biblical seer could not envisage in his moments of widest prophecy.

As things are today in Asia, there is no possibility for the people of Asia to outdo the Europeans in the manufacture of weapons used in modern warfare. Then again, the communal, tribal, national or fanatical religious spirit will also stand in the way of forming an Asiatic Alliance in the near future. The Arabs *vs* the Turks, in the Near East and the Syrian Christians fighting with the French against the Arabs, the existing communal spirit in India and the civil war in China, make it clear that the European nations are dominating over hundreds of of millions of people in Asia because the latter are not only disunited but are willing to fight for their foreign masters We know that there are Indian patriots who hope for Asian independence through Asian co-operation At the present stage of the political awakening of Asia, the only kind of Asiatic league, which will be of value, is the league to promote cultural understanding among the peoples of Asia, and this can be furthered through exchange of professors, students, scholars, and the intimate personal relations between the poets, artists, thinkers, scientists, journalists, business men and political leaders of Asiatic nations So long as the spirit of communalism dominates Indian politics, it will not be possible for India to play her legitimate part in the world's political affairs On the other hand, unless Indian political and communal leaders participate in world affairs, their present narrow vision will not be broadened beyond communalism

T D.

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Anglo-American-German Enmity to the Soviet Government in Russia

While the Soviet Government in Russia is doing its best to settle outstanding differences between Great Britain and Russia, it is now apparent that the British, American and German governments are following a determined anti-Soviet policy. This is evident from the following news items .—

Mr R. C. Wallhead, M.P., who, with four other members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, has recently been engaged in investigating economic and political conditions in Soviet Russia, has received replies to the four following questions which, since the return of the delegation, he, on behalf of the delegation, had addressed to M. Rykoff, President of the Council of People's Commissaries, "in order that no misunderstanding should exist in Great Britain as to the attitude of the Russian Government" :—

1. Is the Russian Government prepared to compensate British nationals whose property or investments in Russia were sequestrated ?
2. Is the Russian Government prepared to enter into immediate negotiations to settle all outstanding questions between the two countries ?
3. Can you state what classes and quantities of manufactured goods and machinery made in Great Britain could be immediately purchased by the Russian Government, assuming, of course, competitive prices and reasonable credit facilities ?
4. Can you state the credit terms required by the Russian Government for the main categories of goods referred to above ?

M Rykoff, in the course of a communication, dated October 24, made the following replies to the questions —

1. You ask me whether the Soviet Government is prepared to compensate British subjects whose property has been nationalized in Russia. The readiness of the Soviet Government to solve this question on the basis of mutual benefits is proved by points (Articles) 10, 11, and 12 of the General Treaty signed by Great Britain and the Soviet Union on August 8, 1924. which deal with the order of the examination of claims and the conditions of their settlement.

2 In reply to your second question—"Is the Soviet Government prepared to enter immediately upon negotiations for the settlement of all outstanding questions between the two countries?"—my answer is in the affirmative.

3. With regard to your third question as to the kind and amount of merchandise and machines of British manufacture which can be immediately purchased by the Soviet Government, provided there be favourable price and credit conditions, this question has been answered by M. Rakowsky, Charge d'Affaires of the Soviet Government in Great Britain, in his statement made in July last, regarding our intention to place orders for British manufactures to the amount of £15,000,000 sterling

We looked upon this order only as a starting point in the creation of extensive and solid relations between British industrialists and Soviet economic organizations I have given instructions that you be supplied with a list of our approximate needs in merchandise and machinery for which we would wish to place immediate orders in England. If the initial order had been placed, we were prepared, in the interests of developing our industry and agriculture, to place new orders. Unfortunately, this programme of ours has only been partially fulfilled. We were able to place only one-fifth of our orders for textile machinery in England The failure of our attempt to get into closer touch with British industry is due to the refusal of the English banks to grant facilities to British industrialists ready to trade with the Soviet Government.

4. The expansion of Anglo-Soviet trade is closely

connected with the regulation of the question of credits which you mention in point 4 Credits, of which our industrial and economic organizations are in need for their trade operations in England may be divided into two categories, short-term credits for the purchase of commodities, and long-term credits for the purchase of machinery Neither type of credits exceeds the facilities accorded by British merchants, industrialists, and banks to citizens or firms of other foreign countries

The British attitude, to this effort of the Soviet Government for a friendly understanding, has been expressed unmistakably by the rude insult inflicted upon the representative of the Soviet Government in London *The New York Herald* (*Paris edition*) Nov 15, 1925 writes

LONDON, Saturday -The British Government made it perfectly clear to-day that the famous spirit of Locarno does not apply to Soviet Russia when it permitted M C K Rakowsky Moscow's Charge d'Affaires here for the last two years, to leave London to take up his new duties as Ambassador in Paris without officials of the Foreign Office being present at the railway station to see him off The deliberateness of this affront can be judged by the fact that hitherto the courtesy has been so invariably a rule of the Foreign Department that a British Government representative went to the station to bid farewell to the German Ambassador as he took his departure on the outbreak of the World War in 1914

To-day's slight is the second act of rudeness recently shown to Mr Rakowsky by Downing Street When the Russian envoy held a reception at Chesham House on November 7 the anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Government, the British Foreign Office boycotted it, though many of the diplomatic corps here, including the German, Austrian and French Ambassadors, attended

Though he was not given an official British adieu, Mr Rakowsky was seen off by a large Labor contingent, including Mr George Lansbury, Lady Cynthia Moseley and Mrs Claire Sheridan, sculptress The Foreign Office's discourtesy is certain to be the subject of an attack in the House of Commons next week by Laborites and Liberals

American foreign policy is against the Soviet Government and that is clear from the fact that America is the only great nation which has not recognised the Soviet Government Over and above this fact, the American attitude is made clear in the following news despatch from New York, published in the London *Times* of Nov 12, 1925 —

"The former Secretary of State, Mr C E Hughes, was the guest of honour last evening at a banquet in New York, which more than 1,000 leading citizens had arranged in recognition of his distinguished services in directing the foreign affairs of the United States through four critical years.

Mr. Elihu, proposing the toast of the guest of the evening, dwelt on the four chief achievements of Mr. Hughes—the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments, "own sister to Locarno," his foundation of the Dawes Commission (above all, his refusal to be diverted from the view that it was the sole possible curative for the reparations muddle), the avoidance of the recognition of Soviet Russia, and his constant advocacy that the United States should join the World Court. The mention of the World Court was greeted with cheers."

The present German Government is apparently following the foot-steps of Great Britain and America and the following report on the recent speech of Dr. Streseman is rather illuminating —

An alliance with Bolshevism would be dangerous to German culture Herr Stresemann, Foreign Minister, warned his hearers at a meeting of the German People's Party at Duisberg to-day. The Locarno Treaties, he said, carried into effect the principle of the German Government's Note of July Better international collaboration was necessary for economic prosperity in Europe, he urged With regard to the existing negotiations, he said the confidence of the German delegates in the words of Briand, Chamberlain, and Vandervelde had been in no way disappointed

New York Herald (*Paris edition*), *Nov. 17, 1925.*

T. D.

Nov 17, 1925

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Indian Clerks

As clerks in Bengal are, on the whole, neither better nor worse than clerks in other provinces of India, we have Chosen to give this note the caption of 'Indian Clerks,' though it is concerned mainly with Mr I. B Sen's presidential address at the All-Bengal Clerk's Conference

Mr I B Sen, M A, B L, Barrister-at-Law, was, we learn from his address, a clerk for some time Subsequently also he has had experience of clerks, and of their failings, grievances and disabilities. He, therefore, spoke from experience As clerks form a large proportion of literate Indians, particularly of those Indians who are literate in English and as the work and life of clerks touch Indian life at many points, we have thought it right to devote some space to Mr. Sen's address, published by himself Says he .—

During my short experience as a clerk, I witnessed and keenly felt how their official superiors behaved towards my brother clerks often without sympathy and occasionally with rudeness. Since then in the course of my practice of the law, I have come across hundreds of clerks, not all of the right type, and a few unscrupulous office masters who have not hesitated to get rid of their subordinate clerks whom they disliked, taking the fullest advantage of the clerks' timidity and helplessness before an exacting and unjust but otherwise capable task-master clothed with authority.

In the following passages Mr. Sen points out the worst features in the relation of clerks to the public they deal with.

When I become a clerk I knew as an unsophisticated member of the public that I was joining a branch of public service where corruption was the general rule. That unenviable reputation is not on the wane yet If anything, it has affected other branches of clerkdom Only a few months ago I was discussing the subject with a very successful solicitor who is known far and wide throughout India not so much as a lawyer as an eminent public man. Speaking of the clerks being ill paid, we could not say that the clerks of the offices of the original side of the High Court were ill paid judged by the standard of wages which obtained in India. And yet my friend remarked that, whereas corruption was unknown among such clerks in his younger days, it was tending to become more and more prevalent in these days Whatever might be the cause of the infection spreading, we could not say it was not. I wish it could be said of other offices that they were free from the infection

Mr Sen then states and deals with the excuses brought forward to extenuate, if not to justify, corruption among clerks

I know that our social traditions and institutions imposing obligations on us as to joint family, marriage of daughters, festivals and ceremonies, are often pleaded as excuses for corruption in ill paid clerks Other excuses are put forward which are not quite without foundation in truth. It has been said by way of excuse that the standard of rectitude among higher officials whose duty it is to check corruption among clerks and to set example by their official conduct is not a very high one If the Burra Sahibs receive presents for their wives from persons who are about to enter into a big contract for supply of coal by such persons to the firms which the Burra Sahibs represent, how can their clerks be expected to have clean hands in their dealings with the public ?

If a member of the Board of Revenue by his conduct encourages however indirectly the litigants in distant districts to believe that by engaging a near relation of his to represent their case before him, their case will have a better chance of being properly considered than otherwise, can he expect his subordinate clerks not to yield to temptation ? Why should not the subordinates of Calcutta Corporation be permitted to excuse their shortcomings by pointing out that some of their high functionaries enrich themselves in a round-about process which may not be direct bribery but is very near it and almost indistinguishable ? No. No argument of social tyranny, no fact of corruption in high places can justify corruption among clerks. The public look down upon them because of their corruption, just as the public while outwardly bowing low, at heart look down upon men in high position because of their encouragement to dishonesty, even though such dishonesty may not in every case directly enrich the high functionary. The clerks by excusing their conduct only accuse themselves of corruption and it is an accusation which draws sure condemnation from the public.

Mr Sen has also pointed out what clerks and other people say of some High Court judges We, too, have often heard of such things And in a recent issue of *The Statesman*, the following 'legal notes' were published

The anniversary of the death of Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee recalls to mind a characteristic trait of that distinguished judge which, perhaps, is not known outside the profession. He made it a point never to allow his son (now the President of the Improvement Trust Tribunal), or his son-in-law (now a judge), to practise in his court, lest it might be felt that he would be prejudiced to their favour. It must be regretfully admitted that the excellent precedent has not always been followed even in the High Court. It would appear from a case reported in the *Statesman* of December 2, that a junior counsel, who was a near relation of the Master, was engaged to conduct a reference before him. The point of professional etiquette involved in such cases was recently considered by the Calcutta High Court, where Newbould and B. B. Ghose, J J. observed that "it is undesirable that a member of the legal profession should practise in a court presided over by a near relation " while, in England, the Bar Council, whose duty it is to see that the fine traditions of an honourable profession are scrupulously observed, were of the same opinion. The Council came to the conclusion that in such cases "it is almost inevitable that partiality will be suspected, even though there may be no real ground for such suspicion. The practice might even lead to briefs being delivered to the barrister because it is believed that his client would have an unfair advantage over his opponent."

In this connection, the dictum of Lord Hewart, L C J, may be appropriately quoted. "It is important," he said, "that justice should be done ; it is *hardly less important that it should manifestly appear to be done* ;" and the same view was often expressed by Mr. Justice C. C Ghosh in the Calcutta High Court.

In the abstract, it may be unjust to restrict a litigant's right to engage any lawyer he likes ; but concrete cases have to be dealt with on their merits, particularly when it is found that some lawyers who, it is said, used formerly to charge senior counsel's fees when appearing before a particular judge are now almost briefless But let us hear what Mr. Sen has to say.

If a judge of the High Court allows a general impression to grow among litigants and their legal advisers that by briefing a particular counsel law will be stretched, discretion will be exercised and even facts will be weighed favourably to the litigant represented by that counsel, so that that counsel while practically without a brief before other judges, has a super-

abundance of briefs in the court of that judge alone, his clerks cannot be expected to be just without the incentive of extra valuable consideration in their dealings with the litigant public The High Court judges who are guilty of such dereliction from the high standard of rectitude expected of them may not be influenced by a desire to fill their own pocket They may be helping only a friend or a relation to get into practice. But argue the clerks their dereliction is equally dishonest and is only less excusable than that of the poor clerks who are less able to withstand the tyranny of social institutions

Another ugly feature, says Mr Sen, of the relation between the clerks and the public they deal with is the injustice which cannot escape the notice of persons who have seen clerks in Europe and America

A poor ill-clothed man who has to get service from a clerk across the counter is attended to after a man in European clothes or a man in decent Indian dress, even though the poor man may have presented himself earlier than the latter The peons and chaprasis are made to wait while the well-dressed man is being attended to. It is time to introduce in right earnest the system of standing in a queue in all crowded offices, so that the rule of "First come, first served" may be observed in every case, I have always felt ashamed and resentful and sometimes openly protested when preference in treatment has been offered to me, keeping others waiting I am not saying that the clerks by themselves can remedy this injustice The co-operation of their office masters is necessary. Co-operation from the public is equally necessary. The school ought to teach boys and girls to stand in queues without any compulsion from outside.

My last remark on this topic of relation between the clerk and the public they serve is their want of a spirit of helpfulness and of courtesy It is one thing to point out to members of the public a defect in their procedure and another thing to tell them the way to set the defect right They go to the clerk to get some thing done They do not want merely to learn that it cannot be done They want to know how it can be done correctly In European countries a clerk dares not be discourteous to the public across the counter. He will not be retained in service if he displeases the public, as such displeasure may mean loss of a customer to his employer He is expected to attend to and serve the members of the public at the counter in preference to attending to his office work which may be done when he is by himself The public, must not be kept waiting at the counter And as to courtesy, courteous words take no more time and consume no more energy than discourteous words. No clerk can afford to be discourteous to the public across the counter without risk to his reputation as an efficient clerk

The speaker did not overlook the sterling merit of the Indian clerk.

Lord Curzon publicly bore testimony to their good points and did not hesitate to claim for them that the best Indian clerk was the best clerk in the world. If the average Indian clerk is less quick and has less sustained energy, he is more careful as to detail than his American and English brother and sister He is quicker than his Japanese brother, though he would be considered very slow in New York and slow in London.

Mr Sen regrets to have to admit that instances of petty corruption are more common and conspicuous in our country than elsewhere

When in October, 1923, after an absence from India of nearly 20 months in a dozen countries, I landed at Bombay, in spite of the intensive campaign all over India for national self-purification, I was made to feel at once that I was back to my own country of corrupt practices, I became aware that corruption had spread even among porters carrying baggage I have already said that men in high offices are sometimes not free from it I do not want you to assume that I was or am myself above the temptation But if we want our nation to be great, corruption must be stamped out. The clerks must first resolve to eradicate the evil before they can expect the public to help them in improving their relation with their employers. And they must remember that the strength of a nation depends upon the efficiency and honesty of its average units Much depends, I know, upon the terms of employment and the surrounding atmosphere where the employers or the public want efficient and honest clerks. The public must come forward to help the clerks to be efficient and honest. The public must be no party to creating an atmosphere of corruption or efficiency.

Mr Sen refers to the poor starting pay of some clerks and the other unjust and grievous terms of employment It must also be added that we, members of the public, often offer the expected bribes to clerks to save some time or trouble. This we ought not to do

After advising the clerks to set their house in order, the speaker said that the will of the exploiters to exploit brain-workers must be resisted and restricted. And for that resistance and restriction a "well-organised and living federation of trade unions is a necessity"

Let us try to set our own house in order and purge it of corruption and injustice and illuminate it with a noble ideal nationalism which shows in their true perspective the different component economic parts of the vast Indian nation Let us then combine into Federation of trade unions, conscious of the indispensable character of the services rendered by the clerks to administration, industry and commerce We are not combining with the objective of preparing for general strikes Let us hope that no strike will be necessary. We believe that Dalhousie Square and Clive Street also have a soul, though this craze for exploitation seldom allows their soul to function normally. To curb that craze for exploitation, it is necessary that the clerks should gain strength, individually and collectively, so that vigour confronted by vigour will lead to recognition of the divine manhood, that

s in clerkdom. Then and only then shall we have any right to call ourselves the sons and daughters of Bharatabarsha.

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Dr. Murari Lal's Welcome to Congress Delegates

Doctor Murari Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Cawnpore Session of the Indian National Congress, delivered a short speech in welcoming the delegates.

He said at the time of extending invitation to Cawnpore, they had great hopes and high aspirations about according reception befitting the dignity of the representatives of the National Assembly, but a combination of causes stood in their way. Besides the difficulties which faced the country, they had to contend with local difficulties.

After referring to the deaths of Mr C. R. Das and Sir Surendranath Banerjea, he mentioned the Hindu-Muslim tension which in Cawnpore, however, led to no untoward happenings. The opponents of Indian National progress, seeing their temporary weakness had begun to talk disparagingly of their policy and programme, but they had not grasped the full significance of their peaceful methods of work. Mutual recriminations had led many a seasoned soldier to relax his interest in healthy national activities. Their workers were handicapped for want of adequate financial aid owing to depression in trade. The economic policy of Government was one of heartless and cruel exploitation. The organised pillage of the disarmed nation had undermined their manhood and deadly evil of poverty had made the lives of millions unbearable. In spite these and several other discouraging factors like obtaining a site for the Congress they worked undaunted and there was the Kakori trial which had snatched away many of their ardent and sincere workers, many of whom had not been even admitted to bail. These incidents painfully reminded them of the low value that was attached by the bureaucratic Government to their right of liberty and citizenship, but he was confident about the success of their struggle. The gospel of non-co-operation had shaken off their frightful terror of coercion and intimidation. To say that the movement was dead was to ignore facts. They might have temporary setbacks, but at no distant date the movement would bear fruit.

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Cawnpore Congress Session

The fortieth session of the Indian National Congress held at Cawnpore in the last week of December was well attended. the pandal having been filled to its utmost capacity. It is estimated that there were fifteen thousand persons present there, including visitors. Among the latter, there were about a thousand ladies, some sitting behind the purdah.

After the singing of welcome songs and recitation of a poem in Hindi, Dr Murari Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered his brief speech in Urdu in an impressive manner. The substance of his speech has been given above in English

After finishing his speech Dr Murari Lal requested Mr Girdhari Lal to read the messages of good wishes and regret for absence sent by distinguished persons and public bodies. Among these was one from the poet Rabindranath Tagore, who expressed a hope that the President, as a poet and a woman, would be able to direct the Congress activities to love and service of the cradle of the people where our Great Mother's milk for her children had run dry through poverty, ignorance, disease and disunion, where life was waning and the light of joy was nearly extinct

Sjta. Basanti Devi (widow of Mr C R. Das) asked the President to light up an undying fire and let the united nation rise out of smouldering ashes purified and strong. India's freedom's battle must be made a worthy fight for which Deshabandhu Das gave his life and for which two hundred of their sons were abiding their time behind prison bars.

Mr. B Chakravarti urged a policy by which to consolidate national forces and make national demand irresistible.

Mr. C Vijiaraghavachari (Salem) suggested constitution of a committee for drafting Indian constitution to be adopted in a special session of the Congress.

Mrs Annie Besant said to the President 'May Congress be guided by you along the path to Home Rule by union of all parties who work for India's freedom and revive her splendid past"

Hon Mr. G. S Khaparde wanted Mrs. Naidu to restore the Congress to its truly political charactor with responsive co-operation as the settled policy.

Lord Sinha sincerely hoped there would be a great gathering and a successful session

Mr Jinnah said the immediate issue was securing the revision of the present constitution, but any action on the principle of direct action would be fraught with serious consequences and imperil political advance.

The Indian Congress Committee of Nairobi said, unless the whole of India was united and attained to Swaraj, all efforts to secure equal status for Indians in British colonies and foreign countries would be futile.

Transvaal Indians, through their committee, asked the Congress to support the South African Deputation. Pretoria 'British Indians' Association made a similar request

Hon Syed Reza Ali from Maritzburg wired appealing for modification of the constitution to admit all parties.

Dr. Abdur Rahaman, leader of the South African Indian Deputation, in a short speech said the Deputation was presenting to one of the greatest women of the world (Mrs. Naidu) her photogarph. The South African Indians had given India the greatest living man (applause). Mahatmaji belongs

to us (applause). Mrs Naidu also belongs to us You will have to give us at least one of the two to go to South Africa and fight our battle If we take the greatest woman of India, we are leaving behind her photograph so that you may look at it and be satisfied We present this photograph to our mother and our aunt in token of love of the South African Indians "

Mrs Naidu then delivered her presidential address She did not read it out as printed but delivered it extempore, amplifying what she had written

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Mrs. Naidu's Presidential Address

In her succinct and beautifully worded presidential address Mrs Naidu said that she was aware that the nation had bestowed upon her the richest gift in its possession, "not merely as gracious recompense for such trivial service as" she "may have been privileged to render at home or abroad, but rather in generous tribute to Indian womanhood and as token of your loyal recognition of its legitimate place in the secular and spiritual counsels of the nation "

In electing me to be the chief among your chosen servants through a period so fraught with grave issues and fateful decisions, you have not created a novel precedent You have only reverted to an old tradition and restored to Indian woman the classic position she once held in a happier epoch of our country's story symbol and guardian alike of the hearth-fires, the altar-fires and the beacon-fires of her land Poignantly conscious as I am of my own utter unworthiness to interpret so exquisite, so austere an ideal of wisdom, devotion, and sacrifice, as embodied through the ages in the radiant heroines of our history and legend, I trust, that to the fulfilment of the lofty task you have allotted me, even I might bring some glowing ember of the immortal faith that illumined the vigil of Sita in her forest exile, and bore the feet of Savitri undaunted to the very citadels of Death

Mrs Naidu holds that "our abject helplessness [is] born of our foolish disunion and nourished by our long dependence upon the caprice or the compassion of Imperial policies " She asks —

What means shall we devise, what schemes shall we evolve to deliver ourselves from the manifold dangers that encompass us ? How shall we combat the deadly forces of repression that challenge our human rights of liberty, how defeat the further encroachment of ruthless and rapacious Imperialist exploitation that despoils the remnants of our moral and material heritage ? How circumvent the insidious and ingenious aggression of other foreign races, eager to profit by the conditions of our economic and intellectual servitude ? How shall we avert the implacable doom that menaces our unfortunate kindred in the Colonies, how quell the rampant forces of reaction or divert the disaster of our internecine feuds ?

In her opinion,

The answers that we need are fully enshrined in the magnificent Gospel of sacrifice enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, in which he vainly strove to teach us the heroic secret of national selfredemption. But we, so long disinherited from the epic faith that sustained our brave forefathers, were too weak and unworthy to respond for more than a brief period to the demands of that noble and exacting creed Whatever may be the verdict of history, it cannot be gainsaid that the movement of non-violent non-co-operation that swept like a tempest over the country shook the very foundations of our national life, and though to-day it is quiescent and its echoes are almost still, it has irrevocably changed the aspect of our spiritual landscape.
However remote may be all our programmes for the future from the principles and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, they must inevitably be permeated by the influence of these recent years which have permanently shifted the currents of our political thought and altered the direction of our political destiny

She thinks that,

We need to-day some transcendent miracle of intrepid and enduring statesmanship to enable us to remobilize, reconcile and discipline our scattered and demoralised energies to a supreme unanimous effort for the final deliverance of India from the last shackles of her political subjection, and to devise a comprehensive scheme that shall act as a natural and indispensable auxiliary of political emancipation, and include within the scope of its interest or benediction all the enterprises and endeavours that substantially contribute to the social, economic, industrial and intellectual advancement of India, consistently with the requirements of her own peculiar conditions and in accordance with the finest ideals of modern progress.

Mrs Naidu adds

To give concrete expression to our decisions in regard to these ancillary activities, the Indian National Congress should create definite departments to be governed by groups of men and women specially qualified by their capacity or enthusiasm to administer to the vital and divergent wants of the people The main divisions might be few but should include within their sphere of responsibility all cognate matters

The main divisions, as formulated by her, are twelve in number The first division relates to village reconstruction.

To my mind it is of paramount importance to formulate a practical scheme of village reconstruction on the lines of Deshbandhu Das's dream. For this purpose we must try to enlist a large band of missionary patriots of burning zeal who set free from material wants by the pious charity of the householders of the country as in ancient times, should carry through the length and breadth of the land the beneficent evangel of self-reliance and self-respect, taking the immemorial twin symbols of the plough and the spinning wheel as the central

ext of the teaching that shall liberate our unhappy easantry from the crushing misery and terror of unger, ignorance and disease.

Long before Mr. C. R. Das merely for-ulated a scheme of village reconstruction, thers had not only formulated but have been rrying on the work with unremitting zeal. his fact should not have been and ought ot to be lost sight of

The workers may not care whether they et any credit or not. But what is of practic-l and vital importance is that the experience ined by them may be of use to those who ay begin the work afresh in new fields nd in untried ways.

To make the workers depend on "the ious charity of the householders of the ountry" may on the one hand lead to eir losing some of their independence nd self-respect, and on the other the creation of a new class of llers like the professional beggars ho call themselves *sadhus* and *sannyasis*. erhaps, therefore, some other means of bsistence for the village workers, devised n modern lines, may be preferable.

The next division of work to which Mrs. Naidu draws attention is meant for the elfare of the industrial workers in crowded ties

Closely allied to the task of village reorganisation the task of organising the industrial workers in the owded cities, who are so often compelled to live der conditions that degrade and brutalize them, d who, dislocated from the steadying influences of e familiar traditions and associations of the rural mes, they leave in search for bread, are so hope-sly exposed to the temptations of immorality d vice It should be our endeavour to assist in curing for them improved housing conditions, tter wages and a cleaner atmosphere, and to ablish an equitable and harmonious co-operation ween Capital and Labour as a valuable joint et of national progress.

The third problem which has received the esident's attention is Indian education, on hich she observes

I am appalled at the criminal apathy of our eral attitude towards the urgent problem of ian education. The surpassing evil of foreign mination has been to enslave our imagination intellect and alienate us from the glorious dition of our national learning. We are to-day more than the futile puppets of an artificial and itative system of education, which, entirely un-ited to the special trend of our racial genius, has bbed us of our proper mental values and per-ectives, and deprived us of all true initiative and iginality in seeking authentic modes of self-pression. It is preeminently our duty towards e young generation to so recreate our educational eals as to combine in felicitous, and fruitful lliance all the lovely regenerating wisdom of of our Eastern culture with all the highest know-ledge of art and science, philosophy and civic organisation evolved by the younger peoples of the West.

There is much truth in Mrs Naidu's in-dictment of our present system of education, though its evil effects appear to have been somewhat exaggerated Of course, the lines along which our educational ideals are to be recreated have been rightly enunciated This re-creation has been going on

The fourth problem is that of military training, on which the speaker observed :—

In addition, I would insist with all the force at my command on including a complete course of military training as an integral part of national education Is it not the saddest of all shameful ironies that our children whose favourite lullabies are the battle-songs of Kurukshetra and whose little feet march gaily to the stirring music of Rajput ballads, should be condemned to depend for the safety of their homes, the protection of their sanctuaries, the security of their mountain and ocean frontiers, on the fidelity and strength of foreign arms The savage Massai, the primitive Zulu, the Arab and the Afridi, the Greek and the Bulgar may all carry their tribal weapons and claim their inalienable right to defend the honour of their race, but we whose boast it is that we kindled the flame of the world's civilization are alone defrauded of our privilege and have become cowards by compulsion, unfit to answer the world's challenge to our manhood, unable to maintain the sanctity of our homes and shrines.

The next division also relates to allied matters and has been thus elaborated

Whatever the experiments recommended by the Commission now sitting to explore the avenues of military advancement for our people, it is in-cumbent upon the Congress to form forthwith a national militia by voluntary conscription, of which the nucleus might well be the existing volunteer organisations. Further we should also carefully consider the question of nautical as well as naval and aerial training to equip the nation for all purposes of defence against invasion or attack.

On this topic we wish to draw the atten-tion of our readers to the observations of Professor Ross of America in the December *Century Magazine*, which will be found extracted in the Foreign Periodicals section in our present issue

This is neither the place nor the occasion to raise the pacifist issue or to lay stress on the principle of non-violence, on which point, by the way, Mrs Naidu does not seem to be a follower of Mr. Gandhi. But without deny-ing the need of military training it may be observed that, as military training given to our educated young men will make them weapons in the hands of aliens as our un-educated sepoys have long been, it is worth pondering over whether that will make for

self-rule to a greater extent than the military training of our sepoys has done.

There is no harm in bringing the pressure of arguments and criticism to bear on the British rulers of India in order to secure military training for the educated classes in all provinces But it would be wise to recognise that in this matter the ultimate decision rests with aliens We may decide to have a national militia by voluntary conscription But the Government will not allow them either to purchase arms or to undergo military drill Nor will the Government allow any private bodies or agencies to possess aeroplanes or ships for giving training in aerial or naval warfare

For these reasons, we should devote greater attention to cultivating friendly relations with all our neighbours and also with distant peoples than we have hitherto done It is prudent to be always on guard: but we need not always assume, as people subject to war hysteria do, that foreign people are always thinking only of attacking India Even if that be a fact, there is no harm in trying to obtain their love and respect by cultural and other means

The sixth question to which Mrs Naidu draws attention is our duty towards those sisters and brethren of ours who have settled in South Africa and other foreign countries and are subject to many disabilities and indignities On this subject she said

Let it not be said of us, however, that our selfish absorption in our own domestic affairs has made us oblivious of the distress and difficulty of our kinsmen in foreign lands Our adventurous compatriots, who have crossed the seas to seek their livelihood in the dominions and colonies have from time to time been subjected to restrictive and repressive legislation The White Paper still stands as a reproach against our failure to redress the wrongs of the Indian community in Kenya But in the whole chronicle of civilized legislation there has never been so cruel and relentless an outrage against humanity as is deliberately embodied in the anti-Asiatic Bill which is calculated to exterminate the Indian community from South Africa

Shall we not send across the seas a loving and ready response to their heart-rending cry for succour and, through their ambassadors whom we welcome to-day, offer to our harassed and afflicted brothers in South Africa the assurance that India stands behind their courageous struggle to vindicate their inherent civic and human rights against the onslaught of such terrific injustice and oppression?

Never before has our duty to our kindred in foreign countries been so vividly brought home to our minds nor the necessity of establishing a close and living contact with all their changing fortunes. We should not lose a single moment in forming an Overseas Department in the Congress manned by those who can keep themselves vigilantly aware of all the legislations and enactment that adversely or otherwise affect Indian settlers abroad.

We may not be able to do all that we wish to for our countrymen abroad, before we have won self-rule, but that is no reason for cessation of activity as the result of a *non possumus* attitude

On the plight of political exiles Mrs. Naidu observed with feeling:—

Here my heart pleads with me to remember those sorrowful and lonely exiles, pining in strange and far-off corners of the earth, consumed with a desperate hunger and nostalgia for a glimpse of their motherland, to which they cannot return because, once they sought to serve her and win her freedom in ways unrecognised by the common law But many amongst them surely have made fullest atonement for all the fervent folly of their too impatient youth. Surely they, who have been chastened in the searching crucibles of dreadful suffering and privation have been refashioned to become consecrated vessels of selfless service for the amelioration of the poor, the fallen, and the depressed.

She next laid stress on the need of an efficient publicity and propaganda department

I cannot conceive how we have allowed ourselves to be so heavily handicapped by the lack of an efficient publicity which is the first essential of any campaign We should therefore take immediate steps to form a department for widespread political propaganda and for the education of the masses in all matters pertaining to their civic and social interests, to the wrongs under which they labour, the struggles in which the nation is engaged, the iniquitous and unstable fiscal and financial policies so ruinous to the prosperity of the country. I am confident that we could secure the willing cooperation of those who, otherwise prevented from active participation in public affairs, would gladly place their expert knowledge at our disposal, to advise us on questions connected with the revival of cottage industries, on commerce, railway, shipping, cooperative banking, and all other branches of development necessary for our material welfare

Mrs Naidu proceeded to add

The nationalist press both vernacular and English should be amongst the accredited channels of our propaganda, above all, a reliable foreign news service should be established to transmit to all the chief centres of the world the correct version of Indian affairs, and friendly embassies appointed to foster feelings of goodwill and understanding between India and the people of other lands.

The tenth problem, not in order of importance, to which she addressed herself was Hindu-Moslem relations

And now I approach with the utmost hesitation and regret the most baffling and most tragic of all the problems before us. I, who have dedicated my life to the dream of Hindu-Muslim unity

cannot contemplate without tears of blood the dissensions and divisions between us that rend the very fabric of my hope. I have tried to arrive at a just appreciation of the many unfortunate causes that have brought about so deep a gulf between the two communities, and tended to quicken such a sharp and importunate sense of aloofness on the part of my Muslim brothers, which, to the profound alarm and resentment of the Hindu community, manifests itself in a growing and insistent demand for separate and preferential rights and privileges in academic, official, civic and political circles of life. Though I am convinced that the principle of communal representation, whether through a joint or a separate electorate, frustrates the conception of national solidarity, I am compelled to recognise that, situated as we are to-day, in an atmosphere so tense and dark and bitter with unreasoning communal jealousy, suspicion, fear, distrust and hatred, it is not possible to reach any satisfactory or abiding adjustment without the most earnest and patient collaboration between Hindu and Muslim statesmen of undeniable patriotism to whom we should entrust the delicate and difficult task of seeking some sovereign remedy for so devastating a disease.

I beseech my Hindu brothers to rise to the height of their traditional tolerance which is the epic glory of our Vedic faith and try to comprehend how intense and far-reaching a reality is the brotherhood of Islam, which constrains seventy millions of Indian Mussalmans to share with breathless misery the misfortunes that are so swiftly overtaking the Islamic countries and crushing them under the heel of the military despotism of foreign powers.

In their turn I would implore my Muslim comrades not to permit their pre-occupation with the sorrows of Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Arabia, to obliterate the consciousness of their supreme duty to India their motherland, who must always have the first claim upon their devotion and allegiance.

If Hindus and Mussalmans would both learn to practise the divine qualities of mutual forbearance and accord to one another perfect liberty of worship and modes of living, without the tyranny of fanatical interruptions of one another's appointed rituals and sacrifices, if they would but learn to reverence the beauty of each other's creeds and the splendour of each other's civilizations, if the women of the two communities would but join together in the intimate friendship of their common sisterhood, and nurture their children in an atmosphere of mutual sweetness and harmony, how near we should come to the fulfilment of our hearts' desire!

The people and princes of the Indian States were not forgotten.

We should grossly fail in our duty to our neighbours were we to omit to try and foster cordial ties of sympathy and trust between ourselves and the princes and people of the great Indian States, scrupulously refraining from all interference in their internal concerns but always ready to serve in their wider interests.

The last subject which she spoke upon was the Frontier Provinces.

Nor can we afford to ignore the claims of the Frontier Provinces, which owing to their peculiar geographical and strategic position on the map, are governed by a form of perpetual martial law. We should render them all the assistance in our power, in their efforts to obtain the normal, civic and social amenities which are so abundantly enjoyed by their sister provinces.

These twelve labours she spoke of as "accessory features of our work" "The real function however of the Indian National Congress is the speedy attainment of Swaraj."

Mrs. Naidu spoke of the Swaraj Party's "striking record of success". That party certainly succeeded on many occasions to capture the imagination of a sensation-loving public; but we cannot call its record one of striking success. There are many discreditable and sordid episodes in its history which ought not to be forgotten, blinked or whitewashed. Moreover, it has not followed any consistent principle.

Nor do we agree that the Swaraj Party "invites" all other parties to the Congress "with open doors." Of course, those who may choose to walk into its parlour with eyes open and knowing the conditions, may do so

It is true of all the principal political parties in the country that

All of them have openly acknowledged that the Reforms of 1919 which were to have created a new era of progress have proved nothing but a mirage and the powers they professed to transfer to the people nothing but a deceptive myth. All of them, surely, are tacitly agreed upon some common maximum of the wrongs they are still prepared to endure, some common minimum of the rights they are now determined to enforce. And whatever be my own personal conviction, they at all events, are all in favour at least as an initial form of self-government, of the ideal of Dominion Status, so elaborately expounded in the Commonwealth of India Bill, and more succintly and emphatically embodied in the National Demand which has been endorsed by the representatives of all political schools in the Legislative Assembly. Below the limits of that demand the Indian nation cannot descend without irretrievable damage to its dignity and self-respect.

Leaving aside the question of dignity and self-respect, which may appear a merely sentimental consideration to hard-headed men, what is to be seriously considered is whether any constitution which England may agree to our obtaining will be largely futile like dyarchy or will really make for self-rule and be practically synonymous with self-rule to a large extent. If the latter be not the case, we do not want such a constitution

Mrs. Naidu wants the Government to make a responsive gesture We do not expect that it will

If the response be sincere and magnanimous, with ample guarantees of good-will and good faith on its part, it will necessitate an immediate revision of our present policy But if by the end of the Spring Sessions we receive no answer or an answer that evades the real issues or proves unworthy of our acceptance, the National Congress must clearly issue a mandate to all those who come within its sphere to vacate their seats in the Central and Provincial Legislatures and inaugurate from Kailas to Kanyakumari from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, an untiring and dynamic campaign to arouse, consolidate, educate and prepare the Indian people for all the progressive and ultimate stages of our united struggle and teach them that no sacrifice is too heavy, no suffering too great, no martyrdom too terrible, that enables us to redeem our Mother from the unspeakable dishonour of her bondage, and bequeath to our children an imperishable legacy of Peace

As this sort of ultimatum has been often given before, though not in such beautiful language, without any perceptible result, so far as the Government is concerned, and as civil disobedience may not be within the range of practical politics, the British people may consider such an utterance as mere bluff We have always been opposed to bluff, or what may appear as bluff

Mrs Naidu closed her address with the immemorial Indian prayer,

> Lead us out of the Unreal into the Real,
> Out of the Darkness into the Light,
> Out of Death into Immortality.

So far as the general outlines of the problems before the Congress are concerned, nothing which is of the greatest importance has been left out in the presidential address delivered at Cawnpore

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The So-called German Corpse Factory

During the last world war many stories of German barbarities and atrocities were circulated by their enemies to make them hated and loathed by all mankind Some of these stories contained such obscene details that nothing but the exigency of war could have led any newspaper to print them. To these there is no need to revert But there are other war lies, which did their work during the war and have recently been exposed, which require and will bear repetition

One of these relates to the alleged factory where the Germans manufactured fat, etc., from the dead bodies of their own soldiers This lie has been exposed in consequence of a speech which General Charteris made in New York on October 19th last. We need not dwell here on all the comments and discussions caused by that speech in the American and British journalistic world. We will quote here only a part of the summary given in *The Nation and the Athenaeum* of London, dated October 31, 1925.

The gruesome tale of the Corpse Factory in our Press begins on April 16th, 1917. On that day the daily column of the Times, "Through German Eyes," contains a section with the headline, "Use of Dead Bodies, Callous Admission" A paragraph is taken from the correspondence of Karl Rosner, representative of the Berlin Lokalanzeiger on the Western Front It is described as "the first definite admission concerning the way in which the Germans use dead bodies" Next day the paragraph is repeated in italics The Times remarks that it corroborates the Independance Belge, which, on April 10th, had copied from LA BELGIQUE of Leyden a description of trains "arriving full of bare bodies," and being unloaded at the Deutsche Abfall-Verwertungs Gesellschaft, in the Eifel district, south-west of Coblenz Two days later (April 19th) the TIMES prints a facsimile of the passage from Rosner's dispatch, as it appears in the LOKALANZEIGER of the 10th, with a translation Here are the essential sentences.—

"We pass through Evergnicourt (north of Reims). There is a sickly smell in the air, as if glue were being boiled We are passing the great Corpse Utilisation Establishment (Kadaververwertungsanstalt) of this Army Group. The fat that is won here is turned into lubricating oils and everything else is ground down in the bones mill into a powder which is used for mixing with pigs' food and as manure Nothing is permitted to go to waste."

On April 20th the TIMES gives a German wireless message in which it is stated that "*the English Wireless Service is spreading the loathsome and equally ridiculous report*" The message goes on to say that, as everybody conversant with German knows, the word *Kadaver* "is never used for human bodies, but only for the carcases of animals" The TIMES thereupon begins a discussion, which continues for some days, on the meaning of the crucial word It cites two famous German dictionaries (Meyer and Muret-Sanders), and insists that *Kadaver* is applied to ordinary human corpses—in addition to its acknowledged use, like *cadavre*, in anatomy Other pieces of evidence are gathered in, and on May 5th the TIMES completes its case by printing the photograph of a typewritten document, described as an order of the day from the headquarters of the Sixth German Army, with a short paragraph referring to deliveries at the Corpse Utilizing Establishment. And, while this has been going forward in the news columns, readers of the Times have been doing their part. On April 18th, the day after the first reference, there appears a letter from C E Bunbury, dated the Royal Automobile Club To this person, it would seem, belongs the credit of first suggesting that the Lokalanzeiger had afforded Britain an opportunity for propaganda "that should not be missed" among the Eastern peoples.

In Parliament the corpse factory is first heard of on April 25th, when Mr. Ronald McNeill withdrew a question of which he had given notice

He asked it, however, on the 30th, whether the Prime Minister would take steps to make known "as widely as possible in Egypt, India, and the East generally" the fact that the Germans were boiling down their dead soldiers into food for swine Mr. John Dillon followed, had the Government any solid ground for believing it? Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, replied. He said he had no information beyond the extracts that had appeared in the Press, but "in view of other actions taken by the German military authorities, there is nothing incredible in the present charge against them" He added:

"*His Majesty's Government have allowed the circulation of the facts as they appeared through the usual channels.*"

Pressed further by Mr. Dillon, Lord Robert admitted that he had not seen the Frankfurter Zeitung's explanation, and said it was no part of the Government's duty to institute inquiries as to what went on in Germany On May 17th we have the German Foreign Secretary, Herr Zimmermann, commenting upon Lord Robert Cecil's statements. The story of the corpse factory, he said, had appeared first in the French Press, which was misled by the uses of the word *cadavre*. The Frankfurter Zeitung, a fortnight earlier, had assumed that the French deemed it "not worth while to go on bearing the disgrace of such a grotesque lie."

The foregoing summary traces the corpse factory as propaganda only in a single journal, and within the space of one month in 1917 Its proliferations in the British Empire, the United States, and the Far East could not be described The memory of them staggers the imagination. It should, however be noted that in the British Press references to the corpse factory came speedily to an end. General Charteris and Mr Masterman have doubtless indicated the sufficient reason

And that sufficient reason was that it was a lie

—

Other War Lies

We have quoted above from the London *Nation* Let us now give two more examples of war lies from the New York *Nation*, Nov. 25, 1925. It is to be borne in mind that both England and America fought together against Germany, neither being pro-German.

The first lie is about the *Baby of Courbeck Loo*, which baby never existed *The Nation* of New York writes thus about it:—

The Charteris incident has stirred people's memories as well as their ire. Thus the Glasgow *Forward* is disgusted by the hypocritical comment of the London *Daily Mail* upon the Charteris case that "The special feature of the British propaganda was that it told the truth. Great care was taken in obtaining facts and rectifying them." It reprints a delightful statement by a former *Daily Mail* correspondent, a Captain Wilson. This appeared in *The Crusader* of February 24, 1922, as follows:

The *Daily Mail* telegraphed out that they wanted stories of atrocities, Well, they had not any atrocities at that time. So then they telegraphed out that they wanted stories of refugees. There was a little town outside Brussels where one went to get dinner—a very good dinner too. I heard the Hun had been there. So I wrote a heart-rending story about the baby of Courbeck Loo being rescued from the Hun in the light of the burning homesteads. The next day they telegraphed me to send the baby along, as they had about 5,000 letters offering to adopt it The day after that baby clothes began to pour into the office. Even Queen Alexandra wired her sympathy and sent some clothes. Well, I couldn't wire back to say there wasn't a baby. So I finally arranged with the doctor that took care of the refugees that the blessed baby died of some very contagious disease, so it couldn't have a public funeral.

And he got Lady Northcliffe to start a creche with all the baby clothes, concludes the account.

Since the end always justifies the means in war time, the baby creche undoubtedly paid for the invention of that touching baby of Courbeck Loo. And now the *Daily Mail* and all the Rothermere-Beaverbrook newspapers, which were the chief liars during the war, are howling for a parliamentary inquiry into General Charteris's allegations.

The other lie concerns a British nurse both of whose breasts were alleged to have been cut off by the Germans The New York *Nation* relates the incident in the following paragraph —

The town of Dumfries, which is represented in Parliament by General Charteris, also writes the Glasgow *Forward*, has before this had some experience with war lies. Early in the war much publicity was given to the case of a Dumfries nurse in the army. The press said the poor thing had had both her breasts cut off in Belgium by some bestial "Huns." Naturally, all Dumfries saw red and its boys flocked to the recruiting stations—until the outraged nurse in question, who happened to be not in Belgium but in the good British town of Huddersfield, read the story of her mutilation and telegraphed a denial. That was bad taste we admit; had she been a true patriot, she must have acquiesced in the loss of her breasts. Some curious personal pride in the perfection of her anatomy kept her from assenting But the London *Times* was equal to the occasion. It pointed out that this outrageous journalistic carving-up of an entirely complete British woman was due to a story circulated by a German spy!

The comments of the American paper run as follows —

Even the New York *Tribune* now concedes that the atrocity business was faked. At least in its issue of November 15 it allowed its London correspondent to say that a few months ago General Charteris's indiscretion would have been bluffed out on the ground that all is fair in war. Today, he declares, "with a more or less shame-faced recognition that all the belligerents told a pack of lies during the war there is anxiety that this country should not stand out as the champion liar of the war." Hence there is even the belated admission of the truth of Admiral Sims's statement that stories of German submarine atrocities were

greatly exaggerated. Thus truth, crushed, rises again.

—

An Unearned Certificate

Mr Edward Thompson the Rev. E J. Thompson, sometime principal of the Bankura Wesleyan College,--has announced in his recently published book, entitled *The Other Side of the Medal*, his discovery of a serious Indian rival to the British manufacturers of lies, and to him he has given a glorious certificate Says he in his aforesaid book —

"Our misrepresentation of Indian history and character is one of the things that have so alienated the educated classes of India that even their moderate elements have refused to help the Reforms. Those measures, because of this sullenness, have failed, when they deserved a better fate And Indians misrepresent us, taking revenge in their turn The most widely read of their monthlies has always seemed to me a study in steady conscienceless misrepresentation" Pp 133-124 "The Other Side of the Medal"

To be without conscience is a very high qualification indeed But as the editor of the monthly referred to above never had to make any efforts to get rid of that troublesome encumbrance, he feels that he has not earned the certificate Mr. Thompson has been graciously pleased to give him. We shall tell Mr Thompson the reason why

There is a theory that it is only persons belonging to conquering and ruling nations who have a conscience Another theory is that it is only white (or pale pink) persons who have a conscience A third theory is that conscience is the monopoly of Christians, particularly of British Christians. A fourth theory is that Christian missionaries alone have conscience There is a last theory which states that ex-missionaries alone have a monopoly of it Of course, all persons belonging to conquering and ruling nations, or all white men, or all Christians, or all Christian missionaries, or all Christian ex-missionaries do not subscribe to the theory which would credit them with the sole possession of conscience But as there are so many classes of monopolists in the market, and the editor of the monthly referred to above does not belong to any of them, he readily admits that he never had any conscience—he was born without it And, therefore, being naturally conscienceless, he had not to try to get rid of that inconvenient excrescence. It is for that reason that he feels that he has not *earned* Mr. Thompson's certificate, though there is no doubt he does not possess a conscience.

However, as so great an authority on the subject of consciencelessness as Mr. Edward Thompson has given him such a splendid certificate, the editor in question will not fail to take advantage of it when occasion arises for his doing so. *In fact, he has already resolved to apply for the post of Director-General of the British War Lies Department, when war breaks out again between Britain and some other nation or nations.*

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Hindu-Moslem Unity

In our search for stable foundations for Hindu-Moslem unity we have found that a sure basis for such unity would be a common love and respect for India. That India is worthy of love and respect is self-evident to those who are aware of the ancient achievements of our ancestors As a large proportion of Indian Musalmans are descended from Indian ancestors, they are as much entitled to be proud of these achievements as those in India who are Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas by religion. That these Musalmans are not proud of them is not wholly their fault. We Hindus have often denied them that privilege by thinking and speaking of them and treating them socially as *mlechchhas* and *yavanas* The modern Greeks and Italians, unlike the ancient Greeks and Romans, are Christians, and do spiritual homage to the prophets and messiah of Palestine But they are not on that account the less proud of the achievements of their ancient non-Christian ancestors of Greece and Rome, or do not for that reason exert themselves the less to cultivate and conserve the ancient arts and literatures of Greece and Rome Such should likewise be the joint attitude and endeavour of the modern Hindu and Musalman descendants of the ancient Indians with regard to the ancient culture and civilisation of India.

Coming down to medieval times, we find that the fine and industrial arts of that age owed at least as much to the Musalmans as to the Hindus for their development. Indian Musalmans still excel in music, in architecture, in painting and in many of the crafts which have come down to us from earlier ages. Whether Urdu literature may be considered almost entirely a Musalman achievement, need not be discussed

But Hindi literature and Bengali ...ature, not to mention some other ...tures, owe not a little to some early ...em writers and patrons of learning.

...Why then should not Indian Musalmans ...proud of the medieval culture of India ...their Hindu brethren?

...We know it is religious doctrines and ...tices which are thought to divide Hindus ... Musalmans. But if we ... not confine our attention ...lly to externals but ...te some thought to ...itual endeavour and ...ization, we shall find ... saints and seers have ...ng from Indian Moslem ...iety as they have from ...du society We do not ... here to those who were ...idered strictly orthodox ... to those mystics who ... noted for their spiritual ...n. Among these some ... evidently Moslem names. ... to be hoped that Profes... Kshitimohan Sen will be ... to find time to make ... known to contemporary ...ers of truth There are ...rs, more distinguished, ... cannot be claimed to ... been indubitably Hindus. ... instance, it cannot be ... that Kabir was beyond ...t a Hindu Most ...ably he was a Musal... by birth Similarly the ... Dadu, whom Hindus ... made their own and ... teachings and hymns ... Hindi, like Kabir's, was ...ably a Musalman by birth. ...ably his name was Daud, ...ich Dadu is a diminutive ...ection. But whatever they ... have been by birth, ...r and Dadu and a good ... other saints were spirit... Indians and are glories ...ur common Hindu-Moslem .... Of the Baishnab singers of Bengal ... of the *Baools* many have been Musalmans ...birth

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Greetings to Romain Rolland

In January last year Romain Rolland sent his salutations of love and respect to India through the small group of young writers who conduct the Bengali magazine "Kallol" His sentiments found expression in the following words, translated from the French

"TO MY FRIENDS OF INDIA—

"Asia and Europe form parts of the same vessel, of which the prow is Europe and the



Romain Rolland

watch-chamber India, the Empress of Thought, with eyes innumerable. Glory to thee, mine eyes! Thou art mine and my soul is thine. We are but one and the same being.

Romain Rolland"

A mes amis de l'Inde

L'Europe et l'Asie sont un même vaisseau. L'Europe en est la proue et la chambre de veille est l'Inde, empire de la Pensée aux yeux innombrables. Salut à vous, mes yeux! Car vous êtes miens. Et mon esprit est vôtre. Nous ne sommes qu'un seul être.

Romain Rolland

29 janvier 1925

Romain Rolland's sympathies and appreciation know no bounds of race or clime. He belongs, therefore, not only to France, but to India and all the world. He has been able to love and respect even Germany, which has been looked upon by his countrymen as *the* enemy country for decades. A people are to be judged not by the worst that they have done but by their ideals and aspirations. Hence we take Rolland to be a truer representative of his people than those who recently perpetrated the barbarities at Damascus. We are aware that few of us have realised in our lives the ideals and aspirations of India which have won for her the love and adoration of a master spirit like Rolland. But his words are to us a fresh reminder of what India stands for in the minds of men who belong to all the world. For this reminder and for all that he is and has done, we salute Romain Rolland with love and respect on the occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, when there is to be a celebration of the event in Switzerland by his friends and admirers. May we not on our part be totally unworthy of that India which the great ones of our country and of the world have seen in their visions!

—

Calcutta Session of the National Liberal Federation of India

There is a passage, relating to deterioration of public life, in the presidential address of Sir Moropant Joshi, delivered at the last Calcutta session of the National Liberal Federation of India, which should receive the attention of all of us. He calls it a matter of great importance and says.—

We find a wrangle of political parties and an internecine war of mutual recrimination instead of united or at any rate confluent action toward the realization of the common political goal. In the eagreness to emphasize their own superiority of policy and method, fierce attacks are made not only on the policies and principles of rival political parties but upon individuals and there is very little attempt made to understand the respective view-points. Leaders of parties as also responsible editors of newspapers who are expected particularly to discourage such an attitude, are, I repeat, not always careful in guarding themselves against it. Again, very little sanctity attaches to age, experience, self-sacrifice, or recognized moral worth found in leaders of other parties. The interests of party are not unoften placed above national interests and this has made political life in this country a tangled skein of camouflage and dissimulation. Is it too much to hope that the evils of such tactics will be perceived and the tactics avoided?

It is to be regretted that the matter to which Sir Moropant draws attention in the

ive passage has not received strict attention in the address of the Chairman of the eption Committee of the Federation, in ich certain bantering expressions have used to describe Mr. M K. Gandhi, his wers and his political methods and hings, though Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra's ch has some merits of its own

We need not consider whether the evements of the Liberal Party recounted him are great or small ;—what is material at they are achievements

But in claiming credit for them, he has ted to consider two things Some of achievements relate to a period when n political life did not know any ion of parties, no distinction between rate and Extremist, Non-co-operator, ajist or Independent. Therefore, the t for them belongs not merely to the als, but to the other parties as well, s Englishmen and Americans may boast ly of the achievements of Shakespeare Milton and Cromwell Again, the Govern- made some concessions to the Moderates ormer years partly, if not mainly or ly, to "rally the Moderates"—a phrase h is certainly known to present-day als. Therefore, the credit for obtaining concessions or reforms belongs partly st to those who were not Moderates

. Krishna Kumar Mitra claims that the of politics to which the Liberals belong never been found wanting". It cannot id that historically this is a strictly te statement.

gain, Mr. Mitra claims Raja Ram Mohun s a Liberal. But what have present-day ls to say to the Raja's well-known ation that, if the British Reform Bill of ys were thrown out by the House of ons, he would sever all connection the British empire ? Was it not Non- ration in intention ? And was the shi *cum* Boycott agitation of the Bengal ion days 'constitutional agitation' in nse in which the Bengal Liberals of understand the expression ?

e do not think that Mr. Mitra was quite te, or just to his opponents when he d the following sentence ,—

> novelty of the new cult, and the irresistible tion of getting Swaraj within three months king no sacrifice whatsoever in men or ,—in life or limbs,—but simply by turning heel of a peaceful Charka,—in fact by ming a magic in point of which Aladin's mances were as nothing,—and the very ity of the process of getting Swaraj so cheap, and so quickly, had practically turned the heads of our countrymen.

For our part we have never believed in fixing a date by which Swaraj can be won by any means or process whatever, and have never made a secret of our scepticism But we cannot say, have never said, that Mr, Gandhi ever stated or suggested that Swaraj could be obtained without any sacrifice in men or money, life or limb On the contrary, he has all along demanded the utmost self-purification and sacrifice from Non-cooperators And as a matter of fact, many of them have made great pecuniary sacrifices, and some have become invalids for life, and some others died, in consequence of imprisonment.

Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra's defence of his party against the charges of being service-seekers and place-hunters, of hating to mix with the people, and of merely supporting and carrying out the mandates of the Government without rendering any services to the pnblic, etc, is good so far as politics is concerned. But it is somewhat irrelevant to claim the scientific, medical, juristic, commercial and other non-political work of Sir J C. Bose, Sir P C. Ray, Sir. Ashutosh Mukherjee. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Rajendranath Mukherji, etc,, as achievements of the Liberal Party.

As regards direct action, the present-day circumstances of India are not suitable for such a policy ; and even the Non-cooperators have pronounced that opinion after appointing a committee which toured through all the provinces and reported against the starting of civil disobedience even in the near future But when Mr. Mitra appears to state or imply that direct action produced no beneficial results whatever in Russia, Ireland, Italy, Austria, and Portugal, and that "it was at last by the tried road of constitutional progress that the countries [named above] were saved and restored to their legitimate share of independence," he seems to have partly forgotten his history Sir Moropant Joshi appears to have given a better indirect interpretation of the principles of the Indian Liberal Party when he said in his address·—

> Another question to which an answer is expected is what is the method which the Liberals are prepared to adopt to put pressure on Government and to enforce the national will to be free The Liberals have always had an abounding faith in the people, They believe that it is quite feasible to bring adequate pressure to bear on Government to grant India dominion status if the electorate and the people as a whole take much keener interest in matters political The will to be free must be infused in the

masses and intensity of feeling secured by constant reiteration of the birthright of Indian citizens. The Liberals have still faith in constitutional methods which they believe have not been adequately tried. *As extreme measures nothing is ruled out for achieving political emancipation—not even revolutions, much less civil disobedience and obstruction.* But the Liberals firmly believe that without adequate preparation of the people, little pressure can be put on Government. Mere gnashing of teeth and stamping of feet is neither dignified nor expedient. As soon as we concentrate on the preparation of the electorates a stage must arrive when the rulers must find it prudent to yield rather than risk civil disobedience and revolution. Without adequate preparation of the people no compelling pressure upon Government is possible, and once they are prepared, civil disobedience will be unnecessary.

The means and methods advocated by Mr Mitra for harmonising the conflicting interests and attitudes of landlords and tenants, capital and labour and of "high-caste" people and the depressed classes are worthy of support. And we believe with him that we "cannot achieve anything great or good unless through the path of truth and righteousness," and that,

> Whether you are a Co-operator or a Non-co-operator,—whether you are a Socialist or a Swarajist, whether you are a Liberal or an Independent, we are all of us, brethren, children of the same Mother, and working for the same cause. Do not create confusion of tongues by coining new words and magnifying the old and forgotten differences. Let us put our heads and join our hands together and march on steadily to the common goal.

Not having received any advance copy either of Mr Krishna Kumar Mitra's or of Sir Moropant Joshi's address, we are unable to deal with them properly.

The latter dealt with the following topics in his statesmanlike address: constitutional reform, Lord Birkenhead's speech, the Secretary of State's objections, diarchy, the Nagpur Flag agitation, the civil services, the demand, its nature and justification, communal disturbances, excise duty on cotton goods, Indians in South Africa, Non-political work by Liberals; the Liberal party and Government; Liberals and other parties, plea for unity, party organization; deterioration of public life.

To Lord Birkenhead's speech he has devoted much space and characterised it as 'a curious blend of light and darkness, of half truths and fond misconceptions, of rays of hope and a dismal trail of disappointment." His criticism of the speech is weighty. Though he has pointed out what good has been done by elected legislative councils, he has no hesitation in saying: "If diarchy is found to have failed in its main purpose, as it has failed, little doubt remains of its failure."

With regard to the Civil Services, he says, in part:

> The Secretary of State has praised the civil services in India. Nobody grudges them praise where they deserve it, certainly no Indian who had to deal with the services as a member of Government. Indians, however, want to be responsible for policies, and this causes resentment in a service used to take the initiative and to the formulation of policies, and this again reacts on the Indians. Nobody grudges the services just and fair treatment, but it is expected that they will perform functions similar to those of the civil services of other countries. What strikes people in India is the extraordinary rapidity with which the question of the interests of the services was taken up and decided.
>
> Not only have their emoluments been increased but allowances which have been subject to the vote of the Legislature have been made non-votable. Not only has the financial burden of the taxpayer been considerably increased but a backward constitutional move has been taken, the limited power of the Legislatures being further curtailed, and the 'steel-frame' has been further strengthened. While a comparatively small interest, because it is concerned with the continuance of British domination, is thus dealt with promptly and generously, larger questions of great public importance which concern the entire Indian nation have evoked little sympathy and powerful opposition. The contrast is so great, and it is painful.

In the matter of minority rights and communal disturbances, he observes:—

> No Britisher, I hope, expects to be here for all eternity. The fear of minorities being unfairly treated comes with ill grace from the Britisher. What of the intolerable position of the Catholics in England for so long a time? A country that can undertake the responsibility of planting a Zionist minority amongst adverse Bedouin surroundings ought surely to be capable of securing provisions for the reasonable claims of minorities in this country.

In his opinion, "Kenya and South Africa emphasize the need of Swaraj."

In his observations on the Liberal Party and Government, Sir Moropant clearly brings out the fact that though the Liberals co-operated with the Government whenever they could do so conscientiously, the Government has not treated the Liberals fairly and considerately "to all outward appearance the cry of the Liberal and the Non-cooperator, the friend and the obstructionist, is treated with equal indifference by Government."

Sir Moropant's "Plea for unity" is well conceived.

> *Whatever a Britisher may think, the Liberals have no reason to reckon themselves enemies*

parties that do not agree with them in the [me]*thods adopted to secure the goal.* However [unf]ortunate and deplorable their methods might [ha]ppen to be, the Liberals realize that all are [wor]king for a common objective. Circumstances [whi]ch drive persons like Mahatma Gandhi and [Mess]rs. Das and Nehru into a mentality that [shu]ns cooperation and advises obstruction are [cert]ainly unfortunate and deplorable, and the [Gove]rnment responsible for them must reconsider [its a]ttitude From our national point of view, [the] union of all political parties is extremely [desir]able at this juncture. It is quite conceivable [that] the Liberals Independents, Conventionists [and] Responsive Cooperators would not find it [diffic]ult to have a common platform.

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[Is i]t Government by Shopkeepers and for Shopkeepers ?

[T]he British Government of India began [as a] commercial undertaking, and although [later] developments covered things up with [an i]mperial mantle, British interests in India [are m]ainly commercial and the Government [and i]ts officials have, ever since the beginning [of th]e British occupation of India, always [kept] this fact in mind We do not blame [them] for this weakness in view of the fact that [we h]ave always accepted, and advised others [to ac]cept, British avowals, in relation to their [imper]ialistic ventures, their deepest attach[ment] to philanthropy and the uplift of [huma]nity, with an addition of salt. The ex[ploit]s of the Moghuls never sacrificed the ["econ]omic" arts to "Christianity" no more [than] to the doctrine of *Maya*. They have [done] good to humanity no doubt, for are not [the B]ritish human beings? But they have [pr]oved themselves to be unadulterated [Benth]amites, in so far as their efforts had al[ways] been directed to the greatest happiness [of the] greatest number of Englishmen and [Englishme]n only If by what they have done [they h]ave caused much unhappiness to fifty [or] more people in India, they may be ex[cused] because they have never fully realised [that I]ndians are just as much human beings [as Bri]tishers Why we assumed such a sub[missiv]e character before our rulers is out of [the qu]estion. Suffice it to say that it is al[ways] very important from the point of view [of hu]man happiness that India should have [a fav]ourable exchange for the facility of the [Britis]h Indian trade, and British officials to [uphold] "law" and "order" wherever British [goods] sell, and British surgeons wherever [Britis]hers have to open shops, and railways [wher]ever there are Indian goods to be re-placed by British goods, and British armies wherever they can be trained up at the cost of the Indians. Do not ask, what about Indian happiness, for that is that and human happiness is human happiness. In view of the history of British rule in India, should we wonder that Indian Government officials always make it a point to sympathise much more with British commercial interests than with things which have a deeper relation with India's national well-being but little to do with the happiness of the British ? Indian education or Indian sanitation and health never occasion such demonstration of official interest and sympathy as do meetings of chambers of commerce or dinners organised by British tradesmen. The highest officials in the land take what would be called unusual interest in other lands in the affairs of avowed money-makers. Of course, it is one of the functions of the State to look after the commercial prosperity of the land and Government officials never go beyond their rights in expressing sympathy with business men. Still to one who is not well versed in the psychology of the rulers of India and who has studied the national problems of India, official love of business men of British or allied origin as found in India, appears a bit out of proportion. The whole thing savours of a deeper governmental attachment to British shops in India than to the needs of the millions whom they are proclaimed as uplifting In the West, too, one hears of the capitalistic nature of the State and of government officials abusing their powers to help their mates in their work of exploitation of the lesser members of society. But as one does not see such palpable misery in the West as in India and as the State officials seldom go out of their way to proclaim their sympathy with (let us say) either the boot and shoe or the coal trade, one does not attach much more importance to such statements than to classify them as expressions of class jealousy But here, in India, where millions die every year of preventable and curable diseases, where practically all people live through a life of dire poverty and bestial ignorance, if government officials wax eloquent in expressing their keenest interest in the prosperity of a few foreign shopkeepers, one cannot help questioning oneself, is the government of India a government by shopkeepers and for shopkeepers ? A. C.

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Associated Chambers Anti-Japanese

Japan was an outstanding figure during the meeting of British business men (with a sprinkling of sympathetic and official Indians) and British officials where they discussed the well-being of "India". One of the main items on the agenda was a motion recommending abrogation of the Government of India's convention of 1905 with Japan According to this convention, India has to treat Japan as a most favoured nation in levying import duties The contention put forward by a Bombay representative, who moved the motion, was that on account of the (unfair) competition of Japan, the Indian cotton mill industry was suffering badly. Hence the convention of 1905 should be abrogated and a duty, heavy enough to save the cotton mills from Japanese competition, should be imposed on textiles imported from Japan (The Japanese competition is unfair in this sense that Japanese workmen are made to work for longer hours for low wages and thus the Japanese producers can undersell producers in countries where shorter hours are enforced by law) It was also mentioned that the Britishers' "hard-earned Lancashire trade" was also badly hit by Japan Nevertheless Indian Mills received the place of honour in the order of naming the victims of the Japanese competition

The discussion which ensued, following the motion, revealed the fact that it would not be very safe to do away with the convention of 1905 in an offhand way, for Japan could and most certainly would retaliate against such action by putting heavy duties on Indian goods entering Japan One of the things that the Japanese would very much like to tax is Indian steel. Japan has no Iron and Steel of her own, but she has considerable interests in the rapidly growing Iron and Steel industry of China. India is a serious competitor of the Chinese Iron and Steel industry, the profits of which mainly go into Japanese pockets. If India taxed Japanese textiles, Japan would most certainly not lose the opportunity to tax Indian Iron and Steel. So that the chances are that by abrogating the convention of 1905 India will lose more than gain. Bengal and Madras voting against the motion, the motion was dropped.

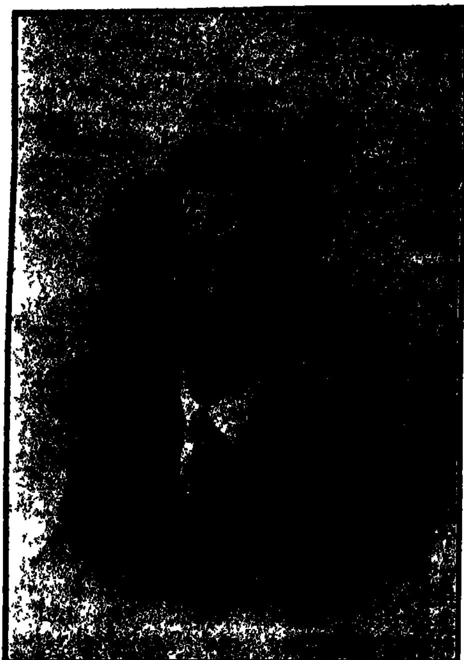
When we go into the details of the case and through the statistics of Japanese and other textile imports into India, we find that Japan is probably hitting Lancashire harder than she is hitting India. This is all the more probable in view of the greater differences between Japanese and British costs of production as compared with Japanese and Indian costs. Another argument in support of this view is the fact that British business men have taken so much trouble to have the situation redressed. It is not usual for members of the British business community to spend time and energy to serve Indian mill-owners. Moreover, they themselves admit that Lancashire is suffering from the Japanese competition Whatever that may be, we are told that the Indian mill industry has a serious rival in Japan and that if proper and timely steps are not taken against this menace, things may end in a tragedy. The suspension of the Cotton Excise Duty go to prove that the Indian mills are really in a bad condition But the suspension of the Cotton Excise Duty will help Indian mill-owners to lower prices and thus injure the cottage weavers of India. The cottage weaver's well-being is of much more importance to India's economy than the prosperity of the mill-owner. The better policy, therefore, would have been to do something which would not enable Indian mill-owners to lower prices, but at the some time serve to reduee foreign competition

If the Indian Government had further increased the duties on all textilean imports, (including those from Lancashire), the Japanese would still receive the treatment afforded to the most favoured nation, but would be less of a competitor to Indian mills. And the convention of 1905 remaining intact, there would not be so much fear of retaliation Of course, such a course would hit the British shopkeepers hard, and that is why *nobody* thought of it But when we discuss our own affairs, selfish people as we are, we naturally think of all sorts of absurd ways of improving India's fortune

A. C.

The Professor of Italian in Visva-Bharati

Dr. Giuseppe Tucci, deputed by the Italian Government to initiate Italian studies in Rabindranath's Visva-Bharati has opened his lectures in Santiniketan The public of Calcutta have already had the pleasure of listening to the learned discourses of the two eminent Itatian savants in the All-India



Dr Tucci

ilosophical Congress, held under the auspices the Calcutta University While Prof michi communicated a strikingly original er on the corroboration of the Upanishadic alism from the latest researches of the ld-famed Prof Planck of Germany, Tucci read a learned discourse on dian Materialism", showing the lines of onstructing that much-neglected chapter the history of ancient India. Dr. Tucci not only a keen student of Sanskrit, Pali Indian Prakrits, but a sound scholar in nese and Tibetan as well To mention a few of his outstanding contributions, may point out that he has published dies on Kalidasa, on the Sundarananda ya of Asvaghosa, and on the Divyavadana has published an edition of the Saptasatika jnaparamita as well as the Satashastra ryadeva from Tibetan. But the versatility Dr. Tucci is even more wide-ranging Not pping with Tibetan, he goes forward to ster the difficult yet none the less indis-nsable Chinese Buddhist texts, making a mparative study of the Chinese and the nskrit versions of the Lankavatara sutra and the course of this year publishing another onograph on Aryadeva's *Chatuh-shatuka*, ndied in its Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions. So Dr. Tucci is specially endowed with the capacity for writing a comprehensive history of Mahayana Buddhism, which claims so many races, languages and climes as its dependencies. We hear that a preliminary study of Dr. Tucci on the history of Mahayana is already going through the press in Italy and we hope that he would soon publish an English version of that work for the benefit of our Indian students. Indology apart, Dr. Tucci has published a volume on the "Apology of *Taoism*" and a "History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy". So it is only natural that his researches would bring him the honour of occupying the chair of "Religion and Philosophy of India and the Extreme Orient" in the University of Rome. We are thankful to Signor Mussolini for having sent such a versatile scholar to represent the Italian Science in the republic of Indian letters

K. N.

—

Indian Art and Art-critics

We still clearly remember the days when our young ladies were taught "art" by memsahibs and produced oil-paintings of a cucumber, a crescent-shaped slice of melon, one or two pomegranates and a bunch of grapes and other real and unreal sort of fruits in baskets and fruit dishes of various shapes These generally decorated the walls where the parents could see them always and dream of the matrimonial prospects of their fast-growing daughters In those days the stomach was the pivot on which our thoughts revolved, and we cannot say now that we did not like those appetising paintings as they came into our vision on our return from school Then came days when everybody painted fat women and doubtful flora and fauna for a change. But the climax came when Germany flooded the Indian market with oleograph reproductions of the late Raja Ravi Varma's paintings and of those of his followers and imitators. The womanhood of India seemed to go mad all of a sudden and began to "dress" those cheap prints. "Dressing" meant cutting up pieces of silk and snipping off locks of hair to sew these on to those parts of the picture which represented clothing and hair. They did it well with silk, brocade, locks of hair and tinsel but what waste of labour and what a stupid thing to do! We do not remember what name they gave "art" in those days ; it was not "art." Anyhow,

the whole business was silly in the extreme and as artistic and beautiful as darning old socks or making an album of newspaper cuttings. Of course, "drawing" was taught in the schools and some of us could copy eagles and reindeer, objects as familiar to us as the Chinese dragon, and draw ink or tea pots with only a few defects. That was the road we were following under the guidance of nobody who knew anything of art, either Eastern or Western. Some will ask, what about the Government Schools of Art? Did not people learn something good at least there? We do not know. These schools did not enter our life as does the Indian art of to-day. The schools still exist and turn out artists, some of whom paint very well.

But Indian art, with which we are connected by bonds deeper than school instruction and which appeals to us through a thousand associations, was revived and reinstated into *national* life by the effort of idealists who were not "art" teachers and who travelled in the right direction instinctively, groping in semi-darkness, guided by faint signs and urged by the dissatisfaction of serving an "art" which did not mix with their life and abounded in motifs and technicalities evoking no pleasant reaction in their heart. There were a considerable number of non-painters who helped in this revival by their writings and by encouraging the movement in other ways. The name of Dr Abanindranath Tagore will stand out in the history of this renaissance like that of Giotto in the history of European art. Sj Nandalal Bose is another outstanding figure. They have been the guiding spirit of the movement since its beginning and will, we hope, be so for many years to come. Round them have grown up many artists of fame. Some, like Sj Devi Prasad Roy Choudhury, have shown great originality and have opened out fresh avenues of progress in painting and sculpture.

Ever since the beginning of the movement, critics have cropped up to hamper its growth as do weeds round most useful plants. Practically all their criticism was based on false assumptions regarding the principles of art in general and Indian art in particular. In turn, Indian art lacked technique and expression and meant nothing to its critics. Among the first lot of critics were disappointed drawing masters, photographers, poster designers, jute brokers, members of the Indian Civil Service and many England-returned gentlemen of erudition. In their opinion, as in the opinion of all self-confident people, Indian art was following the line of least resistance and was approaching perfect degeneration; for it painted things as they never are in reality, and ascribed meanings to paintings which they never expressed, and so on. They forgot that

"...art does not believe in the reality of anything at all...(and) the artist incorporates an incident in his work not because it is true but because it is appropriate by aesthetic, that is, imaginative standards."

(*Speculum Mentis*, Collingwood)

Also that Indian art was not a "suburb of European art, that its technique had a different evolution in a different environment and that its further progress meant going *back* (at first) into the past where it was woven into the life of the people and picking up the lost threads of technique and tradition in order to retain the wholeness that it would otherwise lose by tearing itself away from Ajanta, Bagh, Sanchi, Konarak, etc, etc, and approaching Messrs. Thos. Cook and Sons for Steamer, Railway and Tube-railway tickets to the "National Gallery." It would not do for us to reject the Ramayana as a source book of ideas and to find inspiration in the Gospels or in King Arthur. For even if some of us may cram up enough information of foreign affairs to work out a solution to our London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna-inspired creations, they would still puzzle our brethren and yield us only that joy in the field of art which translators feel in the field of creative literature. Hence it was the right policy to revert to our art-life of days which saw it flourishing and to start the old process anew. It would have been mad to cut off the tree and ship it to Europe as lumber for turning out "Indian style" objects of art (We have not been able to stop this from taking place altogether) We have done well to wait and grow proper roots in the original soil. The foliage, flowers and fruits would follow. There is an eternity all round us to inspire life and progress in our art.

To return to our critics. Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswamy has well answered those who find no expression in the face of figures representing all sorts of things in Indian art. Referring to a statue of *Yogi* Buddha he says it is a

"dramatic image of withdrawal, of complete independence, of involution," "The likeness of the seated *Yogi* is a lamp in a windless place that flickers not" (*Gita* VI 19).

"It is just this likeness that we must

look for in the Buddha image, and this only. For the Buddha statue was not intended to re-present a man, it was to be like the unwavering ame, an image of what all men could become, ot the similitude of any apparition.

"A like impersonality appears in the facial pression of all the finest Indian sculptures. ese have sometimes been described as expression-s because they do not reflect the individual culiarities which make up expression as we mmonly conceive it. When however we 'look to ose qualities which in their literature were held as the ideals of life' (Flinders Petrie, *The Arts d Crafts of Ancient Egypt*) we begin to under-nd the facial expression of Hindu images.

"In each, emotion is interior and the features ow no trace of it, only the movements or the llness of the limbs express the immediate pur-e of the actor That it is this body, not the most self, that acts, 'that slayeth or is slain is as arly expressed in the Indian sculpture of the lden age, as anywhere in Vedic literature"

The expression-mongers bother us no ore They have been effectively silenced d may be passing their time in company h highly expressive salon pictures

But there has grown up a new school critics (such as one who recently wrote sorts of meaningless things in the *atesman* over the signature St K), mostly eign experts and "authorities" who have bbled long and short enough in Indian art acquire an imperfect knowledge of it and ed subjects, who are showing symptoms of te "didactitis", the usual product of cere-l inflation They have started by sub-iding the whole field of art into mutually lusive areas, and a school of art to them like a Leibnitzian monad. Eclecticism is nded a sin and their theosophaesthetic erpretation of Indian art has reduced it something of an *Achalayatan*. (the metically sealed city within whose outside-of walls Rabindranath Tagore enacts drama of the same name). Right through history, India has assimilated the world's , and learning and has created greater ngs by harmonious fusion. But here are face to face with a spiritual ectionism whose absurdity is only sur-sed by the foolishness of those who ght of it. Eclecticism, like everything (such as impressionism), can be carried to excess and cause harm to true art, but it nevertheless, if properly used, a great icle of progress. As a matter of fact. re has never developed any great art hout borrowing the best from other spheres. arts of China, India and Europe are od examples, so that those who understand Indian art an inflexible attachment to ssical Indian technique and motifs want the living soul of India to be a mere museum of the past But Indian art will progress, by eclecticism as well as by intuition. It will not thereby lose its Indian character, but Indian art will acquire a richer signifi-cance. Indians do not look at India and things Indian in the way that some foreign theosophists would like them to do. That is why the influence of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore is often misinterpreted. Revival means setting life in motion anew. And this means the awakening of fresh ideas and the yearning to explore new fields. Some critics who would concede us this much would strongly disapprove of any developments which in their opinion are not sufficiently "spiritual" and "intellectual". That is to say, if Indian art is allowed to venture beyond limits of its past experience, it must do so along paths beaten by Hebraic, Slavic or Teutonic explor-ers of the world of art. Some would like us to see creation as a crazy China floor, some as composed of cubes and some as an analysis of component colours But Indian art looks at creation, not from a descriptive standpoint but from the emotional point of view The pictures may not *express* emotion, they *evoke* emotion in the artist and in the sympathetic seer. Here there is no hard brain-work for the artist to *think out* queer ways of looking at things He leaves his heart open to feelings and that is all This is where the art of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and his school differs fundamentally from the "intellectual art" of modern Europe. And we think that as art is funda-mentally intuitive and not a conceptualistic process, Indian art is more artistic than the "creations" which have reduced modern Euro-pean art to the state of a New Geometry. Art is a statement, not an interpretation. May the Almighty preserve us from reducing art to a geometric rendering of philosophical fads!

A. C.

—

Indian Currency and its Future

One of the fundamental virtues of a good currency is steady and fixed relations between its various coins. Supposing one could get sixty-four pice for a silver rupee or for sixteen anna bits, but only three pice for one anna bit, or if the number of annas that one got for a rupee changed from day to day. one would hardly call the rupee-anna-pice currency a sound currency. And the disorder that would ensue as a result of such discord

would cause the greatest harm to the economy of the area which is served by this currency. An economic area (that is, an area within which people usually exchange goods and services on the money basis) must have for its progress and well-being, a system of currency of which the component parts are definitely related to one another. Such an economic area may include more than one geographically or politically distinct area within it With the growth of international trade and its facilities, the whole world is fast becoming one economic area. There are, of course countries which are more intimately linked with one another than with others For this reason fixity of the exchange rates of the currencies of different countries has become highly necessary nowadays Internal trade and international trade are also very closely related For example, a thing sold as produced within the country very often has foreign components The demand and supply of foreign and home-made goods are related in many ways So that for the economic prosperity of a country it is no longer sufficient that its own currency should be sound internally It is also required that this currency should bear steady and definite relations with the currencies of such other countries as have commercial dealings with it. The ideal in this respect is never realised on account of the changefulness and peculiar mechanism of international exchange, but preventable conditions also very often go to make the situation worse One such condition and a very potent one, is difference between the standards on which the different currencies are based For example, some countries have gold standard currencies, while others may have a silver standard (or a bimetallic standard) Currencies based on the same metal have more chances of keeping stable relations with one another than if they were based on different metals In the case of India of to-day, we find a peculiar circumstance in that the Indian currency is based on silver, while the Indian government attempts to maintain its exchange value stable by fixing an artificial relation between the silver rupee and the gold pound This has, of course, never worked with any great success. As a result of this, India has suffered in two ways. First, on account of the instability of the exchange, which has a detrimental effect on India's well-being in so far as it depends on the smooth working of her trade with other countries. Secondly, throu intentional or unintentioual abuse of t official system of keeping the exchange an artificial ratio. There have been cases n very long ago of India losing crores throug doubtful management of the Gold Exchang Standard whereby foreigners (mainly Britisl have profited correspondingly. Moreove fluctuations in the exchange are also reflecte on internal prices as the latter are closel related to the demand and supply of foreig goods.

The arguments that the British authorities i India and England have put forward i support of maintaining this system are mainly (a) that gold is too costly a medium to serve as currency in a poor country like India where transactions are mainly made in terms of annas and pice, (b) that gold will be hoarded and not used as money by the people of India, which is a veritable sink for precious metals, and (c) that the cost of maintaining a gold currency would be too heavy for the Indian exchequer The arguments are not convincing, because if crores of rupee worth of ten-rupee, twenty rupee and higher denomination notes could freely circulate in India, one cannot very well believe that a ten, fifteen or twenty rupee gold coin would be too costly for circulation. The second argument also is wrong. People hoard sovereigns at present, because they are scarce Gold coins have actually circulated in India in the past It is because gold has been taken out of circulation that people have developed a morbid love of hoarding gold coins. This will disappear with increasing familiarity with gold coins. Moreover, the Government need not put actual gold coins into circulation The gold can be kept in the treasury and notes circulated on its strength. Gold should be freely obtainable and evidently no more people would take the trouble to get gold from the treasury and hoard it than there are at present who buy sovereigns in the market for the same purpose. This will also do away with the third argument.

This is not the place to discuss the real reason why Britain kept India a silver standard country, although she had extensive trade relations with gold using countries. One reason may be that the warring nations of Europe have always found it expedient not to part with their gold in view of its importance as supplying the sinews of war. At the present moment the Western nations are faced with the problem of an all-round rise of prices

ng to the accumulation of too much gold he West. This fact may account for the nt enthusiasm even among Westerners to oduce the Gold Standard in India.

Supposing India did have a Gold Stand- one thing should be kept in mind It o keep all reserves in India. It would be very nice for India, if she had a er currency backed by "Gold in London".

A C.

—

Herr Luther's Views on the Locarno Pacts

In Germany popular opinion is sceptical it the value of the Locarno Pacts. The man people even distrust the motive of r Governments interested in the promotion he Locarno Treaties On November 23, 1925, r Luther, the German Chancellor in his ich before the Reichstag gave the reason the popular distrust in German in the owing way —

'ith the conclusion of the Pact, the Chancellor nued, the occupation of German lands had even in the view of the other side, its inner ication The mere fact of the occupation was y Germany as an expression of mistrust, and German people counted upon the French, red as they were by their own national igs, to take this into account Since even y it was not possible to foresee when the s of Germany for the end of the occupation d be realized, foreign opinion must not be ised if there was a lack of rejoicing among in Germany who were quite prepared to there full support to the Pact A nation h had followed the thorny path traversed by iany in the process of her reconstruction l not be expected to get up enthusiasm at separate step, even when it was plain that tep constituted an unmistakable advance. It quite understandable that the German people d find it difficult to appreciate the Pact at ill value so long as the occupation and the ssion it involved were continued The iation of the Cologne zone was independent the alleviations. It was Germany's right January 10, and the German people had r been able to see why the occupation of a of the whole area should be made dependent an insignificant remainder of the disarmament nds.

However, Herr Luther made it clear that the whole Germany will be benefited by Locarno Treaties and pointed out that cussion on the air restrictions had al- y been begun."

According to Herr Luther, the greatest of Germany by the acceptance of the irno Pact is as follows :—

' Locarno the assurance had been secured that iany should have a permanent seat on the Council of the League and that her right to colonial Mandates should not only be recognized but should be given practical effect. Though the question of Germany's responsibility for the war had not been settled, the German view had been brought to the attention of the Governments concerned, and the German delegates had re-affirmed it in the discussion at Locarno. It would be adhered to also in the League of Nations.

Herr Luther holds that Art. 16 of the League of Nations would not work against German interest, if Germany entered the League and he presented the following argument :—

At the same time, Germany must secure herself against possible future political dangers inseparable from her geographical position, and was, therefore, at once confronted with the question of Article 16 of the Covenant. From the many discussions that had taken place on this Article, there was no doubt that no binding decision could ever be taken against the will of a country—in this case, Germany—as to whether the preliminary conditions for the application of Article 16 against a particular State as a disturber of the peace were present.

The possibility that Germany might be required to take part in an action against a State she did not regard as the aggressor was, therefore, excluded. The question of Germany's participation in such action arose only when Germany herself had decided that it was quite clear who was the aggressor. From this it followed that in no case could another member of the League acquire the right to force Germany to take action against her will, even to the extent of tolerating the march of troops through her territory. Germany could, therefore, enter the League in all sincerity and without secret reservation.

There were, nevertheless, special limitations to her capacity under Article 16, notably her disarmed condition and her central position. It was necessary to clear up this point in advance so that accusations of disloyalty and the consequent moral isolation might not subsequently ensue, hence the declaration agreed upon in Locarno that Germany was only committed to an extent consistent with her military and geographical situation. This applied both to the economic and to the political measures. It was thus expressly admitted that Germany was herself entitled to decide whether and in how far she would take part in executive measures. He did not hesitate to declare that in accordance with this new interpretation of Article 16, no dangers now remained for Germany as a result of entering the League.

He further emphasised the point that Germany has not in any way committed herself against Russia.

"Moreover, Germany attached the greatest importance to the maintenance of her relations with States which did not belong to the League, and was determined that, as far as Russia was concerned, she would not allow the conclusion of the Locarno Agreements to disturb in any way the friendly relations between the two countries."

Once Germany entered the League of Nations, as a member of its Council, she would work for (1) disarmament, (2) revision

of the Treaty of Versailles and (3) for enforcing the claim of self-determination of German minorities in Poland and Czecho-Slavia

"Within the League Germany would be able to co-operate in the work begun at Locarno For example, the question of investigation of armaments would be the more easily dealt with when Germany had a seat upon the Council General disarmament had been one of the problems discussed at Locarno It was absurd to talk of real equality between nations when one was disarmed and the other bristling with armaments It would be Germany's part to keep alive the idea of general disarmament which had been agreed to in principle by all parties to the Protocol and the Pact It must not be forgotten that this question had gone beyond the stage of ideals and Utopias and now formed part of the practical politics of all Cabinets

* * * *

Nothing had thereby been morally or politically or legally changed with regard to the German attitude to the individual clauses of the Peace Treaty What it did mean was that the policy of sanctions and ultimatums had been rendered impossible by the arbitration clauses of the Pact This was an extraordinary achievement in the interests of the maintenance of peace From the Pact there had resulted a regrouping of the Powers All five countries now stood on an equal footing and the danger of a Pact directed against Germany had disappeared for ever

* * * *

The League made provision for revising treaties, the maintenance of which in view of changed international conditions might endanger the peace of the world One might be sceptical of the practical application of the article, but the principle was beyond doubt, and the right of self-determination was in no way prejudiced or abandoned by the German Government.

We wish to emphasise the fact that according to Herr Luther's statements, two definite promises have been made to Germany by the other signatories of the Locarno Pacts and they are (1) Germany will get a seat in the council of the League of Nations and (2) Germany will get some colonies as mandates These are positive gains of Germany, while others are debatable 'and even may become liabilities,

T. D.

Sir Moropant Joshi

Sir Moropant Joshi, President of the Calcutta Session of the National Liberal Federation, was a member of the legal profession. According to *The Leader* of Allahabad,

He soon achieved success at the Bar and his eminence at the profession was recognised by his being enrolled as an advocate, first of the old Judicial Commissioner's court in Berar and next of the court of the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces He had commanded extensive and lucrative practice, first at Amraoti and next at Nagpur, for many years before he was appointed a member of the Government. Sir Moropant Joshi, who is now sixty-four years of age, joined the Congress at Allahabad in 1888 when he was twenty-seven years old. In 1890 he went to England with Messrs Hume, Surendranath Banerjea, Norton and Mudholkar as a delegate of the Indian National Congress to press for the expansion and reform of the legislative councils, but owing to ill-health he had to return earlier than his colleagues. Ever since he has been an ardent nationalist and patriot attending many of the annual sessions of the Congress and taking part in their deliberations, working in his own province and contributing generously to Congress and other public funds He was treasurer of the reception committee of the Congress held at Amraoti, his native place, in 1897 He was among the many old Congressmen who in 1918 severed their connection with the Congress owing to differences of opinion on fundamental questions and among the earliest to join the Liberal party which was organized to continue the work of the old Congress. He took part in the proceedings of the first session of the Liberal Federation at Bombay in November 1918 In December 1920 he was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Central Provinces and he will complete his term of office in the third week of this month (Dec., 1925). As Home member of the Central Provinces Government, Sir Moropant Joshi has shown moderation and discretion combined with firmness and independence. Last year he dissented from the Governor (Sir Frank Sly) and the other I. C. S members of the Government and in a brief but telling note of dissent from the dispatch of the Governor in Council, sent for the information of the Muddiman Committee, pleaded for complete provincial autonomy. Throughout these years Sir Moropant Joshi has been a convinced and consistent advocate of social reform. He has spent nearly a fortune on the education of his daughters, the eldest of whom is Dr Joshi practising at Bombay after having received the highest medical education in Bombay, England and Ireland, and the second is the Rani of Sangli. Simple and straightforward, clear-headed and sincere, Sir Moropant Joshi is one of our most disinterested patriots.

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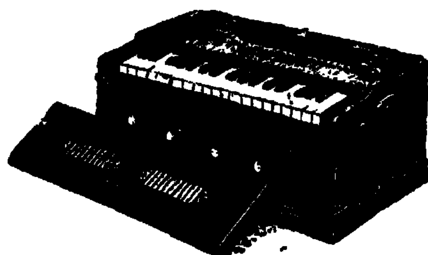
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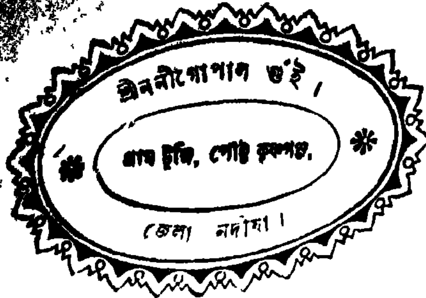
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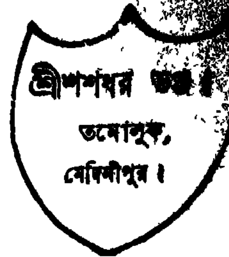
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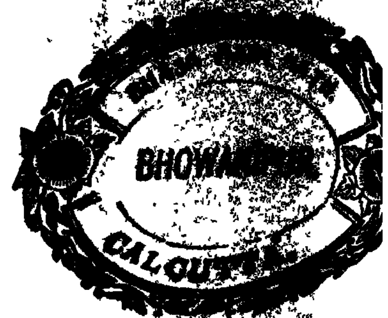


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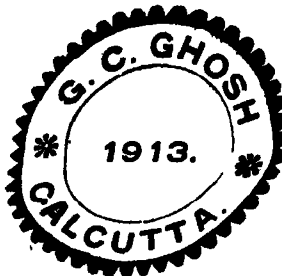




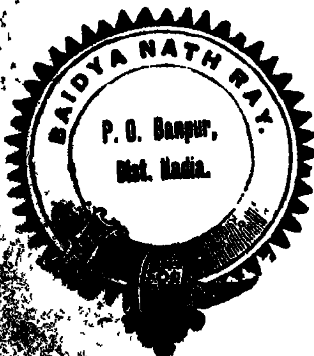
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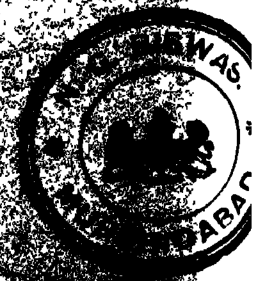
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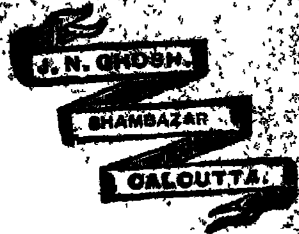


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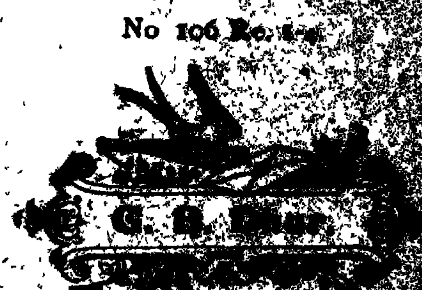




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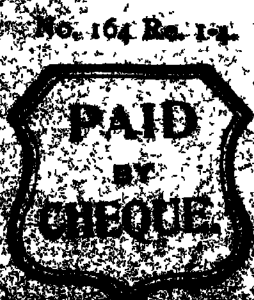
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6. Sikh Philosopher—Jelaluddin Chughtai
7. Birth of Music—M Abdur Rahman Chughtai
8. Ganga—Aswinikumar Roy
9. On the Sea-Shore—Bireswar Sen
10. The Widow—Surendranath Kar
11. The Rain and the Storm—Deviprasad Ray Chowdhury
12. Sabitri and Satyaban—Ardhenduprasad Banerjee
13. Shah-Jehan—Olindra Coomar Ganguly
14. Savari's Expectancy. In Youth—Nandalal Bose
15. Savari's Expectancy In Middle Age—Nandalal Bose
16. Savari's Expectancy. In Old Age—Nandalal Bose

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3. Regency of Bharata—Nandalal Bose
4. The Birth of Tulasi—Abanindranath Tagore
5. Kach and Devayani—Asitkumar Haldar
6. Sairindhri—M. V. Dhurandhar
7. Dawn—Bireswar Sen
8. The Bride—Ardhenduprasad Banerji
9. At Her Birth— Anilprasad Sarvadhikari
10. Evening Worship—Jaminibhusan Ray Chowdhuri
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13. Tambura—Samarendranath Gupta
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4. *At Her Toilet—Old Painting*
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13. *Playmates—Ardhenduprasad Banerjee*
14. *Kaliyadaman—Aswinikumar Ray*
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1. Kach and Debayani—Abanindranath Tagore
2. Krishna and Sudam—Nandalal Bose
3. A Good Riddance—Asitkumar Haldar
4. The Spider's Web—Samarendranath Gupta
5. Valmiki Writing the Ramayna—Late Upendrakishore Roy Chowdhury
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14. Her All—Deviprasad Ray Chowdhury
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Number XII

1. An Interpreter of the Shastras—Abanindranath Tagore
2. The Festival of the Cakes—Nandalal Bose
3. Sita in Capitivity—Late Upendrakishore Roy Choudhury
4. *Baby's Gardening—Santa Devi*
5. Music —Hiralal Babbanji

[Le]tter from Her Beloved—Mahabir Prasad Varma
[Rem]orse—Muhammad Abdur Rahaman Chughtai
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[Re]turning Home from the Market—Pulinchandra Datta
[A] Passing Shower—Samarendranath Gupta
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A Votaress—Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai
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Flood—Santa Devi
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"Prem" or Love—M. Abdur Rahaman Chughtai
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15. Jayadeva Mela—Manindrabhusan Gupta
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Number XV

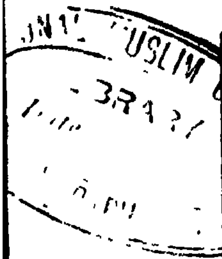
1. Sad Memories—Abanindranath Tagore
2. To Whom Shall We Make Our Offerings?—Bireswar Sen
3. The Stricken—A. R. Ashgar
4. The Parrot—Ramendranath Chackravarty
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14. At The Temple Door—Sudhangshushekhar Choudhuri
15. Transitoriness—Purnachandra Sinha
16. Playing At House-Keeping—Purnachandra Chackravarty

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S SINHA



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THE PLACE OF NON-COOPERATION IN INDIAN NATIONALISM

By K. NATARAJAN

that Mahatma Gandhi's influence is on e wane and the country is being used up to a different line of action at suggested by him, it is just the en an attempt should be made to e movement adumbrated by him. his power was felt most, there was bility of opinions being biassed. Freed om the oppressive influence of his lity and the frothy wave of enthusiasm ept the people on, his work and the at he attempted to work out can be d to an impartial review in a proper tive.

cry is heard on many sides and any quarters that non-cooperation is hat it is a thing of the past; that it ikely to revive even with the fervent y of its sponsor, Mahatma Gandhi. who talk in this vein can have but a grasp of what non-cooperation means nds for. The cry of non-cooperation olitical slogan is only a minor cry; y may have assumed a feebler note. n-cooperation, in its essence, is not a weapon but a spiritual discipline; destruction of Governmental institu- but a strengthening of soul force. th titles may not have renounced lawyers who gave up their practice ve resumed it; students who discarded dies may have gone back to their ; khadi-clad youngsters may have the trammels of fashion. But the nd the student are not the same as re before the renunciation. Their on life is different, their habit or thought has suffered a transformation, they have a better appreciation of the correct values of things. The trousered and collared gent does not strut about with the same swaggering air of superiority as of yore. They look apologetic for what they do. If they did not 'stick on,' it was not because they were convinced of the irrationality of non-cooperation but because their power of endurance was exhausted, the weakness of the flesh told. It was a confession of *their* failure, not that of the movement. For to say that the movement has failed is like saying that truth has failed or righteousness has failed. There may be individual instances of deviation from truth or aberrations from righteousness but truth or righteousness, as such, can never die.

The movement aims at making the people lead a better and a purer life. It is a course prescribed for the individual for the attainment of self-realisation. The means adopted is that of simplicity in raiment and food, of sincerity in thought and word, of sweetness in disposition, of fortitude in suffering, of non-violence in action. It is a programme of high ideals. Its efficacy is based not on numbers but on quality, not on brute strength but on moral excellence, not on temporary spectacular successes but on abiding capacity for endurance and sacrifice. It requires great courage for a man to stand shoulder to shoulder with his comrades-at-arms on a field of battle and march against the foe to the beat of drums. His courage is sustained by the feeling of security engendered by being one among myriads of

men. It requires rarer courage for a man to stand his ground when panic has overtaken his comrades and he sees them fleeing before a pursuing enemy The courage that Mahatma Gandhi calls upon the Indians to exhibit is of a piece with this, distinguished only by being on the moral plane instead of in the physical sphere He wants to build a nation of men of moral force—men who seeing a thing to be right and essential, and for it as for truth unheeding any consequence When that wish is consummated, the attainment of self-government is easy of achievement

For what do the rulers rely on for the maintenance of their power over an alien people, if not upon the weaknesses of the subject nation? They win the people with smiles and sweet words, they bribe them with offices and titles, they incite them to inglorious actions by temptations of rewards and emoluments The baser instincts of man are appealed to, their moral sensibility is insidiously sapped Their physical deterioration is nothing compared to the moral corruption that corrodes their manliness, their finer promptings And the longer the yoke is allowed to remain, the surer is the grip of vice, the swifter is the process of demoralisation, and the uphill task of regeneration of the fallen becomes increasingly arduous With rare insight Mahatma Gandhi saw the danger of cooperating with a system of Government which does not result in the moral uplift of the nation The only remedy was to dissociate the people from an atmosphere which draws out the basest instead of the best in them and put them to a course of discipline which would strengthen their moral fibre, their soul force. Men should have a sure grip of themselves in the face of trials and temptations and when there are a few who have attained the capacity to resist the allurements of power and pelf, they would set a glorious example to others in leading the nation to its cherished goal of freedom

Freedom is a beautiful ideal to work for, and the motive force should likewise be true and beautiful. It is love of country that should inspire, not hate of the enemy. The means adopted should be clean and worthy of acceptance It should not only help the nation to attain its freedom but to retain it when attained. It should not only lead the nation to success but should avoid the possibility of brutalising it in the process. No physical victory can compensate for spiritual surrender. Freedom will not be worth the winning if it should be at the cost of moral debasement The process of attaining self-government should likewise be the process of making men the fittest citizens, when it is attained. A deep study, a large outlook, a generous sympathy, a capacity for work and a subordination of the need of the individual to that of the society—all qualities that would go to make a good citizen are required of a true non cooperator He should not be impatient of criticism nor scornful of opposition, neither boastful of his virtues nor contemptuous of others' weaknesses He should not have a fine conceit of himself as having a monopoly of wisdom Humble in demeanour, simple in habit, courteous in behaviour, his acts more than words should speak for him He should be ready for sacrifice and suffering at the call of duty to the country The policeman's baton should not frighten him into submission, the prison should not cow him into an apology He is a soldier of freedom marching on heedless of dangers and unmindful of consequences until victory is won

But there were men of feeble faith who were sceptic of the programme leading up to self-government They argued, "how can the renunciation of titles by title-holders or of practice by lawyers or of studies by students affect Government? How can the filling of prisons with persons or the wearing of Khaddar force the Government to yield?" The question betrays the extent of degradation Are not titles, law courts and colleges the agencies by which the nation is imperceptibly drawn into the net of slavery more deadly in its strangle-hold, because of the delusion of the victim that he is being embraced? One cannot have the cake and also eat it. Men cannot hold on to titles and curse the giver they cannot help the Government in the administration of law and expect to be free from its domination, they cannot allow boys to read books which make heroes of the Westerners and wish them to entertain an undiminished love for their country. But the real prompting of the doubting Thomases was not an honest disbelief in the efficacy of the programme but cowardice to face the ordeal of sacrifice and suffering Some made honest admission of their weakness; others sought to hide their trepidation by finding fault with the movement; and yet others built in heroic mould, though fit and ready to

ace dangers themselves, were shaken from heir purpose by *love for their kith. No* ountry has won its freedom without passing rough fire, and when faced with an enemy t its door, *if considerations of filial and* omestic ties were to affect a man in joining *ie army of fighters, that nation is doomed.* *ie woman is there to help a man to play* *s part worthily. Love of country and* *sire for freedom is as much her longing as* Can she, will she, then, keep back a n in the hour of crisis caring more for mestic happiness than for national honour ? nation's life is not counted in years t in generations and men, if they wish to *n their country's* freedom, cannot hold k from the struggle because the goal will t be attained in their lifetime There is glib tongue to say that the need now not to die for the country but to live for To slip apologetically through existence not life, and if such a mean philosophy re to prevail, the country would soon be l of shivering creatures without the acity to live or the courage to die hatma Gandhi's programme was to knock *pettiness, meanness, craven cowardice* out men and make of them real standard-ners, faithful to the flag unto the last. It s to make men and women realise that vation with self-respect is preferable comfort with contempt, that life of want glorious struggle is better than the endour of a parasite, that individual equiousness should be driven out, if ional servitude is to be got rid of

Non-violence which is the chief plank of Mahatma's programme is not the passive mission of a weakling It is the courageous istance of the strong to acts of iniquity hout *physical retaliation* To submit to a ong in fear of a superior power betrays, the words of Bernard Shaw, 'the mind of ervant ; to give blow for blow in the face of vocation is the act of a man on whom grip of servility has not yet taken a fatal d, to rise above retaliation and to face an just authority with head erect and tense scles held under leash is the strength of superman When the Mahatma calls upon countrymen to rise to such heights of rage and fortitude, he is not asking for moon. The brave Akalis when they wed themselves to be felled down by the of the pigmy preservers of law and er proved that heroism was not dead but s only dormant, waiting for the sympathetic stirring touch to galvanise it into play. Their bodies were smeared with streaks of blood but their souls shone with the splendour of the molten gold Brutal force could not pit *itself against such spiritual strength for long and the Akalis won their point. At Nagpur, a passing patriotic pastime was raised to the dignity of a consummate plot of revolt and* law was vindicated by clapping men into jail until the show had to be abandoned in despair *It is needless to multiply instances* to show that non-violence wins in the end, if practised in the right spirit and for a right cause

And what a unique example would it be in the history of the world for a nation to gain its freedom without shedding the blood of the ruling race ? *The people have so long been* habituated to silent suffering that, even from a practical view-point, it is easier far to tune them to stand the strain of a non-violent resistance than to rouse them into violent activities The religious susceptibilities of the majority are against the use of force, their natural bent is for peace, not for war; their training has been to foster their mind at the cost of their physique To give physical training to the whole nation and provide them with arms is a difficult feat besides the fact that an open advocacy of violence is sure to be nipped in the bud. The only alternative is the surreptitious supply of arms and the carrying on of revolutionary propaganda through secret societies What chance had such a method in the past when it was tried in Bengal and what greater chance has it in the future for the achievement of a larger purpose ? It is futile to think of any means other than a *non-violent one to reach the desired* end.

The other insistent appeal of Gandhiji for people to wear Khaddar has come in for a good deal of sneering criticism Men pretending to move with the times, air out their views that to depend on the charka and the hand-loom in these days of machinery and mass production would be to put back the hands of the clock, to cripple our power to compete with the West in the race for wealth. But it is forgotten that the race for wealth *by a few is a race leading to the* misery of the many, that the machine which presses the cotton and draws out the thread crushes as well the body and draws out the spirit of men leaving them their skeletons with just a breath of life, that mass production

is mass concentration with its attendant evils of over-crowding, scanty enjoyment of God's light and air, drunkenness and debauchery. In copying the West, we need not be such whole-hoggers as to copy it in its evils India is a spacious country and can nurture her sons without huddling them like cattle The call of the land is not heeded because of the lure of the cities with their specious temptations of riches. It is charka that is to wean men away from disease and misery to health and comfort by providing them with work and the means of clothing in their hours of enforced idleness.

And the economic effect it will have on the foreign manufacturers is not to be minimised. In the first two years of the increased use of khaddar, it had an adverse influence on the English mills which could not find a market for their productions and in the long spell of years before then, when the mill products were the only competing elements, the English manufacturers did not feel the strain of competition. Nothing tells on the westerner so much as the enforced emptying of his bloated purse and the cry that was raised at the time for preferential treatment is an eloquent commentary on the extent of the deprivation of their earnings which were legitimately turned over to the pockets of Indians

More than all, khaddar is an emblem of simplicity, the common bond of unity between the classes and the masses, the breaker of the barrier between the rich and the poor, the outward visible link of brotherhood between the highly placed and the lowly That is why the Mahatma wants the leisured classes also to spin for half an hour a day so that it might bring home to the toiling millions of their countrymen their kinship with the favoured few, besides affording them an incentive to follow. The country's salvation cannot be attained without carrying the masses with us and the common dress of home-made khaddar will be more stirring in its appeal than platform harangues. It is not for nothing that a scientist of repute like Mr. Roy is charka-mad. If we have not the calibre to follow a great man, let us at least be given the understanding to know his worth.

BRITISH EXPANSION IN TIBET

Chapter I

By TARAKNATH DAS, M A, Ph D.

Anglo-Tibetan Relations from the days of Warren Hastings to Lord Curzon

SINCE the days of Warren Hastings, Great Britain has had relations with Tibet with the ultimate object of bringing the country under its control But the nature of the British policy towards Tibet, to an ordinary observer, seems to be somewhat vacillating and slow In reality, however, it has always been steady and well calculated, leading to success—"taking the opportunity, striking while the iron is hot, not letting the chance go by, knowing our mind, knowing what we want, and acting decisively when the exact occasion arises".[1]

In 1772, the Bhutanees attacked Kuch Behar, a part of Bengal, and the king of Kuch Behar was taken prisoner. Warren Hastings, representing the East India Company, took energetic steps to clear the enemy out of Bengal. The Lama of Tibet then interceded in favour of Bhutan and wrote to Warren Hastings to be considerate in dealing with Bhutan. Warren Hastings was polite to the Lama, but he had his own policy

"Warren Hastings's policy was, then, not to sit still within the borders, supremely indifferent to what occurred on the other side, and intent upon respecting not merely the independence but also the isolation of his neighbors. It was a forward policy and combined, in a noteworthy manner, alertness and deliberation, rapidity and persistency

rtiveness and receptivity. He sought to secure his ders by at once striking when danger threatened also by taking infinite pains over long periods ime to promote ordinary neighborly intercourse h those on the other side."[2]

Bhutan's attack on Kuch Behar and the betans' appearance on the scene in her vour, gave Hastings, "the greatest of all e Great Governors-General of India" (from e standpoint of extension of British imrialism), an opportunity to further his rward policy, and he sent a mission to bet This mission is known as Bogel's ission (1774) Bogel was clothed with the idest possible power to negotiate with the betan Government to further trade retions between Bengal and Tibet. Bogel, ith boldness, started his negotiations with e Tashi Lama even to the extent of tablishing an alliance with Tibet.

> Bogel then hinted at the advisability of the tans coming into some form of alliance with e English so that the influence of the latter ght be used to restrain the Gurkhas of Nepal om attacking Tibet and its feudatories "[3]

The Tashi Lama was rather willing to onsider the proposition but it failed because the opposition of the Regents at Lhasa and e Chinese authorities

> The Lama said that the Regent's apprehensions the English arose not only from himself, but also om his fear of giving offence to the Chinese, whom Tibet was subject The Regent wished, erefore to receive an answer from the court at king "[3]

The attitude of the Regent against any elation with the British was strengthened by e attitude of the king of Nepal toward Tibet, s well as the English. The Gurkha Raja f Nepal assured the Tashi Lama and the egent at Lhasa of his friendly attitude wards Tibet and his intention of keeping e English out of his territory, and asked e Tibetans "to have no connection with the ringies (English) or Moghuls and not to llow them into the country, but to follow e ancient custom, which he has resolved kewise to do." He even suggested that the ibetans should send Bogel back, as he was oing to do with an English agent who came o him

According to the report of Bogel, as early s that time the Tashi Lama had certain deas about the importance of Russia and Russo-Chinese relations affecting Tibet. Bogel was told to leave the country, although Bogel's formal petition to the Regent contained only this request: "I request in the name of the Governor, (Warren Hastings), my master, that you will allow merchants to trade with this country and Bengal." This request was not granted and it only became an accomplished fact after a century and a quarter when the British entered Tibet by armed forces

From the report of Bogel's mission it became evident that, as early as 1774, the British authorities found three distinct obstacles in the way of establishing Anglo-Tibetan relations, to the interest of Great Britain; they were —(1) the anti-English attitude of the border States like Nepal and Bhutan which wanted to draw Tibet with them; (2) the attitude of the Chinese Regent at Lhasa who represented strong Chinese opposition to British penetration in Tibet; (3) growing Russian interest towards Tibet.

After Bogel's mission had returned to Calcutta in 1775, Warren Hastings did not give up his ideas regarding Tibet and in 1780 again appointed Bogel as a Special Envoy to proceed to Lhasa But the death of both Bogel and the Tashi Lama in 1781 marred the progress of the mission. In 1782 Captain Samuel Turner was entrusted with the responsibility of the mission. The new Tashi Lama was somewhat willing to establish some commercial relations with the British, but owing to Chinese opposition no satisfactory arrangement could be reached in spite of all the British efforts. According to Turner.

> "The influence of the Chinese officials overawes Tibetans in all their proceedings, and produces a timidity and caution in their conduct more suited to the character of subjects than allies."

At this time Tibet was really a Chinese protectorate. In 1792, when the Nepalese invaded Tibet and defeated the Tibetans, the Chinese Government sent armies to the aid of Tibet and defeated the Nepalese forces and concluded a peace treaty by which Nepal agreed to pay an annual tribute to China, and a friendly relation of co-operation was established between Tibet and Nepal

Between the period of Turner's mission and the Manning Mission, which was despatched in 1810, the British Government in India refrained from taking any aggressive step in the Tibetan question. In 1810, Lord Minto provided all facilities to Mr. Manning, an accomplished scholar of the Chinese language, to go to Tibet. He started with a Chinese servant, and after a great deal of

difficulty reached Lhasa. But he could not accomplish anything of political consequence because of the opposition of the Chinese Regent, and returned to India in 1812.

It must not be supposed that the British Government showed laxity in carrying out its Tibetan policy. She was forced to postpone her forward policy in that area, because she had, at that time, to concentrate her whole strength on the solution of important problems. She had her hands full of wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The question of the conquest of India proper and the establishment of British supremacy there was much more important. The European situation, until the fall of Napoleon, kept England quite busy. The Anglo-French war in Southern India was not an insignificant affair. Then the British conflicts with the Marhattas (1797-1806), the Burmese wars (1823-26, 1852), the Sikh Wars (1845, 1848 49) the Afghan Expedition (1839-42), the Sepoy Rebellion (1856-1858), and also the Russian encroachment towards the Mediterranean, resulting in the Crimean War, kept the British Government too busy to bother with Tibet. However, Britain was engaged in indirectly solving the Tibetan problem by attacking and weakening China, the overlord of Tibet (the Opium War 1839-42; the Arrow War 1857-1860). Until the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, Britain was more concerned with coping with these situations, and her attention could not have been seriously concerned with Tibet. Statesmen, empire-builders must exercise a sense of proportion in their adventures and game of extending boundaries, and the plan of operation should be tackling one problem at a time—gaining strength through acquisition, consolidating gains already obtained, while attempting to secure fresh booty; and this has consistently become the British policy in building up her world-empire.

To ultimately reduce Tibet into virtually a British province, the British Government followed the path of least resistance, eliminating each one of these three obstacles already cited, viz. resistance of border States, Chinese opposition, and Russian influence, in a masterly fashion. The first step was to detach the border States of Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal from Tibet. The British Government not only succeeded in winning the confidence of these States, she even reduced them to British protectorates, although Bhutan and Sikkim really were Tibetan dependencies.

It has been noted that Bhutan attack[ed] *Kuch Behar successfully and the British [ha]d to intervene. Nepal was strong enough [to] defeat Tibet single-handed and it was thro[ugh]* Chinese aid that Tibet retained her posi[tion] and Tibetan-Nepalese friendship was e[stab]lished. If all these three States had combi[ned] with Chinese support, then the British ma[rch] towards Tibet might have been checked.

After the unsuccessful mission of Mann[ing] Great Britain directed her attention to N[epal]. This State, situated along the northern fr[ont]iers of Bengal and Oudh for about se[ven] hundred miles from the Sutlej to Sikkim a[nd] running back with an average breadt[h of] about a hundred and thirty miles up [the] snow-clad slopes of the Himalayas, inhab[ited] by the war-like Gurkhas, was getting stro[nger] every day in that region. In 1814, the Br[itish] Government sent an expedition of ab[out] 34,000 men, which was opposed by [a] Gurkha army of about 12,000 men. [The] Gurkhas at first virtually routed the Briti[sh] but later, in 1815 and 1816, the British w[on] a victory after protracted battles.

A treaty (Treaty of Sagauli) was si[gned] in March, 1816, whereby a British Resi[dent] was allowed to reside in Katmandu, [the] capital of Nepal. The Nepalese "gave [up] their claims in the Tarai or lowlands al[ong] their southern border. The Province[s of] Kumaon and Garhwal at the extreme w[est] were surrendered, and the site of Simla, [the] future hot weather capital of British Ind[ia] was acquired; the northwest frontier of [the] Company's possessions was carried right [up] to the mountains. A pathway was ope[ned] up to the regions of Central Asia."

Nepal was virtually reduced to a [semi-]independent State. Since then Great Bri[tain] instead of annexing Nepal outright, [has] followed the policy of friendly co-operat[ion] keeping guard against her having any in[de]pendent foreign relations with any o[ther] nation. Nepal's support was utilized [by] Britain to suppress the Sepoy Mutiny (1[857]) to facilitate Younghusband's exped[ition] against Tibet and to fight the World W[ar]. In case of British territorial expansion tow[ards] Chinese Turkestan or Central Asia, Nep[al's] support would be invaluable, and thus a [new] treaty was signed in 1924 between [the] British Government and Nepal.

In 1826, the British march towards [the] eastern frontier of India reached bey[ond] Bengal, and Assam was annexed. This brou[ght] the territories of Bhutan in contact with [the]

ish possessions and constant friction e regarding the border. The British autho- s, for strategical reasons, wanted to re the control over the Duars, "passes" een the two States. The Bhutanese were ged with raiding the British territories. iist, the British policy was to make in a virtual protectorate, suggesting that ould pay a tribute to the British and, turn, keep possession of the Duars. When failed, Great Britain annexed the Duars gave the Bhutanese an annual subsidy. on, when the time was ripe, in 1865, nge the insults inflicted upon the Hon y Eden, a British official, a campaign started against Bhutan Bhutan was a British protectorate and Great Britain l to give an annual subsidy to the prince on condition of tranquillity and ration with the British authorities.[6]

ie significance of Sikkim in relation to and the British expansion towards her t be over-estimated The most important practicable route from India to the hi Valley, a part of Tibet, passes through n over the Himalayas [7] Thus, from the point of protection of the Indian frontier ell as an eastward expansion from India, is essential that Sikkim should be brought the British Government, which, as a minary step toward its march to Tibet, ed this country to a British protec-

ne method adopted by the British Govern- , to establish a protectorate over weak ns is exemplified by Sikkim This can divided into three successive stages: (1) ng in contact with the weak nation. g assurance of friendly relations while g plans for absorbing it, (2) making advantageous treaties to pave the way establishing British supremacy with some lance of legal sanction, (3) taking steps the responsible native high officers ld be those who would serve the British ests in every way possible.

he first step of the British policy towards im is clearly explained in the following atch of Hon A Eden, Envoy and special missioner to Sikkim, to the Secretary the Government of Bengal (dated 8th l, 1861)

'aragraph 35.—The instructions under which ed enabled me from the very first to give most solemn assurances that we did not wish tain possession of any portion of Sikkim ory; and I attribute it entirely to the con- e which was placed in these assurances that the surrounding States held aloof altogether from the quarrel. Nepal is tributary to China, Tibet is tributary to China, and Sikkim and Bhutan are tributary to Tibet, and therefore, secondary to China. Had these States not distinctly understood that we were not advancing with any intention of annexation, it is impossible to believe but that with such combination of interests, they would all have joined to oppose us."

But the real motive of the British was to take steps for eventual annexation of Sikkim The following articles of the treaty concluded between Great Britain and Sikkim (April 16, 1861) will illustrate the second step of the method generally adopted by Great Britain to spread her imperial power in a peaceful way, if the poor and weak nations fail to fight the British Empire successfully:

"Art 17. The Government of Sikkim engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring States which are allies of the British Government If any dispute or question arises between the people of Sikkim and those of neighbouring States, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and the Sikkim Government agrees to abide by the decision of the British Government.

"Art. 18 The whole military force of Sikkim shall join and afford every aid and facility to British troops when employed in the hills.

"Art. 19 The Government of Sikkim engages not to give lease of any portion of its territory to any other State without the permission of the British Government.

"Art 22 With a view to the establishment of efficient government in Sikkim, and to the better maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government, the Raja of Sikkim agrees to move the seat of his government from Tibet to Sikkim and reside there for nine months in the year It is further agreed that a vakeel shall be accredited by the Sikkim government, who shall reside permanently at Darjeeling"

The third stage of having one of the high native officers serve as a British agent was successfully carried out, as shown by the following extract from the report of the Hon A Eden, April 1861 —

"In conclusion, I must place on record the great obligations under which I am to Cheeboo Lama, who supplied a large number of coolies and accompanied me throughout. He is universally respected by the Pazcha population and trusted by the Rajah. Without his aid, I should have had very great difficulty in dealing with the people of the country He is the most intelligent and enlightened native whom I have ever met He has travelled much in Tibet. He is the most influential adviser of the present Raja, and it is mainly through his good counsels that the Raja has agreed to throw the country open. He is now the Raja's Dewan (Minister) and his employment in that position is an ample proof of the future good conduct of the Sikkim Government. So long as he remains in

that post, there is no fear of any policy being adopted hostile to British interests."[8]

This absorption of Sikkim took place after China was defeated in war with Great Britain and France in 1857-1860, and thus Tibet could not, single-handed, give any effective opposition to the British by aiding Sikkim. Thus it is evident that the British methods of peaceful penetration and spreading British influence, undermining Chinese sovereignty, has been no less ingenious and pernicious than those of Russia, Germany, France or Japan. Britain evidently had an early start in the game, and she certainly surpassed others in carrying out her policy more subtly and coolly without arousing much international opposition or agitation.

It is enough here to say that the British fought with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and *brought them under her protecting wings*, before decisive efforts were made against Tibet. Before China recovered from the effects of the Taiping Rebellion, in 1873, attempts were made to open up trade with Tibet, and a good road was constructed through Sikkim to the Tibetan frontier in 1876. The British Government planned that a mission to Tibet might also be sent through Peing, thus coming from the side of the Yangtse region. So, in the Chefoo Convention, concluded between China and Great Britain, a clause was inserted that China should assist in securing the protection of the mission in Tibet.

About 1886, Great Britain signed agreements with the Chinese Government regarding sending Missions to Yunan and Tibet.[9]

The mission to *Tibet was given up, because it was found that the Chinese* Government was not anxious to allow the British Government to undertake this work. So, in the Convention between Great Britain and China relative to Burma and Tibet, in August 25, 1887, the Tibetan mission programme was abandoned. Art IV of this Convention reads:

"Inasmuch as inquiry into the circumstances by the Chinese Government has shown the existence of many obstacles to the Mission to Tibet provided for in a separate article of the Chefoo Agreement, England consents to countermand the Mission."[10]

After the British annexation of Burma in 1886 and the consequent temporary settlement of Anglo-French rivalry, and after the failure of the proposition of sending a mission to Tibet, there arose a misunderstanding between Tibet and Sikkim. *Tibetans held that they were exercising right in Sikkim which existed before, while the British held that the Tibetans were encroaching upon the right of Sikkim, a British protectorate. After considerable unsuccessful negotiations, the British started the expedition and the Tibetans refused to fight, retired and were defeated.*

The British version of the case has been admirably summed up in the following way:

"It was in the autumn of 1886 that a party of Tibetans crossed the Jelap La and dug themselves in—walled themselves in, would be the more accurate description at Lingtu. By so doing they violated the sanctity of Sikkim and challenged our authority as the suzerain power. We referred the matter to the Chinese, and waited patiently for a year for redress, which never came. Then we took action. We wrote a letter to the leader of *the raiders, ordering the evacuation of Lingtu.* This was towards the close of the year 1887. We were precise—almost meticulous—in our language. We said that the evacuation must be effected by the fifteenth day of the following March. Immediate developments were not promising. The letter was returned whence it had come—unopened. A representation to the Dalai Lama like-wise remained unanswered; and on March the 20th, a British force advanced upon Lingtu. The Tibetans retired without fighting, and the punitive force took up a position at Gaatong. Twice more during the year 1888, in May and in September, did the Tibetans return, and twice more they were driven back over the Jelap La.

"This seemed to the authorities to be a suitable occasion for setting in motion once more the complex apparatus of diplomacy, and another year of desultory negotiations with the Chinese rolled by. And then an unexpected thing happened—the stock of British patience was exhausted. This not only surprised, but alarmed the Chinese, *who with characteristic perverseness and with an* altogether (?) alacrity, pressed for a diplomatic settlement on the points at issue. Out of this new-born enthusiasm for agreement came the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and the subsequent trade regulations of 1893."[11]

The above passage shows great magnanimity instead of any spirit of opportunism on the part of the British Government. But a careful analysis of the situation will throw a different light on the subject. There is no doubt about the fact that Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal as well as Tibet, were parts of the Chinese Empire. And Tibet directly used jurisdiction over Bhutan and Sikkim. The establishment of the British protectorate over Sikkim is a clear usurpation of Tibetan rights. The Tibetans knew that they were acting in Sikkim within rights as a suzerain power, and did not want to have anything to do with the British authorities in matters pertaining to

n. It was, therefore, necessary for Britain slowly. For it would have been very diplomacy on the part of Britain to start xpedition against the Tibetan Government out asking China to remedy the situation, ause Tibet at that time was undisputedly hin the Chinese jurisdiction. It would have unded the Chinese pride and would have rt British interests About this time ssian influence was gaining preponderance the court of Peking, trying to replace itish ascendancy there. Britain, by giving ina an opportunity to settle the Tibetan estion, not only tried to please China, but nted to thwart any possible move of China cooperate with Russia. Britain about that ie had to face French rivalry in Siam and Burmese borders and was busily en-ed in Egypt It was also good diplomacy the part of Britain to make an attempt to China committed one way or the other garding the Tibetan question. If China tused to take action, then it would stren-hen the position of Britain to take inde-endent action, and if China agreed to stop bet from asserting her rights in Sikkim, en it would mean alienating Tibet from ina and, at the same time, result in inese recognition of the right of the itish to establish independent treaty rela-ns with Sikkim, which, according to the inese understanding, was remotely a inese dependency.

The result of the Anglo-Tibetan war was e defeat of the Tibetans, and in 1889 the inese Resident at Lhasa appeared on the ene to make a settlement. The Indian vernment was not anxious to press the estion of settlement, except asserting supre-cy in Sikkim and securing rights for the itish traders in Tibet But the Chinese essed the matter and asserted, "China will quite able to enforce in Tibet the terms the Treaty", and thus an Agreement was gned in 1890 by Lord Lansdowne and the inese Resident in Calcutta on March 17, 90, by which, among other things, the itish protectorate over Sikkim was recog-zed

The terms of the Agreement are as llows —

Article 1. The boundary of Sikkim and Tibet all be the crest of the mountain range separating waters flowing into the Sikkim Teesta and affluents from the waters flowing into the etan Mochu and northwards into other rivers of bet The line commences at Mount Gipmochi on Bhutan frontier and follows the above-mentioned waterparting to the point where it meets Nepal territory.

Article II. It is admitted that the British Government, whose protectorate over the Sikkim State is hereby recognized, has direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of that State, and except through and with the permission of the British Government, neither Ruler of the State, nor any of its officers shall have official relations of any kind, formal or informal, with any other country.

Article III. The Government of Great Britain and Ireland and the Government of China engage reciprocally to respect the boundary as defined in Article II, and to prevent acts of aggression from their respective sides of the frontier.

Article IV. The question of providing increased facilities for trade across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier will hereafter be discussed with a view to mutually satisfactory arrangement.

Article V. The question of pasturage on the Sikkim side of the frontier is reserved for further examination and future adjustment

Article VI The High Contracting Powers reserve for discussion and arrangement the method in which official communications between the British authorities in India and the authorities in Tibet shall be conducted.[12]

Regarding the unsettled questions mentioned in the articles 4, 5, and 6, quoted above, further negotiations went on, and on the 16th of January Mr. J. H. Hart, Secretary to the Chinese Ambassador, on behalf of the Chinese Government, agreed to the British point of view The outline was worded as follows —

"First Pasturage —Such privileges as Tibet enjoys on the Sikkim side of the Frontier will be enjoyed by Sikkim on the Tibetan side.

"Second . Communication · Communication shall be between the Chinese Resident in Tibet and India and shall be transmitted through the medium of the officer in charge of trade in the Chumbi Valley.

"Third .—Trade —Place of trade or trademark, yet to be designated, shall be opened under regulations and with tariff yet to be arranged."

The final agreement on these disputed points was not arrived at until the 5th of December, 1893, the terms of which are.—

"Regulations regarding Trade, Communication and Pasturage to be appended to the Sikkim-Tibet Convention of 1890.

"I A trade-mart shall be established at Yantung on the Tibetan side of the frontier and shall be open to all British subjects for purposes of trade from the first day of May, 1894. The Government of India shall be free to send officers to reside at Yantung to watch the condition of British trade at the mart.

"II. British subjects trading at Yantung shall be at liberty to travel to and fro between the frontier and Yantung, to reside at Yantung, and to rent houses and godowns for their accomodations and the storage of their goods. The Chinese Government undertake that suitable buildings for the above purposes shall be provided for British

subjects and also that a special and fitting residence be provided for the officer or officers appointed by the Government of India under Regulation I to reside at Yantung. British subjects shall be at liberty to sell their goods to whomsover they please, to purchase native commodities in kind or in money, to hire transport of any kind, and in general, to conduct their business transactions in conformity with local usages, and without any vexatious restrictions Such British subjects shall receive efficient protection for their persons and property At Lanh-jo and Ta-chun, between the frontier and Yantung, where rest-houses have been built by Tibetan authorities, British subjects can break their journey in consideration of a daily rent.

"III. Import and export trade in the following articles--arms, ammunition, military stores, salt, liquors and intoxicating or narcotic drugs, may, at the option of either government, be entirely prohibited or permitted only on such conditions as either Government on their side may think fit to impose

"IV. Goods, other than goods of the descriptions enumerated in the Regulation III, entering Tibet from British India across Sikkim-Tibet frontier or vice versa, whatever their origin, shall be exempt from duty for a period of five years commencing from the date of the opening of Yantung to trade, but after the expiration of this term, if found desirable, a tariff may be mutually agreed upon and enforced

"V. All goods on arrival at Yantung, whether from British India or from Tibet, must be reported at the Custom Station there for examination, and the report must give full particulars of the description, quantity and the value of goods.

"VI. In the event of trade disputes arising between British and Chinese or Tibetan subjects in Tibet, they shall be inquired into and settled in personal conference by the political officer for Sikkim and the Chinese frontier officer The object of personal conference being to ascertain facts and do justice. Where there is a divergence of views the law of the country to which the defendant belongs, shall guide.

"VII. Despatches from the Government of India to the Chinese Imperial Resident in Tibet shall be handed over by the Political officer for Sikkim to the Chinese frontier officer, who will forward them by special courier.

"Despatches between the Chinese Imperial Resident in Tibet to the Government of India will be handed over by the Chinese frontier officer to the Political Officer for Sikkim, who will forward them as quickly as possible.

"VIII. Despatches between the Chinese and Indian officials must be treated with due respect, and couriers will be assisted in passing to and fro by the officers of each Government.

"IX. After the expiration of one year from the date of the opening of Yantung, such Tibetans as continue to graze their cattle in Sikkim will be subject to such regulations as the British Government may from time to time enact for the general conduct of grazing in Sikkim. Due notice will be given to such regulations."[13]

These articles of the Convention are of supreme importance in view of the fact that at a later date the British Government contended that the agreements were not lived up to by the Tibetans. It may be said in fairness, that by enacting the free tra[de] clause Tibetans lost revenue, and it see[ms] that the Tibetans had to make everythi[ng] agreeable so that the British subject [c]a[n] trade in Tibet. By Article VI, the theo[ry] and practice of extra-territorial jurisdicti[on] and the idea of mixed courts was establish[ed]. By Article IX, it was expressly stipul[ated] that the Tibetans would not enjoy simi[lar] privileges in Sikkim, even in the case of t[he] privilege of pasture, but they will have [to] abide by the regulations that will be inaug[u]rated by the British authorities from ti[me] to time

During the period of 1894 to 1899 the[re] were constant irritations between the Briti[sh] officials on the one side and the Chinese a[nd] the Tibetans on the other side.

In 1895, the British Government approach[ed] the Chinese Government regarding t[he] demarcation of the border between Tibet a[nd] India. British, Chinese and Tibetan envo[ys] assembled for the purpose ; but the Tibetan[s] as a matter of protest, destroyed many the pillars erected on the border, becau[se] they thought it to be an intrusion in the[ir] territory. The British Government did no[t] take any decisive action at that time. Bu[t] with the advent of Lord Curzon, the attitud[e] of the Government of India changed consider[ably]. Indeed, it may be said that th[e] Government of India from the time [of] Warren Hastings to 1895, was anxious t[o] extend India's boundary lines towards Tibe[t]. But Downing Street which had to look afte[r] the interests of a far-flung Empire acte[d] only in opportune moments, to avoid inten[tional] complications, and exercised a moderat[ing] influence upon these energetic Briti[sh] "empire-builders" in India.

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RELIGION : ITS NEGATIVE SIDE

By MAJOR B. D BASU, I.M.S. (*Retired*)

IT is not necessary to trace the origins or history of religion, but it may be safely said that it is very difficult to define religion. Perhaps those thinkers are correct who consider it as a psychological phenomenon and a concern of individual subjective thought Had this opinion gained ground amongst mankind in the past ages, the history of the world would have been written differently from what it has been. Instead of binding man to man, instead of being the bond of human society at large, it has done incalculable mischief by setting man against man nations against nations.

In the name of religion, blood has been shed murders have been committed, lives have been lost and property has been wantonly destroyed How human progress has been arrested in its name is evident to those who have read the well-known work named "Conflict between Religion and Science" by the late Dr Draper of America.

But it is the Semitic religions which are more responsible for the state of affairs mentioned above than any other creed of the world

It should be mentioned at the same time that the Hindu doctrines of "untouchability" and of the greater purity or impurity of some castes than of others have caused the degradation and arrested the progress of millions for ages.

Those religions which are proselytising are, as a rule, with the honorable exception of Buddhism, mostly intolerant. The Semitic religions are mostly so. Many of their followers hold that those alone who belong to their creeds will be saved and others outside the pale of their creeds will be cast into eternal hell. For the benefit of the souls of the heretics, many kinds of torture and refined brutalities were practised on their physical bodies. D. G. Ritchie, in his work on Natural Rights, (p 169) says .—

"Persecution, in the sense of repression for the purpose of maintaining true doctrine, is the outcome of Christianity.. ......Christianity has been a persecuting religion, and persecution has been of the essence of it in a sense in which that could not be said of any of the older tribal or political religions which it supplanted. This is the historical sense of Christianity."

Theological persecution of heretics is an article of faith in the creed of some of the proselytising religions. Thus, according to Thomas Aquinas, heretics are to be compared to utterers of false coins. Says he—

"For it is a much heavier offence to corrupt the faith, whereby the life of the soul is sustained, than to tamper with the coinage, which is an aid to temporal life. Hence, if coiners or other malefactors are at once handed over by secular princes to a just death, much more may heretics, immediately they are convicted of heresy, be not only excommunicated, but also justly done to die."

What is said of Christianity above, is also applicable to Muhamadanism, as the stoning to death of heretic in Afghanistan in 1924 goes to show.

It is not necessary to multiply instances of religious persecutions which have greatly hampered the progress of Humanity.

Again, some of the religious faiths of the world, including some forms of Hinduism, enjoin slaughter of animals, which cannot be conducive to the growth of the sentiment of humanity. The slaughter of animals is called "sacrifice". The slaughter of certain

animals held sacred by votaries of one religious faith, has caused bloodshed of innocent men and prevented harmony amongst followers of different creeds inhabiting the same land.

Some of the religious faiths have caused degradation of women In some Hindu and Buddhist scriptures, there is evidence of women having high ideals and a high social status. But many Hindu and Buddhist scriptures blacken women's characters also In the *Contemporary Review* for September 1889, Principal Donaldson writing on "The Position of Women among the Early Christians" says :—

* "It is a prevalent opinion that woman owes her present high position to Christianity and the influences of the Teutonic mind. I used to believe this opinion, but in the first three centuries I have not been able to see that Christianity had any favourable effect on the position of women, but, on the contrary, that *it tended to lower their character and contract the range of their activity.*" *

Muhamadanism is popularly, though incorrectly, as far as we are aware, credited with denying the possession of soul to woman ! This argument is brought forward to account for the low position which women are said to occupy in Moslem Society But in some respects, *e. g*, possession and inheritance of property, the right of widows to remarry, Islam gives to women a higher status than some other faiths. Again, some religious creeds sanction prostitution of women The author of "The Sexual Life of Our Time" writes —

"In a certain sense, the history of religion can be regarded as the history of a peculiar mode of manifestation of the human sexual impulse, especially in its influence on the imagination and its products..... A scientific study of these relations teaches us that all religions exhibit to a greater or less degree this sexual admixture,.. ... "

Then he says

"One of the oldest, if not the oldest of religio-sexual phenomena is religious prostitution—the 'lust sacrifice', as Eduard von Mayer happily expresses it, since therein the sexual act is regarded as a sacrifice made to the deity. ...According to the researches I have myself previously published regarding religious prostitution, this may be divided into two great groups

1. A single act of prostitution in honour of the deity.
2. "Permanent religious prostitution"

It is not necessary to follow this author in what he says regarding religious prostitution in the different creeds of the world. It will suffice for our purpose to recognise the fact that certain religions by sanctioning prostitution, have degraded man and woman and so proved detrimental to the cause of the uplift of humanity. A mere reference to the institution of *devadasis* in Hindu temples in southern India will suffice.

Religion has brought into existence a class of people known as ascetics. Whether ascetics have done more harm than good to humanity is a question that has to be carefully considered by those interested in sociology But in India, the class of ascetics passing under the names of yogis, sadhus, fakirs, etc, is a great pest and nuisance and represents degraded humanity. It may be safely asserted that a very large majority of men turn ascetics from motives which can hardly be called spiritual.

It should be mentioned here that we do not say anything against the ideal of asceticism. What we say is meant to apply to ascetics as a class who practise asceticism not from any higher motive than that of securing their own happiness. Professor Clifford has very rightly observed:—

"Happiness is not the end of right action My happiness is of no use to the community, except in so far as it makes me a more efficient citizen; that is to say, it is rightly desired as a means and not an end."

But are ascetics as a class useful citizens Do they take any interest in what they call worldly or mundane affairs?

Prof. E. J Urwrick, in his well-known work on "A Philosophy of Social Progress" says —

"We *need* nature's processes of struggle selection and elimination of the unfit. Society is becoming clogged with its unfit, whom we insist upon keeping alive by checking every natural agent of Selection..... .. And the influence of religion is the worst of all. In its highest form it sterilizes the best members of society by the celibacy imposed upon the men and women who are admittedly the holiest, in all its forms it saves the unfit from destruction by insisting upon mercy and pity, and by teaching charity, supports the feeble and the failures". (pp. 77-78)

Some religions, such as Christianity, have spread false notions regarding anthropology Writes a well-known English author :

"The conversion of the [American] Indians to Christianity was, no doubt quite sincerely, alleged as a justification of the Spanish conquests in America. The Puritans in New England, like the Dutch settlers at the Cape, were sometimes

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* This extract is taken from the footnote on p. 172 of D. G. Ritchie's "Natural Rights". The italics are ours. On the subject of the position of woman in the Christian Church, Lecky's History of European Morals may be also usefully consulted.

nfluenced by the scriptural example of the utter destruction of the Canaanites."

Ritchie's *Natural Rights*, p. 268

Some of the religions inculcate the notion that by a belief in certain dogmas or confession to a priest, or through the mediation of certain persons one's sins will be washed away. Many votaries of those creeds do not hesitate to practise all sorts of iniquities under the belief that all their misdeeds will be condoned by mere confession or through the intercession of some mediator. The Spaniards practised every species of cruelty on the Mexicans and the Peruvians, and considered themselves absolved of their sins by confession on death-bed.

Not a few of the religions foster superstitions It may be said that some of the religious beliefs are inseparable from superstitutions Witchcraft and taboo are superstitions which exist or existed in many religious creeds of the world and these cannot be said to be beneficial to the cause of the uplift of humanity

The proselytising creeds often have ulterior ends to serve rather than save the souls of those who do not belong to their faith. Thus

"It is wellknown that the Protestant propagandism, especially in England and America, is very intimately connected with the propagandism of the material and commercial interests of those two great nations, and it is known also that the object of the latter propagandism is not at all the enrichment and material prosperity of the countries into which it penetrates in company with the word of God, but rather the exploitation of those countries with a view to the enrichment and material prosperity of certain classes, which in their own country, aim only at exploitation and pillage." In his work on "God and the State," Michael Bakounine, Founder of Nihilisenok, apostle of philosophical anarchy writes:—

Religion has hampered the upward and onward march of humanity because it is responsible for

(i) intolerance and causing persecution of so-called heretics and infidels and suppression of freedom of thought.

(ii) degradation of woman and sanction of religious prostitution.

(iii) bringing into existence a class of people known as ascetics who do very little good to society. (It also makes fanatics)

(iv) fostering superstition.

THE WORLD'S WORST IN CRIME

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AMERICAN newspaper and magazine-writers are prone to see the end of American paradise if it is to open to Oriental immigration To them, Asians are a menace to American civilization which is depicted as pure and white as a lily. The flaming prophets of American racial purity draw blood-curdling pictures of Asian vice and criminality, and warn their countrymen that Asian "goblins will get us yet if we don't watch out". The fear of Oriental bogy is so persistently preached and hymned in these States that it has become almost a national article of faith While the citizens of America are asked to shake in their shoes before the wicked inferior Asian who is sure to corrupt the purity of democratic government, it appears that they have a better reason to shiver and tremble over their own moral disintegration Only a little while ago, an American statesman described the United States as the most crime-bent nation in the world.

America—Crime Centre of World

Stories of most revolting, diabolical crimes are reported in newspapers almost every day. A wife poisons her husband, and now she is trying to collect Rs. 30,000 from a Life Insurance Company in which he was insured in her favor. The policy provided that the wife was to get Rs. 15,000 if the husband died decently in his bed, but twice as much

if he died by violence. The jury believes that the death was violent.

A mother in Iowa slashes her 15-day-old infant's throat and wrists with a razor, because it cried and irritated her.

A public meeting is being held in a town square of Massachussetts when a group of citizens determine to break it up. It is a battle royal in which hundreds participate. Rocks and eggs and shots are freely used. Chief of Police is overpowered by the crowd.

Down in Ohio, a mother places her six-week-old son in a wash-boiler she has filled with water, and lights the fire under it. Several hours later the woman's husband discovers the child boiled dead.

A young man of Illinois, veteran of the late "war for democracy", returns home one morning. The sight of his aged father makes him furious. The son straightway appeases his wrath by running a sharp bayonet through his old father.

Two women drive into a town of South Dakota, enter a bank, and while one points a pistol at the bank cashier, the other scoops up all the money in sight. "Don't stir", the older woman orders, as she points the loaded pistol at the cashier. "I hate to take a life, but I mean business and I'll do it if I have to". The female bandits flee in a waiting motor car

A New Yorker attacks a woman with a sledge hammer, because she would not desert her husband for him He beats her about the head until she falls unconscious. Then he drags her downstairs to the basement and thrusts her, still living and moaning, into the blazing furnace which heats the kilns. Slamming the furnace door shut and propping a shovel against it to keep it closed, he coolly leaves the wailing woman on fire and she burns to cinders.



The Challenge

Extreme as some of these recent incidents are, perhaps they have their significance. The show which way the wind is blowing. The are typical of the spirit of disorderly conditio in the Republic. Americans boast of havin the grandest civilization in the world; bu they also hold the record of being the grea est criminal nation on earth. "This count is suffering under an indictment," said Judg Alfred J. Talley of the Court of Gener Sessions of New York County, "whi

His revolver, handcuffs, and nightstick are stolen. Policemen are shot and beaten.

Two university students of Chicago, scions of wealthy families, decide to commit a "perfect crime". They lure a little boy for a ride in their automobile, hammer his brains out in cold blood, and then throw the body of the little fellow under a culvert. An exhibition of perfect crime in "God's own country".



DAY AFTER DAY
—Kirby in the New York *World*.

roclaims it the most lawless on earth. You ill find that the United States must plead uilty to that indictment." This is to say, hat there is more crime committed in merica, in proportion to population, than in ngland or France or Italy or Japan or any ther civilized country under the sun.

Sneaks, murderers, thieves, robbers, blackailers, speeders, professional bombers, crooks, unmen seem to feel a dismally large part f the American picture A gun is as ommon as a man's tobacco pipe or a oman's powder puff in the domestic econoy of this country. Americans apparently nust needs go armed constantly, lest highwayen stick them up at the point of a gun or rain-robbers pour them full of hot lead.

Chicago, in point of population, is the econd largest city in America and third in he world. Now the murder rate in Chicago or the current year is a little better than ne a day. Last year there were 347 murers, the year before that 270. It makes hicago "the crime capital of America", nay, he crime capital of Christendom.

Rising Tide of Crime

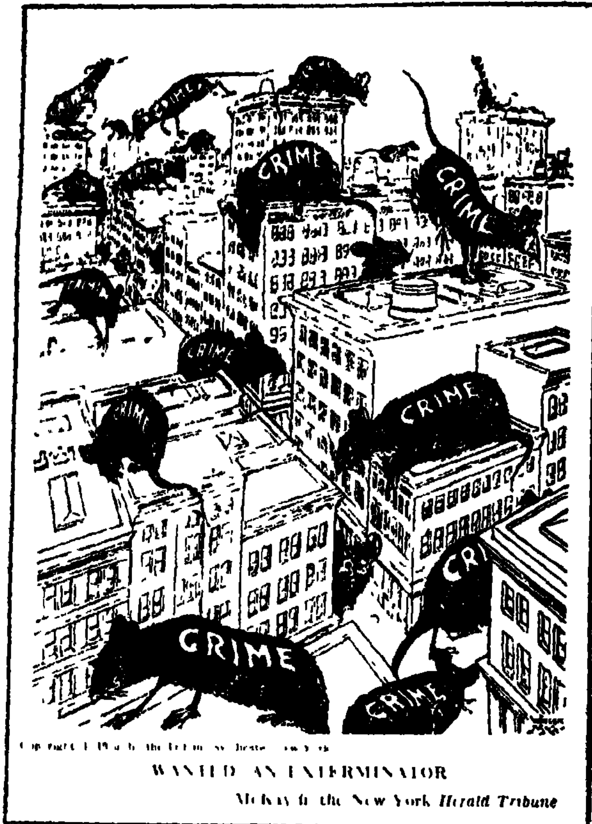
There is no crime wave ; it is a crime tide which has been rising progressively in the United States for the last quarter of a century. The murder-rate, according to Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, the consulting statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, has doubled in twenty-four years. Forty thousand Americans were killed in the late European crusade for self-determination. Now the number of murders in the United States since the great war is larger than the number of Americans lost during the war. The annual toll of felonious homicides in America exceeds 11,000. During the last fifteen years, the murder-rate in this Republic has been between 80 and 100 per thousand. In Japan, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Switzerland, and Norway, the murder-rate runs from 3 to 9 per hundred thousand. "A point has been reached in our national life," says Dr. Hoffman, the most accurate authority on the subject, "where no one is safe anywhere at any time. Murders are committed with fiendish cruelty and often with superhuman ingenuity which baffles the authorities and defeats the ends of justice,"



'That for You'

A strange commentary upon the progress of American civilization!

According to the recent report published by the Associated Press of the United States, the toll of human life taken by motor vehicles last year in this country was at the rate of more than two for every hour in the day. "America's death-rate due to automobile



WANTED AN EXTERMINATOR

McKay in the New York *Herald Tribune*

accidents leads the world, being 14.8 fatalities for every 100,000 population against 5.3 in England and Wales, and 4.3 in Scotland, 4.6 in New Zealand and 3.6 in Canada during 1923 Figures for 1924 show that for 158 Amerian cities the automobile accident death-rate was 19.4 per 100,000 population, causing not less than 17,400 deaths in automobile accidents, not counting accidents which involved railroad trains, or street cars and automobiles."

Speed-lovers obviously think more of amusement than of human life In the City of New York, 300 children are slaughtered every year by automobiles. In Chicago, 250 children are killed annually. Thus in these two cities alone, 550 children are massacred every year by automobiles. At this rate one may calculate that in the entire United States no less than 7,000 innocent children become victims of automobile fatalities "What should we say," asks a correspondent of the New York *Nation*, "if the Turks were to massacre 7,000 Christian children every year?"

Enormous property losses are also suffered each year by the American people through robbery. Boys and girls hold up trains with automatic revolvers Train robberies have become so frequent that for the past two years the Post Offices over the greater sections of the country have stopped sending registered mail by night trains. Mail coaches, even during the day-time, are armed with small artillery.

Since last October, the main Post Office and each of the eighty-three branches in the City of Boston have been turned into miniature fortresses with expert rifle and pistol-men as guards. Post Office receipts are transported in steel-armored trucks, each manned by four men who are experts with the pistol Every Post Office Clerk serving at an open window is armed with an army revolver. That is in Boston, "the Athens of America, "the hub of the world".

Last year, six times as many people were robbed in only two American cities, Chicago and New York, as in the whole of the British Canada. "William J. Burns, formerly head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, estimates that more than Rs. 300,000,000 a year in property is stolen from railroad, express and steamship companies and from trunks and piers." reports a writer in the *New York Times* "Figures published by the American Bankers Association for the year ending August 31, 1922, show that among their members alone there were 136 hold-ups and 319 burglaries, representing a loss of Rs. 3,673,467. That means that every day in the year there is a bank robbery or hold-up of importance, not to mention those committed against banks that are not members of the Association." What! America is at the mercy of crooks and thugs? Is robbery becoming an American national habit?

Horrors of Lynching

As a result of ceaseless campaign of agi-ation by Negroes, there has been in recent ears a considerable decrease of lynchings in merica Lynching, however, is not yet bolished For thirty years prior to 1919 the verage number of lynchings per year was 07 *During the last five years from 1920 to* 924, the number of persons lynched was 234. very State in the Union except four has had ne or more lynchings in the past forty-ears, the exceptions being Vermont, New ampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachus-etts

Making bonfires of human flesh is unfor-unately attended with circumstances of endish cruelty and horror I quote the llowing description of a typical lynching om the Chattanooga (Tennessee) *Daily imes*, February 13, 1918

Tortured and then Burned

still Springs Scene of Blood-Curdling Lynching

Jim McIlherron, Negro, Executed by Masked Men

Thousands of men, women, and children witness roceedings,

Many crying for the negro's blood—
ayer of Rodgers and Tigert captured Tuesday.

"Jim McIlherron, the negro who shot and illed Pierce Rodgers and Jesse Tigert, two white en at Estill Springs last Friday, and wounded ank Tigert, was tortured with a red hot crowbar d then burned to death here tonight at 7-40 by elve masked men. A crowd of approximately 00 persons, among whom were women and ildren, witnessed the burning.

"The captors proceeded to a spot about a arter of a mile from the railroad station and epared the d ath fire The crowd followed and emained throughout the proceedings. The negro as led to a hickory tree, to which they chained im After securing him to the tree a fire was d A short distance away, another fire was ndled and into it was put an iron bar to heat

When the bar became red-hot, a member of e mob jabbed it toward the negro's body. razed with fright, the black grabbed hold of it, d as it was pulled through his hands the atmos-here was filled with the odor of burning flesh. his was the first time the murderer gave vidence of his will being broken Scream after cream rent the air. As the hot iron was applied various parts of his body, his yells and cries r mercy could be heard in the town.

After torturing the negro several minutes, one the masked men poured coal oil on his feet d trousers and applied a match to the pyre. s the flames rose, enveloping the black's body, he egged that he be shot. Yells of derision greeted s request The angry flames consumed his clothing and little blue blazes shot upward from his burning hair before he lost consciousness"

Removing Basic Causes of Crime

This unspeakable reign of terror and lawlessness is going on in a country which boasts of superior Christian Kulture. I do not wish to belittle the material achievements of America Only one hundred fifty years ago, thirteen little jealous colonies on the Atlantic sea-board were still under the domination of King George. In four genera-tions, the Yankee has threaded a continent, built cities, and accumulated immense wealth. While other countries are suffering from the shortage of gold, the United States is holding four and a half billions of the world's nine billion dollars gold reserve. The material success of America, remarkable as it is, cannot be everything Moreover, it is being over-shadowed by moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Internal disorders, racial differences, and religious hatreds are on the increase. Tolerance, the truest mark of democracy and of civilization, is almost lost sight of. There must be something wrong with the character of the American, something must have weakened his moral fibre.

Is there any way to restore the American national sanity ? Are Americans so morally anemic that they are incapable of redressing the chaotic situation ? Of the many remedies advocated for the reduction of crime none is heard more often than that of swifter and severer punishment. But is punishment alone a sure and a sufficient deterrent of crime ? The trouble, I need hardly say, is much more deep-seated. More than half a million persons, male and female, are annually penned up in jails or reformatories in the United States They are now building great new prisons, for "all the States are overcrowd-ed with criminals and defectives, with the average age of prison inmates ten years below what it was a decade ago" The present system of punishment does not seemingly reach the heart of the problem of crime ; it remains, therefore, a "futile exercise in despair and bad humor."

The advanced criminologists are seeking for causes of crime in emotional or psychological reactions. Dr Max G. Schlapp, Professor of Neuropathology at the Post-graduate Medical School Hospital of New York, looks upon the prevalence of crime as a symptom—along with increasing feeble-

mindedness and insanity—of a basic disturbance in the nation's emotional stability "We are headed for a smash in this country," he says, "if we keep on the way we are going. There is a curve in the emotional stability of every people which is an index of their growth and power as a nation On the upswing, the nation expands and prospers and gains in power with the normal development of emotional life Then comes a time when emotional instability sets in When it reaches a certain point, there is a collapse We have almost reached that point This emotional instability causes crime, feeble-mindedness, insanity Criminal **conduct is a pathological** matter, just a[s] **these other disorders."**

I am not here concerned** as to how Ame[rica]* ***should rid itself of criminals. *That is* ***my problem at this time.*** *Each nation m[ust]* ***make its own way out of the*** *crime* ***as best it can. All I have been*** *endeavo[ring]* ***here to do is to indicate that*** *inasm[uch]* ***as Americans enjoy the reputation*** *of be[ing]* ***the crime-centre of the world,*** *they can[not]* ***afford to assume a self-righteous air*** *Inde[ed]* ***it comes with ill grace for Ame[ricans]*** *[to]* ***condemn other peoples as "***[v]icio[us]", "inferior", or degradingly "Asiatic"

ENGINEERING TRAINING

A comparison of University and Industrial discipline and methods.

BY S GHOSH,

ASSOC MST, M I E R, A M I MECH E, M AMER I E E, ACTIVE MEM. A.I. & S E E, M.I.E. (IND)

Chief Electrical Engineer, Tata Iron and Steel Co, Ltd., Jamshedpur

& A. R. GUPTA, A I.E E, ELECTRICIAN.

THIS article* is intended for those, who have made up their minds to adopt Engineering as their career, but I hope it may also be useful to those who are still considering the question. I propose to describe the kind of education and training suitable for a young man anxious to join the higher ranks of the Engineering profession

Mr Henry Burkinshaw in his presidential address delivered to the Institution of Engineers (India) mentioned that as India is passing from an almost entirely agricultural, to an industrial country of importance, the need for Engineers will increase.

I would like to point out the fact that India had her days once in trade and industry. The Dacca muslin, the Kashmir shawl, the brass work of Benares and a lot of other industrial products used to cross the seas or were sent overland through the Khaibar pass to compete with goods manufactured in the West. The Asoka Pillar at Kutub in Delhi has withstood the deteriorating influences of the weather for centuries The caves of [A]... are a standing testimonial to the magni[ficent] engineering skill which the Hindus attained long before the beginning o[f] Mohammedan Era. Think of the Taj at [Agra] standing like a white picture against the background of the Heavens, filling the [eyes] of the spectators from all parts of the [world] with awe and wonder. But this was [c...] years ago and India has fallen into a slu[mber] in the matter of arts and crafts for a ... time before and after the advent of the En[glish]. The impact of the Western Civilisation [has roused] her from slumber and India may now be ... to be on the verge of a revival of her Industries and Arts. It is but fitting [there]fore that Indians should devote the best of their time and attention to the dev[elop]ment of this Industrial Renaissance

The vast resources in men and mat[erials] that India possesses are bound sooner [or] later to place her in the front rank [in the] Industrial World, but to help this pl[ace] it is necessary to create the right typ[e of] Industrial Engineers to guide her fu[ture] destiny.

In olden times the activities of ...

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* *Read before a meeting of the Alumni Association of the National Council of Education, Bengal, at Jadavpur.*

oncerns here were directed largely o had grown up from apprentices s and who were primarily mistries en. The work of modern engineer- sulted in the development of enor- dustries which require a greater f skill, intelligence and knowledge, gher order of administrative ability, was entirely lacking in the days of shops and limited organizations. It therefore that the type of mentality d in this great industrial development her than the limited education and ence which the old-time shop Super- ent usually possessed

e fundamental purpose of the technical is the training of men to become etent and willing workmen for the good mselves and for the good of the com- y

e point from which I view technical tion is that of employer, not that of ducator I have been engaged for years e Tata Iron and Steel Co This has ht me into intimate personal contact a large number of technical students, I have become well acquainted with their g points, which are many, and, at the time, with a few of those points which to me to call for further development rection Something may possibly be d by considering what has seemed to of the friends of our young technical nts to be the one defect which they eally all have in common

r a period of six months to two years leaving technical schools, they are, ally speaking, discontented and unhappy are apt to look upon their employers appreciative, unjust and even tyrannical it is frequently only after changing yers once or twice and finding the so- lack of appreciations in all of them they finally settle down in their real of usefulness.

hy is it, then, that these young men are nted and of practically little use g the first year or two after passing out Technical Schools?

a certain extent, this is unquestionably o the sudden and radical change from spent as boys almost solely in absorb- nd assimilating knowledge for their own it, to their new occupation of applying nowledge for the benefit of others. To a e it is the sponge objecting to the pressure e hand that uses it. To a greater degree, however, I believe this trouble to be due to the lack of discipline and to the lack of direct earnest and logical purpose which accompanies, to a large extent, our Indian University life.

During the 3 or 4 years that these young men are at Engineering Schools, they are under less discipline, and are given a greater liberty than they have ever had before or will ever have again Is not the greatest problem in University life, then, how to animate the students with the ideal of service?

In facing this question, I would call attention to one class of young men who are almost universally imbued with such a purpose; namely, those who through necessity or otherwise, have come into close contact and direct connection with men working for a living These young men acquire a truly earnest purpose They see the reality of life, they have a strong foretaste of the struggle ahead of them, and come to the University with determination to get something practical from the college training which they can use later in their competition with other men

They are in great demand after graduating and as a class make themselves useful almost from the day that they start work.

Neither their earnestness, however, nor their immediate usefulness comes from any technical knowledge which they have acquired while working outside the University, but rather from having had brought home to them early the nature of the great problem they must face after graduating.

Unfortunately, laboratory or even shop work in the University, useful as they are, do not serve at all the same purpose, since the young man is surrounded there by other students and professors, and lacks the actual competition of men working for their living He does not learn at college that, on the whole, the ordinary mechanics and electricians, and even poorly educated workmen, are naturally about as smart as he is, and that his best way to rise above them lies in getting his mind more thoroughly trained than theirs, and in learning things they do not know Nothing but contact with work and actual competition with men struggling for a living will teach them this It cannot be theorized over or lectured upon, or taught in the school, workshop or laboratory.

Let me repeat that our students, after passing out from the Technical School, must spend three years in some big engineering

workshop in order that they may not only come in touch with workmen and obtain commercial manufacturing experience, but by undertaking commercial work, they must build up a keen sense of responsibility They must build materials which are to be sold; complete *commercial tests*, *design apparatus* which must meet actual needs; install plants erect machinery or negotiate for and close contracts covering apparatus which is to do work in the World These engineering apprentices are no longer in the college class-room or laboratory where the result of mistakes in calculations or judgments mean no particular personal discredit. They are in direct contact with the working world They must think clearly and self-reliantly and the effect of errors due to lack of ability, study and sound judgment become quickly apparent and are brought home to them sharply It is by such treatment that I would supplement the college course and broaden the view-point of the young engineers

Our present Technical Schools in India do not give higher training in mechanical and electrical engineering To my mind, they are trying to produce a better class of mechanics and electricians with some knowledge of mathematics and drawing, but not engineers, who can be safely trusted with responsible positions I feel that my countrymen should have every facility for getting proper training in engineering, especially in mechanical and electrical sections to qualify themselves, not only for subordinate but for responsible position I would like to impress upon our educational ministers and future leaders the fact, that the present system of engineering training is merely a waste of time, money and materials, which I consider to be a crime, as we are not only neglecting our duty to ourselves but to the community at large

I propose to consider education under the following heads —

(1) Preliminary or General education
(2) Technical training
(3) Practical training.

It is quite good for an engineer to get a general education like a member of any other profession. I. Sc. passed students of our Universities will do. I do not speak here of the trained artisans for whom I think the elementary school knowledge supplemented by an apprenticeship with evening trade classes is sufficient. I speak of engineers for business or professional work in applied science or construction. The word "Engineer" is not, as is popularly supposed, derived from the word engine, a machine. For educating these engineers different methods in vogue in the different technical instituations in India are. (1) four years of part-time college studies, one week workshop, one week class; morning workshop and evening class, etc, and (2) the four years course in Sandwich system—6 months apprenticeship and 6 months college (lately introduced in the Engineering College of the Benares Hindu University). The former method has been generally followed in nearly all the technical institutions in India and the ill effect of that has already been pointed out in my experience outlined in the foregoing.

Two requirements stand first in selecting a course of training for the future engineering student, viz —(1) obtaining the necessary scientific knowledge, (2) acquiring the requisite practical experience. If either be disregarded, the result is to handicap the student in his work and to exclude him from the best posts in the engineering world

I would like to emphasise these points upon those of our Indian students proceeding to England, America or other foreign countries for engineering training, who are so very eager to obtain the degrees and pay little importance to their practical training. They spend a few years in the University, some of them taking very high places, and come back to India It has, however, been found out that they prove themselves unsuccessful in practical life here. Some of them take a course of practical training for a couple of months or three months in some workshop in England or America during the vacation period, which is however, far too short for any practical training. The chance of handling a job rarely comes in this short space of time. On the other hand, students who after the completion of their University career have taken a thorough practical course of training in some workshop in England or America for at least three years, have proved themselves to be very capable men. It might be that many of them were very low in the University Examination, but their having a systematic practical training makes up the deficiency in their theoretical portion. I, therefore, think that intending students proceeding to foreign places for this branch of training, should be prepared to spend at least six years—three years to be spent in some University for the theoretical course, after finishing which

er three years are to be spent as indentured
ıentices for a thorough training.

As regards the State and other Scholarship-
lders, I think the authorities concerned
uld do well, if they are not in a position
extend the scholarship for the above-
ntioned period (i. e. 6 years), to pick up
dents from Indian Technical Schools and
lleges and then send them out for their
ctical training for three years. If this be
ne, then we can have really qualified men

With the present system of engineering
ining in India, it is impossible in the work-
op of a training college to give a student
ctical acquaintance with workshop methods
t can only be obtained in works, actually
nufacturing machinery for sale. All that
be imparted is instruction in the use of
ls and machinery Methods of manage-
nt—working to time and price—the dis-
line, so to speak, of actual operation can
y be obtained in the works. We must
ognise this, and consequently, should make
angements, so that the student can supple-
nt the training given in the workshop of a
hnical school, by experience in manufactur-
; under conditions imposed by commercial
npetition

As you all are aware, in this country it
a big problem to arrange for apprentice-
p in any engineering workshop, and this
ficulty can only be solved if the State and
ıer public organisations come to the rescue
making arrangements with well-known
gineering companies, power stations and
ilways Engineers, to pass pupils through a
rse of practical experience in the manu-
turing works and generating stations on
ving wage

This Association of Engineering Works
h the colleges will cover every branch of
gineering, the two sides of the training
ıng correlated by means of regular reports
cked by the Manager of the works and
by a member of the staff of the college
should frequently visit the affiliated
works and keep in touch with the work of
his pupils.

The Factory training will bring out
clearly the serious and to some students the
disappointing fact, that an Industrial Concern
is not running a shop school but a business
proposition, and that they are likely to ac-
quire more in the way of general discipline
than technical information; and it is well
that this is so, for more apprentices fail for
lack of ability to get along efficiently with
other people than for lack of technical
knowledge.

When employers of technical students say
that they are unsatisfactory, it is usually not
because they are not full-fledged engineers, but
it is because they are not good beginners.

In conclusion, I beg to say that to the
average Indian mind the title of Engineer has
only a vague meaning. As generally under-
stood, a Mechanical Engineer is a Mechanic
who is attending a Boiler or driving a Steam
Engine. Similarly, the Electrical Engineer is
a man who repairs fans and lights These
examples are not exaggerated but correctly
represent the general idea of the Indian people
in regard to the profession of Engineering.

Years ago, Engineers were individuals of
of little consequence, compared with men in
other learned professions Now they, too,
form a profession of recognized importance.

Practically, every operation in which a
man is now engaged involves directly or in-
directly the work of the Engineer.

To-day, Engineering is more of an exact
science than it was in the rule-of-thumb days
of fifty years ago, and many of its branches
have already reached the stage of almost
astronomical precision. It is for this reason
that a systematic mental training in techno-
logy, before entering engineering practice, is
so desirable. The men of the future who
will occupy leading positions as engineers
will be those, who have had a college training
combined with practical workshop ex-
perience.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND KNIGHTHOOD

BEING aware that a discussion has been raised in regard to my knighthood, I feel it right to put clearly my own view of it before the public. It is obvious that it was solely to give utmost emphasis to the expression of my indignation at the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and other deeds of inhumanity that followed it that I asked Lord Chelmsford to take it back from me. If I had not fully realised the value of this title, it would have been impertinent on my part to offer it as a sacrifice when such was needed in order to give strength to my voice. I have not the overweening conceit discourteously to display an insincere attitude of contempt for a title of honour which was conferred on me in recognition of my literary work. I greatly abhor to make any public gesture which may have the least suggestion of a theatrical character. But in this particular case, I was driven to it when I hopelessly failed to persuade our political leaders to launch an adequate protest against what was happening at that time in the Punjab.

A title of personal distinction for some merit that has a universal value is never a reward of favour. To show honour where it is truly due is the responsibility of the party who does it and any token of it should not be thrown away, unless for an exceptional occasion or purpose which is painfully imperative. I am not callously insensitive to the approbation which I have been fortunate enough to gain from outside my own country, and for the same reason, I also feel proud that men like Jagadish Chandra Bose and Prafulla Chandra Ray have won a title valuable like any other real recognition which our country may rightfully claim. The only complaint that can be made is that this title is fast losing its distinction through its heterogeneous association and that the above-named illustrious countrymen of ours are made to put up with too many strange bed-fellows in their career of glory. While concluding, I confess to an idiosyncrasy, which has already been pointed out by the Editor of this journal, that I do not like any addition to my name,—Babu or Sriyut, Sir or Doctor, or Mr, and, the least of all, Esquire. A psycho-analyst may trace this to a sense of pride in the depth of my being and he may not be wrong.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ITALIAN INDOLOGY

BY PROF G. TUCCI, PH D.

IS there in Italy a real interest in India and Oriental thought? Can we speak of an Italian Oriental school? If you rely on the history of Indian philology written by so great a scholar as Windisch was, the answer would be a negative one. I do not know how to explain his silence about Italian indology because, even if we had not so many philo-

logists of a world-wide reputation as Germany had, India and Indian thought and literature were and are seriously studied in Italy. Perhaps the German professor did not pay sufficient attention to the works of our indologists, because of the language in which they are written, or because we never specialized in those technical and mere philological researches which are a privilege of German scholarship In Italy that humanistic spirit is still living, to which we owe the glorious blossoming of our Renaissance and which, through philology permeated with philosophical spirit, lead us to direct contact with ancient or foreign civilizations, thus realizing in our soul a sympathetic understanding of every thought and every literature More than to write, we prefer to read and to enjoy what we read. I confess that there is perhaps a bit of egoism in this attitude of our mind However, we cannot but be proud of it, as to it only we owe the possibility to feel so deeply the spiritual exigencies of so many and so different civilizations Therefore, the value of Italian orientalists is not always to be sought for in their books or in their works; the best part of them is their own personality, their enthusiasm, their faculty to revive and to feel what they know. Certainly this represents a loss for science, but how could we renounce this inborn curiosity this plunging into our favourite texts, this unifying ourselves with our author, and follow, during all of our life, the tiring and hard work of mere philological researches? To the joy of discovering the sources of this poet or that, our masters preferred to live with and to feel them. We had for example a great scholar in Teza. He was really what can be called a linguistic genius he knew thoroughly Sanscrit and Iranian, Pali and Pracrits, Chinese and Tibetan, Japanese and Mongolian, Armenian and Turkish and many other languages. But with this marvellous and almost unsurpassed science, he did not leave any work worthy of his knowledge. Of this wonderful man only some articles remain which hardly could give an exact idea of all he knew It was neither idleness, nor the scruple of precision, nor the fear of the mistakes so common in many scientific researches which could have prevented him from giving vent to his never satisfied curiosity and to his thirst after new literary emotions.

This ideal preoccupation was the *leit motif* of the spiritual and intellectual life of our orientalists. Our libraries are not so rich in collections of Oriental Texts and manuscripts as those of France, England and Germany. Before obtaining a regular appointment in some university, we are obliged to work seriously for years and years. Nevertheless, we are proud of our studies, and like Indian pandits meditating in the wild retreat of the woods we dedicate our life to them, only because of their answer to a spiritual and ideal exigency of our Soul, not because they can give us practical welfare or any renown To this humanistic and romantic attitude, we owe the literary tendencies which are prevalent among our orientalists who are not only men of science but specially men of letters What we like is to interpret our texts, to understand them, to feel them, and then we do our best in order that our students or brother souls can partake of our own impressions and feelings. I know that a translation is usually considered as an easy task and that, as an "*oeuvre de divulgation*" the work of the translator is scarcely appreciated by many scholars But let us say on the contrary that a good and artistic translation is very difficult: because it needs not only a serious philological preparation but that *acribcia*, that exegetical ability, that harmony of feelings which only can prepare a spiritual atmosphere able to explain many more things, than mere science can To understand, it is necessary to love and we Italians are full of love This love you find in the works of our orientalists Gorresio went quite young to Paris, studied Sanscrit with Burnouf and dedicated all his life to the edition and the translation of the Ramayana, that are still a real monument of erudition and accuracy which will be much more appreciated when we remember the difficulties in the midst of which Gorresio worked.

Angelo de Gubernatis, one of the first professors of Sanscrit in Italy, cannot be compared with Gorresio, he was possessed by a true mania, the mania of writing and publishing, and of course the multiplicity and variety of his literary productions impaired the scientific value of his contributions But we cannot forget that he went to India in order to study Vedic texts and religions. It was the time of Max Mueller and Kuhn, the principal assertors of that comparative mythology which found in de Gubernatis one of his more convinced paladins and that he was the first and alas the last, to collect a

good number of Sanscrit manuscripts, many of which, on Jaina subjects, are preserved in the library of Florence and known to scholars through the catalogue of Aufrecht and the supplement to it by Prof Pavolini.

It is also interesting to remember that he was the first to write a drama on the story of Rama, now almost forgotten, because of the absolute lack of dramatic ability in the author The best work of him seems to be the studies on the Italian missionaries in India and specially on Dr Paolino a San Bastolomeo, who wrote, as is well known, the first Sanscrit grammar in Europe

Prof Kerbacker, who occupied for many years the chair of Sanscrit at the University of Naples, had the soul of a poet and the knowledge of a true scholar Everybody can exactly appreciate the real value of his studies *on the Mahabharata* and the Sakuntala but only we Italians can realize the beauty and the harmony of his poetical translation of the Mricchakatika, which can be considered, as his master-piece, as it is certainly one of the best poetical works of our modern literature. And this was also acknowledged by so great an authority as Poscoli, who, when invited to publish a poetical anthology for our schools, selected many a passage from the large work of Prof. Kerbacker. Owing to these translations, which looked as a revelation from an unknown world, the interest in Indian literature was increasing by and by; so that now Italy is the only country in Europe which has the greatest number of chairs of Sanscrit. Almost every faculty of letters has got its professor of Indology, Ballini and Pezzagalli in Milan, Suali in Pavia, Belloni Filippi in Pisa, Formichi in Rome, Cimmino in Naples, Pavolini in Florence, Vallauri in Turin

I am sure that many of these names are known to our Indian colleagues, because some of these professors not only contributed to diffuse a better knowledge of Indian classics and of Indian thought among our people, but also pursued scientific researches in very scholarly papers and books

The many-sided activity of Prof. Formichi is known to the readers of the *Modern Review* through the article of Prof Kalidas Nag published in the December number. I quote here the "Introduction to the Study of Indian Philosophy" by Suali, which is a serious contribution to the history of Nyaya and Vaisesika and I remember the wonderful activity of a great scholar of whom we can but deplore the immature death and who our Indian colleagues well knew and appr ciated. I mean the Poet Tessitori, who his short life made so many contributio to the history of the Indian vernaculars T Prof. Ballini, specially interested in Jainis and Jaina Pracrits, we owe a very usefu study on Indian metrics based on Sanscr metrical treatises and this work is an attemp to trace the historical evolution of Indi verses

Prof. Belloni-Filippi, besides some lectur he gave in Pisa with Prof. Formichi on Indi philosophy and religions and some very fi and accurate translations of the Svapn vasavadatta, the Charudatta, the Brihad ranyaka Upanishad, particularly studied t Indian versions, editing with a large a a very useful commentary the Naciketa Upakhyanam and published an importa work on the Kathaka Upanishad

Prof Pavolini, in many very scholar papers published in the *Geornale del Socieța Asiatica Italiana*, which with t *Rivista degli studi orientali*, edited by t oriental school at the University of Ro is the most important Oriental Review have in Italy, largely contributed to the stu of Indian novels and poetry. Now, he is p paring a large work on Indian gno literature.

But, as I said before, our Indologists doing not only the work of scholars but a the work of love; and they are seconded the majority of our cultivated people amo whom the interest in India and Indi thought is increasing day by day.

As Prof. Formichi justly remarked in t article on "India and Italy," you can rea how Italians understand India from the e thusiasm they have for Tagore. I think t it is difficult to find another country whe the great prophet of India is more lov We have for the Poet not a mere intellect sympathy but we can feel him. When read his songs, which are an indissolu unity of the good and the beautiful, of thou and religion, of love and hope, we forget t he belongs to another country whose d times are quite different from ours, but discover in him only that deep human which renders his poetry an eternal hy harmony.

And the more we know Tagore, the m we are interested in India. It is evid that a country where such a great man be born and be understood must have

piritual and intellectual value which needs nust represent a great part in the history f modern civilization. So that an increasing interest in modern India begins now mong our people. A serious movement has tarted which tries to diffuse a better knowledge of contemporary Indian art; and of ourse, there is no good artist who does not now the name and the works of Abanindra ath Tagore. We begin to realize that India s no more a dead country, the country of normous poems or mystical speculations, f Yogis and pandits, of Maharajas and nysteries, but a great and living country, r rather a world—so many being the races, e languages, the religions which can be ound in it—a world which has every posibility to announce a new message to uffering humanity. The time has come to ecognize that Indian civilization is no more n object of scientific or literary curiosity. e must acknowledge that the study Sanscrit is no more sufficient order to rightly understand this marvellous ountry. Of course, it will be always necesry, because many features of modern Indian oughts are based on those conceptions which ve been elaborated or which found their st expression in Sanscrit literature. But e cannot forget that new ideas are ising from the older ones, that beside the cient wisdom there is a modern literature, because there is a modern soul. The knowledge of medieval Indian religions, like those of Kabir, Tulsi Das, Nanak—almost ignored in Europe, will throw an unexpected light on this wonderful country, which is an inexhaustible source of thought.

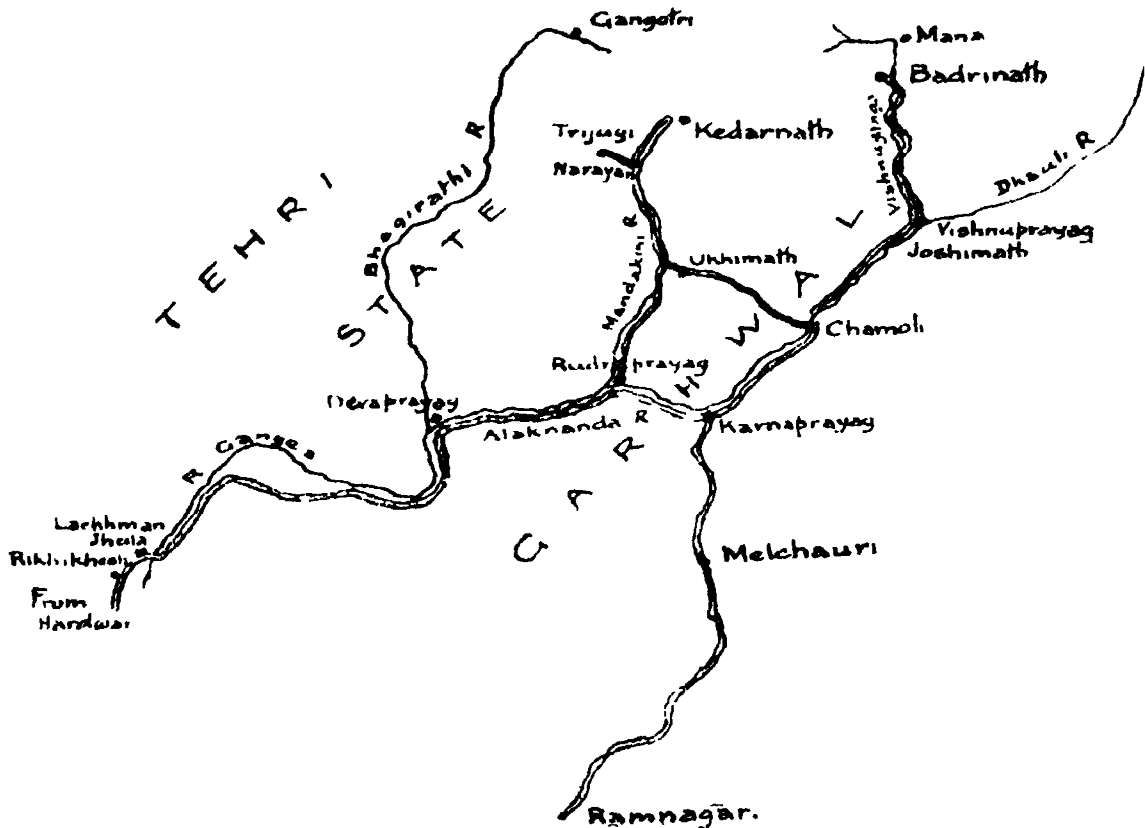
Therefore, I hope the Italian Government, realizing all these facts will establish in some of our Universities a chair of the most important modern literary vernaculars of India. This would be very interesting in bringing about that collaboration among Western and Indian scholars which would prove very useful to our common studies; because I think that it is honest to recognize that if Indian scholars have a good deal to learn from us, we also, on our side, have much to learn from them. Our critical method is greatly advanced: but this is not a good reason for neglecting what our colleagues are working on. The Sanscrit or Pracrit field is so vast and so difficult that a friendly collaboration will be rich of results. We in Italy fully realize the necessity of it, and it was owing to this conviction that Prof Formichi and myself started a new Review; *Studi a Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, specially devoted to the study of Oriental Religions and philosophy in order to establish a regular exchange between Western and Eastern scholarship and to invite also our colleagues of India to work with us.

KEDARNATH AND BADRINATH

By B. CHATARJI, M. A., LL. B.

THE names of Kedarnath and Badrinath are so wellknown in India that little is needed in the way of introduction or xplanation These famous places of pilgrime are both situated in the British District Garhwal, not far from the border of Tibet, the midst of ranges of snow-clad peaks and ant mountains, unrivalled in the whole orld for sublime grandeur. This district is the Hindu 'what Palestine is to the ristian, the place where those whom e Hindu esteems most spent portions of ir lives, the home of the great gods, the eat way to final liberation. This is a living belief, and thousands every year prove their faith by visiting the shrines of Kedarnath and Badrinath. To many the fruition of all earthly desire is the crowning glory of a visit to the sacred places by which the sins of former births are cleansed and exemptions from metempsychosis obtained". (Atkinson's *Himalayan Districts*).

The above aptly describes the importance of these two places among Hindu places of pilgrimage. The present article has been compiled from the notes taken by an English missionary gentleman during his visit to Kedarnath and Badrinath in May, 1923. He



went on foot like other pilgrims sharing with them their hardships and joys He actually covered 450 miles on foot and took six weeks to complete the journey.

The pilgrim route is indicated in the map Most of the pilgrims come by train to Hardwar and either walk or ride to Rikhikesh to which place there is a pucca road. Beyond Rikhikesh vehicles cannot go and the road, averaging about 6 feet wide, follows the valley of the Ganges, sometimes close by the water's edge, sometimes thousands of feet above, now making a detour to avoid some special engineering difficulty, now making a short cut over the shoulder of a hill round the foot of which the river winds until Rudraprayag is reached. After Rudraprayag, the main body of pilgrims leave the river to follow a tributary, the Mandakini. After 35 miles, a short excursion in a westerly direction brings them to a minor sacred place, Trij Narayan. From there they return to t Mandakini and follow it to Kedarnath at source Gigantic snow-clad mountains an impassable glaciers prevent further progr northward, and the pilgrims return along th same road for about 20 miles and then cro ing the Chopta Pass meet the Mandakini aga at Chamboli. From Deva Prayag to Vish Prayag, the river is called Alaknanda an from Vishnu Prayag to Badrinath it is call Vishnu Ganga The pilgrims on their wa back to their homes return to Chamboli an follow the Alaknanda to Karma Prayag an then take another road to Malchuri He they change coolies and proceed to the ra way at Ramnagar.

This gives in a nutshell the whole journ to the shrines of Kedarnath and Badrina We shall now proceed step by step fro



Women in 'Khandi'

e we began to try to an idea of the ukable places to be ed on the journey. e begin from Rikhikesh. miles from Rikhikesh Mon Ki Reti in the i State There coolies engaged by the ims through a contractor is responsible for their l behavior. The coolie the pilgrim each keeps uplicate of the contract. rate of remuneration settled according to umstances and varies iding to the route en, the time of the and the current es of food For 75, a coolie would carry 80 lbs. to the e sacred places, Trijugi Narayan, Kedar- and Badrinath He also gets a rupee a at each of these places, and gets besides a seer of *kicheri* of half anna per diem per gram. If pilgrims want to make their own arrangement for coolies they may do so, but it may be risky. The Nepali coolies are more hardy than the coolies of the Tehri State and can easily carry a load of 120 lbs. while the latter carry only 80 lbs. But recently a woman had been murdered by a Nepali coolie and as these people can easily evade justice by crossing over to the Nepal Territory, they are at a discount. Coolies are not only engaged to carry luggage but they are engaged also to carry pilgrims on what is called a "Khandi", a kind of sedan chair made of a wild plant growing in the hills known as "Ringal". This chair-like basket is carried on the coolie's back. Pilgrims are often fast asleep while they are carried in these chairs and present a ludicrous appearance as their heads roll from side to side as they are carried along by the coolies. There are other methods of conveyance, *viz.* the "Jhampan", a string-woven seat slung on two poles and carried by four coolies. The most comfortable but comparatively costly method of being carried is the "Dundy", a thing familiar to people who have been to a hill-station like Darjeeling. But the majority of pilgrims travel on foot, which is the best method

A mile and a half of almost level ground brings us to Lachman Jhola with its fine suspension bridge about 80 yards long This place is very popular with the sadhus, who live here in large numbers and the river bank is studded with huts on both sides.

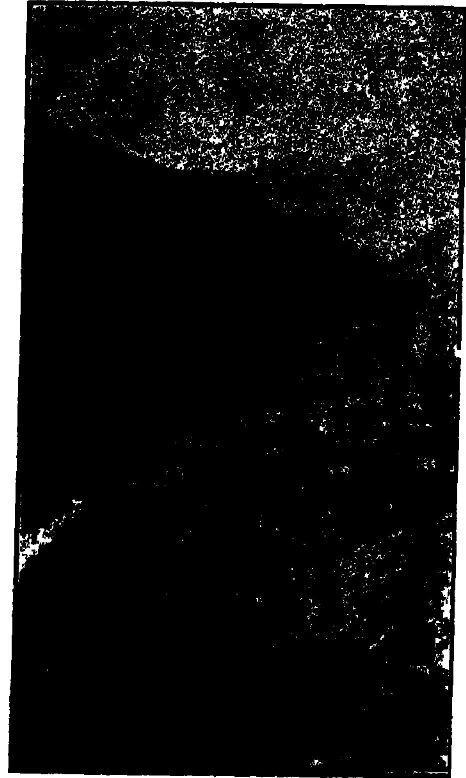


Lachhman Jhula

It is a place of pilgrimage by itself, and large numbers of people visit it from Hardwar, bathe and worship here and return From here onward the real pilgrimage begins Between this and his journey's end, the pilgrim will only find one or two bazaars, which will remind him of his home in the plains, otherwise everything else is different

Chattis are a valuable asset on this pilgrimage. There is a whole chain of them at intervals of about 3 miles They provide shelter to the pilgrims during nights and against inclement weather

They are something like '*Serais*' or halting places familiar throughout India. But they are owned by private persons, who are generally small dealers of grain, fuel, etc, who keep their stall in these "chattis" and expect the pilgrims to buy their requirements from them If a pilgrim violates this convention, he finds himself in hot water and may be turned out of the chatti when the weather outside is most uncongenial and inhospitable Nothing is charged for the use of these "chattis," but, as stated above, the hire is included in the price of food, purchased from these chatti owners Only the utmost necessaries are stocked in these 'chattis', wholemeal flour, ata, rice, dal, salt and pepper are generally the articles stocked. Government spends a lot of money on sweepers to keep these places clean. But still the surroundings are dirty and there is such a host of flies and fleas in these places that no real rest could be had either by day or by night. The pilgrims are also subjected to the constant fea[r of] fire owing to the su[dden] gusts of wind which [sweep] over these places.



Devaprayag



Chatti at Bijni

About 25 miles [...] Lachman Jhola is [...] Ganges gorge The [...] slope of the hill- coming sharp down int[o the] water is typical [of] practically the whole o[f the] course of the river [...] water is opaque, of a [...] greenish-white colou[r and] seems to have a [...] very fine matte[r in] suspension. This [...] colour of the [...] is maintained right to the very source. [...] of the tributaries are crystal clear, bu[t] two kinds of water may be seen ru[nning] side by side for some distance before

ngle Those of our readers who have
en the confluence of the Ganges and
e Jumna at Allahabad will appreciate
s remark.

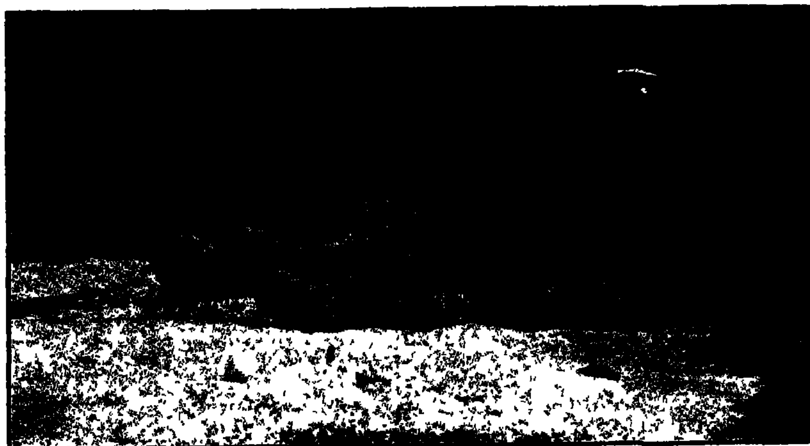
Devaprayag is the first
the sacred junctions
own as "Prayags"
ne the Alaknanda and
Bhagirathi rivers meet
d the united streams are
m this place known as
Ganges The main part
the town perches on
rocky promontory
ween the two rivers
Tehri State, but on the
tish side there is a
siderable bazaar and a
t office The two portions
the town are connected
a suspension bridge.
nions differ as to the
rce of the Ganges Hindu
gious opinion favours



Mukund Temple—31 Miles from Rudraprayag

stream which issues from the Gaomukh
n Gangotri and forms the Bhagirathi
own on the left of the picture). Scientific
nion favours the Alaknanda, which has
much longer course and a much larger
s of water all the year round. It is said
t Ramchandra retired in his old age to
vaprayag for meditation and a temple and
image have been erected in his honour.

Devaprayag is the headquarters of the
drinath Pandas, and judging from the sub-
ntial houses they have been able to build
themselves, they seem to be thriving in
ir business A crowd of these people
round the pilgrims as soon as they set
ir foot on this place and in the manner
Pandas in other sacred places in India,
y question each pilgrim about the district
and village he or she comes from, and unless
one is able to satisfy them that a certain
person is his or her Panda, the whole body of
them consider him or her as fair game. At



Rudraprayag

Devaprayag, there are not many Dharamsalas and pilgrims generally put up in the houses belonging to Pandas, who take care that pilgrims live with them so that they may not lose any of their customary dues

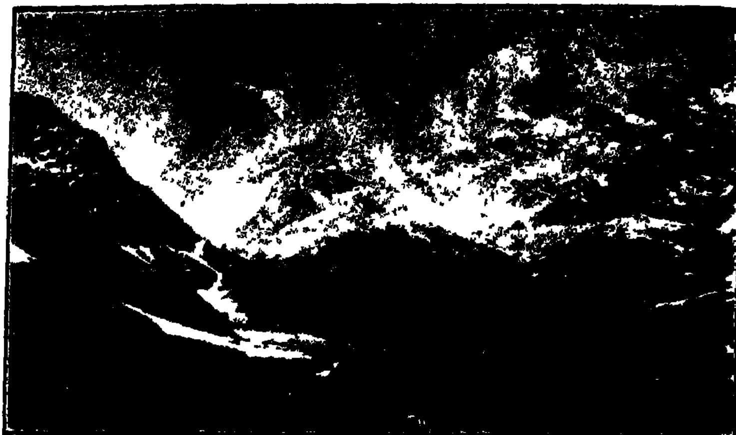
The next 'prayag' is *Rudraprayag* (elevation 1980 feet), where the Mandakini and the Alaknanda meet This place is 90 miles from Hardwar and from here the difficult portion of the journey begins.

As we proceed along the road, we come across groups of Tibetans who carry on trade between India and Tibet and also supply the needs of pilgrims You will often find bands of them sitting in groups taking tea in their own fashion, in little wooden bowls. They do not use milk and sugar with their tea but use instead, ghee and salt just as the Bhutiyas use butter and salt in the Darjeeling Hills.

The next place of importance is *Trijugi Narain*. Here there is the old temple with a small bathing tank where pilgrims bathe. The road from Jamnotri Gangotri joins the road to Badrinath here.

The road near Gaurikund is much narrower and often the descending pilgrims have to stand with their backs to the rock to allow the toilers upward to pass them in safety. The hill-side was most precipitous and to lose one's balance would often mean a sheer drop of some hundreds of feet into the river rushing in a series of cataracts

below. Those conversant with the road think it probable that some lives must be lost in this way each year. So many of the pilgrims are extremely old and feeble that people who seem to be travelling alone and would not perhaps be noticed if they were to fall over In many places the bottom of the gorge cannot be seen and is inaccessible.



Kedarnath Peak, with the Village, at the Bottom

At Gaurikund there are two tanks where the pilgrims take a dip—one in each tank In one the water is pretty cold, about 74°, though the water in the river would be about 46°. In the other tank, situated within 50 yards of the first, the water is 124° and pilgrims who take an honest dip come out gasping.



Above Rambara Chatti

Three miles of stiff climbing from Gaurikund brings one to Rambara, the last *chatti* before Kedarnath. There is a large number of chattis here, as it is a popular halting place and pilgrims have to be accommodated both going up and coming down. It is to be remembered that few people spend the night at Kedarnath owing to its intense cold In the sheltered places near Rambara we come across a lot of snow even in the month of May and some of the chattis are found buried in snow. When the snow begins to melt, great masses come sliding down into the valleys, filling the riverbed from side to side The river (Mandakini) makes a tunnel for itself under the snow and the snow masses form bridges, sometimes of great thickness which in some places form the only means of getting across The picture shows the rapid waters of the Mandakini river just above Rambara, issuing from under one of these snow bridges Even in the month of May, some of the *chattis* lie buried in snow.

Rather two miles of steady climb and all trees are left behind. The mountain sides are saturated with melting snow and little streamlets lined with gold king-cups cross the path every few yards The wild roses too were just coming into flower both blue and purple, and a few mauve and white anemones showed up brightly against the dull brown of the grass that had lain for months under the snow. A sudden turn in the road brings us face to face with the towering Kedarnath peaks, the highest point of the huge mass being 22840 feet high. The village and temple of Kedarnath are visible from above



Kedarnath Temple

thus the spring has acquired a sacred character.

The surrounding country affords other places of interest, among them being the famous cliff from which some devotees used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Shiva. Another place of interest is a frozen lake (frozen for the greater part of the year) about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kedarnath and about 1,500 feet higher It is a most picturesque spot but appallingly cold, the wind coming straight from vast stretches of pure white snow It is said that even now, devotees wander off into these vast snow-fields never to return As one stands looking on the vast stretch of pure white snow, one feels how very easy it would be to get lost in the snows

The village of Kedarnath is not large, consisting of Panda's houses where the pilgrims who are willing to face the rigours of the climate are accommodated A few shop-keepers too live here during the summer months and supply the pilgrims' bodily needs. There is also a post office here.

Though the Badrinath peaks are only 12 miles away from Kedarnath, straight as the crow flies, and Badrinath itself only about 20 or 24 miles, the country in between is utterly impassable and consequently the journey to Badrinath takes about 9 days. The pilgrims return the way they have come

mile away, the last part of e road being almost level

Kedarnath temple and llage stand at the far end of oval valley at an altitude about 12,000 feet There is doubt that Kedarnath has en a sacred place for many ndred years, though the esent temple does not pear to be very ancient. e offerings of the pilgrims a good year amount to out Rs 15,000.

Leaving the busy scene tside the temple where lgrims crowd to press their ay into the temple to have view of the image of God, e sees a small building at a little distance hich has been erected over a spring. Every w seconds large bubbles of some gas burst through the clear water and those favoured th a vivid imagination assert that the rsting bubble says "*Bom Mahadeo*", and



Chaukhamba from above Ukhimath

as far as Bhenta, where the road divides and a sudden descent brings them down to the Mandakini, which is crossed by a suspension bridge and a correspondingly steep climb brings them to Ukhimath. This is the winter headquarters of the Rawal (the High Priest)

of Kedarnath. There is a Government hospital here, which is well patronised by the pilgrims

There is a lake on the top of the mountain above Ukhimath which is of remarkable beauty, and known as Dinri Tal It is an exceedingly stiff climb up an almost perpendicular mountain for three miles but the view from the top there is well worth the effort The lake is surrounded on three sides by deep forests of oak, pine and rhododendron and the latter are such huge trees that one would scarcely believe that it was so unless he saw with his own eyes The fourth side yields the wonderful views of the Kedarnath and Badrinath peaks which on a still day are reflected in the waters The mountain called *Chaukhamba*, visible from here (22,907 ft), is one of the most magnificent peaks in the world.

A few miles beyond *Ukhimath* the ascent of the Chopta Pass begins and for seven miles there is an unbroken rise through the most glorious forest scenery. The next



Vishnuganga Gorge, 2 Miles above Vishnuprayag

objective of the average pilgrim is a temple at the summit of a fine peak over 12,000 feet high called Tungnath.

Nanda Devi (25,660 ft.), the highest mountain in the British Empire, can be seen from Tunganath. Going past Chamboli, we come to Garur Ganga, a tributary of the Alaknanda, where there is a bathing pool and a famous temple, a picturesque spot.

If one is fond of snowy peaks, he can feast himself from the top of a mountain here called the Oli Gursal. It is a diffic climb and the top can be reached af 6 hours' hard climb reaching an elevation 12,454 feet. But one is immensely compe sated · In every direction except the sou one is surrounded by magnificent ranges snowy mountains, the Trisul Ridge bei nowhere less than 20,000 feet for a distan 10 miles.

We next come to Joshimath, one of t four 'maths' established by Shankarachar for his disciples and is now the winter s of the Rawal of Badrinath.

From Josimath the road immediately dr in a zigzag manner down the mountain s



Near Hanuman Chatti, 4 miles below Badrinath — Road near Gaurikund

for 1,350 feet within 2 miles to Vish prayag. This is the junction of the Dha river with the Alaknanda. Above this po the place is called Vishnu Ganga Dhauli river rises near the Niti P into Tibet and one of the main trade rou follows its valleys up to the pass. It co rushing down its steep narrow gorge wi tremendous roar to mingle with the equ swift waters of the Vishnu Ganga.

For the next 10 miles or so, the scen in the Vishnu Ganga gorge is particul fine The mountains rise almost perpe cularly from the stream to a great height both sides, while tall straight chir pine t cling to the rocky precipices in incred places. No European is supposed to beyond Vishnuprayag without permissio the Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal, as is what is called the inner frontier.

"It is not a question of 'colour bar similar restriction prevails all along

kim, *Bhutan and Tibet frontiers and is* *nt perhaps to protect Europeans* *ı straying into dangerous territories as* *as to prevent intrigue in these* *tories* against the British Government.

Ifter a night's rest at Lambagar Chatti cross a small suspension bridge and eed to Hanuman Chatti, the last chatti re the goal. This journey is most lovely, ie road is not difficult and the scenery ıdid. Various kinds of fir trees abound the white wild roses and clematis are ıeır very best and spread fragrance all d Occasionally one has glimpses of v peaks

'he picture illustrates two methods of ıng luggage. A woman with a blanket her shoulder and bundle on her head is method The man in front is carrying bundle suspended over one shoulder. her method is to have two blankets, one hed to each end of a pole carried over shoulder, this method is unsuitable for of the dangerous and narrow parts of oad The method which experience has n to be the best in every way is a le bag slung across the shoulder like a ey's panniers This kind of bag is used ly by country people during railway ıevs in the Central Provinces.



Above (the white line)—Josimath
Belov—Taptkund at Gaurikund



Badrinath Temple and Taptkund

The borderland between India and Tibet is inhabited by a race of people called Bhotiyas They are of Tibetan origin and are known by various local names.

Those inhabiting the Mana Valley in which Badrinath is situated are known as *Marchas.* They claim to be Hindus (unlike other Bhutiyas, who are Buddhists), and as Badrinath is situated in Marcha territory, the Marchas of Mana village receive an annual payment from the temple both in cash and in kind.

"The payment is conditional on the fact that at the Janam Ashtami festival, when the idol is carried through Mana to be bathed at the waterfall and fed at the Mata Murati, the women of Mana led by the Malpa women clothed in festive attire shall sing hymns in honour of the God." (Sherring, *Western Tibet and British Borderland*).

At last the crest of the hill is reached and half a mile away, a little below him, the pilgrim sees the town of Badrinath and the white domes of the temple, the goal for which he has been aiming all these weary days. At the place where the temple is first



Badrinath from North, Showing Narayan Sarbat

sighted, many of the pilgrims prostrate themselves and touch the ground with their foreheads. Just outside the town, there is a well-built Government hospital and a new Dharamsala built by funds left for the purpose by a wealthy Hindu merchant. The river is then crossed by a wooden bridge after which another tributary, the Rishiganga, is forded by a little bridge This stream is fed by the snows of the magnificent Nalikanta.

The temple, which is sacred to Vishnu, has a plain dome very much like what is seen in the Central Provinces and quite unlike the Kedarnath style of architecture seen everywhere else along the route The temple is said to owe its foundation to Sankaracharya. The building has been repeatedly devastat d by earthquakes and avalanches and now has no appearance of antiquity.

"The idol in the principal temple is of black stone or marble about 3 ft high. It is covered with rich gold brocade and above its head is a small mirror which reflects objects from outside. The idol is adorned with one jewel, a diamond of moderate size in the middle of the forehead"

A little way below the temple and reach by a steep flight of stone steps, is "Taptkund" or warm spring where all pilgr are expected to bathe It is at this pl that the Pandas receive their remunerati from their clients The water is not so as in the spring at Gaurikund. A flight steps leads down to the river and some the pilgrims also bathe here. But the wat is freezing cold.

On each side of the southern side Badrinath valley is a high mountain, th are named Nar and Narayan, after the famo Rishis who are said to have lived here the picture Badrinath is seen from the Nor with Mount Narayan behind.

The cold at Badrinath is intense. Durin the day, as long as the sun was shining, th temperature was very pleasant and it was great relief to be in a place where there ar no flies, which are a pest all along th journey in the chattis

Most of the pilgrims at Badrinath put u at the Panda's houses in the town but fo those who do not wish to do so there ar two Dharmasalas belonging to the Kalikam wala Community The pilgrims rarely sta longer than three days at Badrinath. For on thing the living is too expensive and people resources are depleted towards the end o the pilgrimage Some of the prices there wer as follows —Ata (adulterated) 8 as per seer, Pu Re 1 per seer, Dal Re 1 per see., Milk Re per seer, sweets and sugar Rs. 2 per seer. W wood quite unfit for cooking purposes Rs 1-8 per maund. According to Governmen orders, dry wood ought to be procurable in th bazaar from contractors at Re. 1-8 per maund but owing to the swindling of intereste persons, dry wood was unprocurable by th ordinary pilgrim

Just beyond Mana village the valle seems to have been blocked by an enormous land-slide Up on the side of the hill ca be seen the entrance of Vyas Gufa, the cav in which the famous Vyas Muni is said t have compiled the Puranas and th Mahabharata The Saraswati river makes it way through the land-slide and her issues into the day-light after flowing f some distance practically underground It pure blue waters came dashing in a serie cascades from one circular pool to anoth to be absorbed in the turbid water of t *Vishnu Ganga*, which by now seems to hav acquired the name of Alaknanda. Aft crossing the *Saraswati* by the natural brid formed by one gigantic stone which ha

llen *from* above and ιich covers the river ım edge to edge, one has proceed for above half hour before he comes the top of the ridge ım which a magnificent ›w of the Satopanth peak n be obtained. At the ıt of this snow-covered ıuntain meet the two ıcıers which are the urce of the Alaknanda. ı the left, hidden behind e steep mountain, is the lley, which is filled by e Satopanth glaciers, ıding right up to the great aks of *the Chaukhamba. On* right can be seen the Bhagat Kharak ciers A few yards further, one can actually the ice cave out of which the waters the Alaknanda issue from under the cier



Source of Alaknanda

The main object of the journey once omplished, the pilgrims turn thier back on rinath and make their way for home with the speed of which they are capable herto, they have been sustained by the prost of the vision they have been promised and faith in the blessing which they believe l be granted to them as the result of ıı efforts This has enabled them to form wonderful feats of endurance and severance Now, footsore and weary, y still have nearly 200 miles to cover re they can reach the railway As far as mboli nearly 50 miles, the road is familiar beyond that they continue to follow course of the Alaknanda for about 20 es further At Nandprayag, the junction the Mandakini with the Alaknanda, pilgrims bathe again A little further the road passes through some fine pine st at Sonla where some of the large chir s are to be seen

Karnaprayag is the last sacred bathing e There the Pindar river meets the Alaknanda. From Karnaprayag the pilgrims usually leave Alaknanda valley and proceed across the country to Melchanri Here coolies are discharged and fresh ones engaged to go the short way to Ramnagar. At Ramnagar, the pilgrims take train for their respective homes.

Before closing, we should note the remarkable body of Sadhus called "the Kali Kamliwalas." They are the disciples of the saint of that name and do very useful and humanitarian service on this pilgrimage They have got Dharamsalas for the accommodation of pilgrims and also afford medical aid in places where it would be most difficult to secure it otherwise One word more The fine instinct of the ancient Hindus which has invented these glorious though inaccessible places with a religious halo has made it possible for even the humblest to enjoy some of the most glorious scenery in the world These places have not been converted into pleasure or health resorts, as in Europe they would be, (e.g. the Alpine resorts), but man comes back from them chastened and elevated by the mystic atmosphere of the region, supposed to be the abode of the immortal gods, where great seers have sought liberation for themselves and for their race

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE REVIVAL OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

By SRIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, A. M. A. E., M. R. A. S

THE well-known Indian jurist and political leader Sir Hari Sing Gour of Nagpur, when interviewed by a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle*, expressed his opinion that the planning and execution of the New Delhi had been a "colossal failure" As remedies ensuring the artistic regeneration of India in its architecture, he has suggested the *foundation of chairs of Indian Arts in* all the universities of India and planning of artistic buildings and the publication of these plans for the public "The Municipalities," he says, "must encourage the construction of beautiful buildings There is a great future for Indian architecture, a great deal more than the greatest enthusiast can dream of, but it requires sustained effort on the part of the few who take interest in the subject" What Dr Gour has said has long been felt by lovers of Indian Art They have repeatedly urged upon the Government that when erecting buildings with public money the Government should utilise the living Indian tradition In my article in *The Modern Review* for January, 1925, on the "Revival of Indian Architecture" I expressed the same views and invited the special attention of the Indian Municipalities to our revivalistic endeavours I said,

> Modern Municipalities in a Philistine zeal to be up-to-date and sanitary seek to make clean sweep of the old quarters by removing old buildings and opening up new roads flanked by ugly modern buildings. Even the slightest attempt has not been made at conservation by preserving the old-world beauty while introducing sanitation, such as has been done in the old cities of Europe like Venice, Naples, Edinburgh etc. in their older quarters."

Other suggestions I put forward in *The Modern Review*, and I also appealed to my countrymen, through the medium of different papers to take up the cause seriously. Months back, at the annual re-union of the students of the Sibpur Engineering College, I urged upon the necessity of establishing a Chair of Indian Architecture and my views on this matter received the enthusiastic support of most of the students and professors besides some ex-students among whom were some high P W. D Officials The idea did not appeal to the Principal on financial grounds, as there was no money from the Government to establish such a chair—he otherwise appreciated the necessity of teaching Indian Architecture in an Indian Engineering College Recently Rai S. C. Mitra Bahadur, Officiating Chief Engineer of the Calcutta Corporation, wrote to the press suggesting definitely the establishment of chairs of Indian architecture in Engineering Colleges

The excellent suggestion of Dr Gour to prepare plans of artistic buildings and the publication of the same will, I am afraid, fail to serve the purpose for which it is intended, specially in places like Calcutta, unless and until arrangements are made by the Municipality to help the citizens in the actual construction of such buildings I should like to make the following suggestions, therefore, for consideration of my countrymen They may devise other means by which our dying building-art may be revived or developed even in these days when tawdriness receives its permit of existence, and even arrogant existence, in our beautiful new public roads merely on grounds of economy

These are my definite plans —

(1) To establish a new department of Indian Architecture in the leading municipalities, like the departments of water works, drainage, roads and buildings &c. Engineers, Overseers and Draftsmen, with special knowledge in Indian architecture and experience in the construction of buildings in Indian style, shall be employed therein Successful students trained in such an institution as the Jaipur School of Art or of Baroda Kala Bhavan or similar institutions where students have opportunities of coming in actual touch with master-craftsmen or master-builders or experienced engineers from Rajputana or other provinces where Indian architecture is still in vogue as a living thing should be employed in this department. When I visited Baroda, a

engalee young man came to me with a equest to employ him as an Overseer in the ikaneer P. W. D. under me. He had passed ut from the Kala Bhavan and, he said, he ould not get employment in Bengal P. W. D i Calcutta Municipality, where his qualifica-ons were not appreciated Such people should nd scope for their attainments and talents n beautifying our cities

The "Indian Architecture" Department f the Municipalities should deal with the anctioning of plans and construction of uildings in the Indian Style. It should design uildings for the public, if desired, at easonable price and carry out the actual onstruction at the expense of the owner eserving a small profit for its own maintenance ith a view to rescuing Indian Architec-ure from the state of neglect to which it as been consigned by the gradual establish-ent of the "styleless" architecture in our ties Care should be taken to make the esigns simple and cheap at the same time, ot going in for over-decoration but making artistic use of Indian motifs and symbols d bringing a genuine Indian feeling about e structure

Standard plans of various types of uildings—residential, office, school, hospital c should be prepared and kept for sale at reasonably low price like the present system selling *bustee* house plans by the Calcutta orporation Approximate cost of such nstructions should, in all cases, be indicated he Architects and Engineers and Builders Calcutta would then derive help from those andard drawings and specifications in time designing their own buildings

(2) Classes should be conducted in the unicipality to impart instruction on Indian rchitecture The present Engineers and aftsmen of the Municipality, who are trained the construction of the modern hybrid yles of buildings, should be induced receive special training there with a view to aining them to apply principles of Indian ecoration and construction intelligently in heir own line. Just as some English Officials nder the Government acquire a knowledge of he vernacular language and pass a compul-ory test of proficiency, a training on these lines might even be made compulsory, which will ultimately do away with the necessity f having a special department of Indian rchitecture

This Engineering Department of the Municipalities should gradually, as funds permit, and with the increase of funds, be equipped with a Library containing books and photographs. There should be a model room exhibiting models in wood or stone or plaster or clay of distinctive buildings in Indian styles. The Municipalities should use these as well as lantern slides in its work of instruction.

"Roorkee Treatises" have dominated too long our architectural and Engineering de-partments Municipalities like those of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Allahabad etc., should prepare and publish treatises for use in their own districts or provinces, taking into full consideration the local conditions and materials, climatic conditions &c, as well as local usage and traditions in house-building Researches in the study of methods and materials of our older house-building craft and town-planning in different parts of the country, should be encouraged in order to enable us to profit by the old system which have been killed by the P. W. D. specifications

It should be noted in this connection that the durability of old Indian mortar, bricks, stucco-plaster roofing, wall-painting &c, strikes our modern engineers with wonder. A modern building, costing a huge sum, leaks within a year, whereas ruined temples and ghats still seem as fresh as on the day they were finished We must get back these specifi-cations To do that not only the Engineers and others but the general public should be urged upon to find out from the old masons and builders in interior districts not touched by the P. W D, the specifications handed down from generation to generation These specifications for brick and tile-making, pre-paring mortar, stucco-plastering, wall-painting and terracing of the old days superior by far and more suitable than the present day ones—which are mostly the same prescribed by the London County Council and suitable for England alone—should be found out and put to use again The present writer during his stay at Bikaneer and his sojourn in other architectural centres has obtained a few of these specifications from hereditary crafts-men He invites co-operation in this matter.

3. The Calcutta Municipality has a special store section with store-yards. Like that and like the Government Telegraph Store-yard at Alipore or the Government Brick-fields at Akra—a storeyard may be established in or near Calcutta, preferably on the river-side, where standard-sized pillars of different types

brackets, jalis, hand-railings, staircases, *mangala-ghat*, *kalasa*, *kirti-Mukha*, elephant etc, and ornamental and simple mouldings symbolising Mahomedan religion and custom and even the oriental types of bath-tubs, showers, tables, wash-hand basins &c, can be moulded in concrete or other materials or cast in brass and kept for sale Kilns are to be made for manufacturing ornamental bricks and tiles with the figures of *hamsa*, *shankha* (conches), lotus &c

Institutions like the "Kala-bhavan" at Shantiniketan, or the School of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, or even the Government Art School (so long as it has at its head an authority on Indian Art like Mr Percy Brown) should co-operate with the Municipalities and supply terracotta panellings &c, and send students to decorate the rooms of the houses in Indian type, should their services be required

All these works should be directed by experts, assisted by a limited number of experienced stone and brick masons, sculptors and wood-carvers bought from different parts of India. Local students should be trained in such a workshop to be established by the Municipality The problem of unemployment is a serious one and needs to be tackled from various directions Youngmen of moderate education, who find other departments closed against them, can receive training at this Municipal school of crafts, eventually become skilled craftsmen and easily find works There has been no Municipal school of arts and crafts in a big place like Calcutta for taking up the work of beautifying the city as a practical proposition and with that end for view, establishing a storeyard and workshop as suggested, such a practical school of crafts in connection with the work of actual construction of buildings could be started as a matter of course As such combination takes place, the Corporation will work both as manufacturer and supplier of materials and as contractor and will be in a position to erect buildings at considerably lower costs than the P W. D or other private firms can And I am perfectly convinced that such an arrangement will pay its own way and even, if the public are weaned to an appreciation of beautiful buildings, will leave a decent margin of profit to the Municipality and relieve considerable distress through want of employment With the growing demand for Indian style of buildings constructed by Corporation, its storeyards and workshops and kilns may be developed a[s] as the Corporations are organised proper and strengthened in all its branches t[he] Public Works Department will ultimate[ly] cease to be necessary To control its Pub[lic] Works Dept. and to carry on its functio[ns] should be the ideal of our Municipalities [as] it is in all the civilized countries, barring, [of] course, large engineering schemes affecti[ng] the whole country which can be taken up [by] trusts like the Calcutta Improvement Tru[st] and the Calcutta Port Trust etc. The bigg[er] engineering and building firms should c[o-]operate with the Corporation by sendi[ng] their apprentices to the Municipal School [of] Architecture, such as would be establish[ed] if these suggestions are taken up The Govern[-] ment should be properly approached in th[e] matter But our own national resourc[es] should be adequately drawn upon to set a[n] example to the Government In this cultur[al] work, intended to win us *Swarajya* in ou[r] house-building, surely the national funds a[t] the disposal of the Bengal National Counc[il] of Education, the Bengal National Fund th[e] Albert Institute Fund, the Tilak Swaraj[ya] Fund and the Deshabandhu Memorial Fu[nd] should help

4 Special privileges should be given [to] all those proprietors who build houses in th[e] Indian style Thus, the Corporation of Calcu[tta] ordinarily requires that one-third of the tot[al] space must be kept open in all residenti[al] buildings within the city The house-holde[rs] may be tempted to build in the nation[al] style, if special rule is framed that "in cas[e] of buildings erected in Indian style, th[e] space kept open may be one-fourth instea[d] of one-third" Whether such a concessio[n] could be made without affecting gener[al] sanitation is a question which can b[e] threshed out The Calcutta Corporation[n] regulations are *not* the final word on th[e] subject. The plans of old cities like Benar[es] or Ujjain, or of Naples or Venice in th[e] West, which in spite of their narrow an[d] tortous lanes and apparent over-crowding, ar[e] not more unhealthy as compared with Cal[-] cutta or Allahabad, should be studied fir[st] before making a sacrifice of space at th[e] altar of Hygiea. Other concessions may be thought out so as to tempt the proprietors t[o] build in the Indian Style.

5. An Advisory Board or special Com[-] mittee as a step towards ushering in the neces[-] sary movement in establishing Indian Architecture should forthwith be formed in

...e enlightened Municipalities where the ...esentatives of the people have felt the need the revival Such a Board, taking into ...sideration the condition of the town ...cerned, may take up in part, entire, or in modified form, the programme I have ...gested

It is a matter for sincere congratulations lovers of Indian Architecture, to find that national leaders are waking up to the neces- ... of its revival and recognition in our ...munal life Dr Gour's views will be ...red by many ; that the attempt to impose foreign style has produced a soulless ...d style—it has been a "colossal failure." ...should be up to the custodians of our ...onal welfare—the accredited leaders of the ...ple to try to prevent this "colossal ...ure" from perpetuating itself. The genius ...supreme artist in Abanindranath Tagore has ...ply supported the efforts of the present ...ter in what he ventures to consider as a ...onal work He has met with encourage- ...nt from responsible people like Mr ...C Mukherjee, the offg Chief Executive ...cer of the Calcutta Corporation, Rai S C ...a Bahadur, the Chief Engineer and from ...n like Mr O C Gangooly, Editor, Rupam, ...others who share in his belief in Indian ...hitecture. Rabindranath, Sir Jagadish, Gaganendra Nath Tagore and Mr Keshab ...ndra Gupta have been showing by prac- ...l work of building in Indian style that ... consider the thing possible. Can the ...le and their representatives in the ...slative Assembly, Councils and the ...icipal Corporations remain inactive any ...?

Before concluding this paper, there is one ... point to which I would like to draw ... attention of the Feudatory Chiefs of ...a Rajas, Maharajas, and Nawabs, who ...ht cast their eyes on these lines I have ... the course of my travels throughout ...putana and in North and South India ...d to my great disappointment that Indian ...hitecture (in common with other Arts) ...ot only suffering from a general neglect, ... what is worse, it is giving way to the ...dious onslaughts of European Architec- ... Pure Indian motifs are being discard- ...n many new constructions and European ...fs, not at all understood in their history ... significance, are coming in—a Corinthian capital besides a Gothic pointed arch here, a segmental arch beside an Indian bracket there—all this producing a grotesque effect which does hurt the eye of the true art-lover. While I was in Bikaneer, I thought long over this matter, how could this be avoided, and Indian Archi'ecture saved from this inner decay. I attempted to enlist the sympathy of the Ruling Chiefs in doing something preservative in this matter—in forming an Indian Architectural Association, which would endeavour to arrest this decay and disintegration, but my efforts failed through lack of understanding and insight in the proper quarters But the matter is a very vital one for the Indian States. Foreign travellers come to India from the most distant parts of the globe attracted in the first instance by its glorious architecture They come to see real, *Indian* India, and for that naturally they go to the Indian States There are, of course, a few serious scholars who come for Sanskrit and other studies, but to the majority the word *India* evokes a vision of Benares and Agra, Delhi and Jaipur, Jodhpur and Ujjain, Gwalior and Udaipur, Madura and Tanjore, with their wonderful buildings and temples and mosques The foreigner is no longer overwhelmed by the elephants and jewels of the rajas, and their cavalcades and their carriages of state, much less by their up-to-date palaces, their marble *Darbar* Halls in a mongrel European style. But they are impressed by the architectural beauty and grandeur of a Jaipur Street or a Jodhpur Fort or an Udaipur palace, or a Bikaneer *Mahalla*. The Indian Chiefs should know that as things stand, their only heritage (apart from the deathless deeds of some of their ancestors) is the atmosphere of beauty in their cities and that heritage is in danger of being impaired Should Jaipur or Bikaneer become a barbarous mongrel place like Calcutta or Bombay, the Indian princes will not attract a hundredth of the attention they now receive from all foreign British officials and globe-trotters from outside. It is a question for all India, no doubt, but specially for the Feudatory States, for, not only is the special outward manifestation of Indian Culture connected with her architecture, but also the *izzat* of the Indian princes, but even their *raison d'etre* in the pageant of Indian life is based on it.

HOARDING AND CURRENCY REFORM IN INDIA

By PROF. J. C. DAS GUPTA

INDIA is given to hoarding, gold that flows to India seldom comes out of it and adoption of the gold standard by India will cause such a run on the world's reserves of gold as to throw the currency systems of the gold-using countries out of gear—such has been the line of reasoning of a school of thinkers of the West. A study of the extent of this economic evil and the causes which lie at its root is in many ways instructive.

It is well to realise clearly at the outset that everywhere on the globe there is a strong prejudice in favour of gold. Mr Hartley Withers in his 'Business of Finance' says that "owing to centuries of habit and convention, gold is still regarded as the one commodity which can always certainly be relied upon in times of acute crisis." If hoarding of gold is a world-wide vice, India should not come in for special blame, unless it can be proved that she hoards beyond all proportions.

Before we examine the extent of the evil, we must put before our mind a few facts that are not always placed in their proper setting. Firstly, hoarding presupposes a surplus over the cost of living which is non-existent in the case of millions of our countrymen. Secondly, India is fifteen times the size of the United Kingdom in point of area and seven times in point of population. Absorption of the precious metals should, therefore, normally be much larger here than in the United Kingdom. Thirdly, there are only 55 principal banks with 304 branches to mobilise the financial resources of this vast country. Added to these is the fact that as regards education 93 per cent of the population cannot either read or write. Sir Stanley Reed, the able Editor of the *'Times of India'* sums up the position with characteristic lucidity thus.

"The attempt to fasten on India an exceptional and invidious responsibility for the consumption of gold cannot be too vigorously combated…India's normal demand for the industrial arts, and for the satisfaction of the social customs of 315 millions of people was met before the war by about ten millions of gold annually. The United States of America (with a population, be it noted, less than half that of India) was reported recently to be absorbing a million sterling gold per mont for industrial purposes. Yet no one says that th United States is a bottomless sink in the matt of her gold absorption …Every country in th world uses gold and silver for industrial an domestic purposes, and it induces a sense of angr injustice to find that the Indian demand for th precious metals for precisely the same purposes perverted into senseless hoarding, especially wh the history and conditions would justify a larger gold absorption than the western natio with their general literacy and highly organis credit system can claim."

An examination of the currency history of th country makes it abundantly clear that peop in India were never guilty of an excessi fondness for the yellow metal. India was gold-using country in the past and "hoarding to quote the words of the Fowler Committe "did not render a gold circulation impossibility in the past." As early as 18 Lord Dalhousie had to demonetise gold stop the flow of gold coins coming into t Government treasuries; gold coins return freely to the treasuries again in 1900, t year in which an attempt is said to ha been made to introduce gold coins in circulation in India. It is surpris to find that these instances of go flowing to the treasuries were taken imply that people in India did not des to have gold coins. If, on the other han such coins had not returned, that wo have been doubtless attributed to Indi innate habits of hoarding!

The key to the causes of the absorpti of gold coins in India is really to be fou in the currency policy of the country possible human contrivances have been ma use of to stop the free flow of gold to Ind The system of selling Council Bills in limited quantities was inaugurated in 19 when this could not check the flow, a bra of the Paper Currency Reserve was ope in England. The Gold Note Act, a tempo measure passed in 1898, was, on the ple giving elasticity to the Indian note syst made a permanent act. Finally, it rem to add that gold accumulations in the Pa Currency Reserve in India have often diverted to England. The result of

stematic policy was that the end of the ar, which saw Japan and America suffering om a plethora of gold, found India one the largest suppliers of war needs, in a onetary crisis which could be tided over ly by help from America. Scarcity of ld, on account of such restrictions on dian imports of gold on the one hand and too extensive use of the token currency, invariable concomitant of the gold change standard, on the other, have brought esham's Law into operation sovereigns ve gone out of circulation. It is but tural that people should desire to store ir values in full-bodied gold coins rather an in the debased rupee.

But hoarding or no hoarding, India must ve the right of self-determination in economic matters. "It is the inalienable right", says an eminent writer, "of every creditor country to determine for itself the form in which its debts shall be paid" and no attempt should be made to deprive India of her legitimate share of the world's stock of gold. The Gold Exchange Standard has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, Indian opinion is, therefore, unanimous in the view that an effective gold standard based on the principles of the free inflow and outflow of gold can only solve our exchange difficulties The last two Commissions recognised the importance of 'giving the people' the form of currency which they demand and it rests with the present Commission to give effect to the expressed will of the people of the soil.

REVEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed · Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujrati, Hindi narese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, riodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine ticles addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowged, nor any queries relating thereto answered The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc, ording to the language of the books No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.— itor, M R]

ENGLISH

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDER A BUREAUCRACY *John Dickinson, Jun., M R. A. S, F. R G. S., ndon 1853 Reprinted and Published by Major D Basu, I M S (Retd) Bahadurganj, Allahabad ce Rupees Two.*

This book was written on the eve of the mination of the East India Company's Chartor in 1854, and its object was to investigate the racter of the alterations to be effected in the stitution of the Government of India. The ter seemed to think that all would be well if Indian Government were made directly ressible to the Parliament at home. We now w after all these years, that he was labouring er the greatest of delusions. The Mutiny of was almost foretold by him in the following sage

"I am convinced that the Government will some regret the system that is making so many mies It will some day absorb a native state many, and feel a pang like one who has put a t into his mouth with a hornet in it.....a m may arise in India which will cost us more maintain our power than all we have gained, an ever hope to gain, by our confiscation."

Since then, India has been brought directly under the crown, but all that he complained of, flourishes like the green bay tree, as the following extracts will show. Even the attitude of the Parliament, now made directly responsible for the Government of India, is substantially the same as it was at the time of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813 and 1833, of which the author speaks as follows :—

1813

"The natives of India were treated like so many cattle. Their interests, their feelings, their hopes, and their fears, were alike forgotten. The only thing the House of Commons was well informed about was certain private, pecuniary, English interests. The battle of the Charter was fought over the heads of the natives, by parties eager for their trade, but too eager to give a thought to the myriads of human beings who yielded its profit. The leaders in the House of Commons, that is ministers intent on securing Parliamentary support, Directors and merchants, greedy for private interests, at length struck their bargain, and having done the best they could for themselves, and professed much concern for' the natives, they agreed on a fresh twenty years

lease of India, to the old irresponsible Government."

1833

"They met the judicial evils by the mockery of an additional member of Council at Calcutta; they met the necessity of appointing the natives to high office, strongly insisted on by such men as Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Munro, by the mockery of declaring their eligibility and leaving it to the Directors to carry out this eligibility, who of course treated it with utter contempt

"In fact, they showed as before, that the only matters on which they were really well informed were certain private, pecuniary, English interests."

I. THE ARGUMENT THAT NO CHANGE IS POSSIBLE BECAUSE INDIANS CANNOT AGREE

"I shall be met, I know, by the old argument that the Legislature cannot make any change because Indian reformers do not agree among themselves upon what ought to be done. But is this argument really serious? Why, men must have remained savages ever since the creation of the world, if nothing had ever been done till all men were agreed upon what ought to be done. The argument is as much as to say that there shall be no progress until a condition is complied with, which is notoriously impossible. Besides, I apprehend that it is not merely the function of legislators to redress grievances, but their duty to find out the means of doing so. There is not the same obligation on a private person who proves the grievance, he is only one of the patients, a legislator is the state physician, and if it is not the business of members of Parliament to know and apply the proper cure for political grievances, then what is their business?"

II. BURKE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE STATESMANSHIP OF A BUREAUCRACY

"Burke's description of the statesmanship of a bureaucracy is not in the least exaggerated, "there is no trade so vile and mechanical as Government in their hands A large, liberal, and prospective view of the interests of States, passes with them for romance; and the principles that recommend it, for the wanderings of a disordered imagination Littleness in object and in means to them appears soundness and sobriety."

III THE INDIAN DRAIN

"The *effect of foreign maladministration in draining away the capital of the natives of India.* Independent of the illegitimate gains of the last century, of the enormous sums of money abstracted from the country in good old times, when it was possible for a young Englishman to go out with nothing at all, and return at the age of thirty-four with a fortune of a million sterling (vide the histories of Clive, Paul Benfield, and scores of obscure "Nabobs"), independent of the savings of English officials, who monopolise the most lucrative employments in the State, and go home, of course, when they have realised a fortune—independent of the "resumptions" of landed estates and the gradual extinction of the native princes who spend their incomes in the country, to make room for more English officials—in other words, to provide more patronage for the Home Government—independent of all this, there is a regular drain in hard cash every year of about three millions sterling from India, for claims in England designated "the Home Charges"

Now, it has been said by the historian, Professor Wilson, that the transfer of surplus revenue to England is an exhausting drain upon the resources of the country, the issue of which is replaced by no reflux, it is an extraction of the life-blood from the veins of national industry which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore," and some such effects must result from the annual transfer of so large a proportion of the produce of Indian taxes to England"

IV. THE LIBERALITY OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS—TO WHOM?

"I often hear people talk of the *liberality of the Court of Directors*; and many instances of this liberality to their servants and friends, and relations or connections, have come to my knowledge; a liberality visible in hard cash, and paid for with the ryot's money. But I confess I should like to see some exercise of this liberality to save these poor people dying of famines What with over-assessing them, and destroying the aristocracy, merchants, and manufacturers, we have reduced them to a low ebb and the liberality of the Court of Directors would be well employed in saving them from local famines"

V. QUOTATION FROM AN ENGINEER ON FAMINES

"Lord * * * wonders at my vehemence about public works; is he really so humble a man as to think no better of himself than to suppose he could stand unmoved in a district where 250,000 people had perished miserably of famine, through the neglect of our Government, and see it exposed every year to a similar occurrence?" (Remember that, reader!) "If his Lordship had been living in the midst of the district at the time, like one of our civilians, and had every morning to clear the neighbourhood of his house of hundreds of dead bodies of poor creatures who had struggled to get near the European in hopes that there perhaps they might find food, he would have realised things beyond what he has seen in his * * * shire park."

VI. SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE, NOT THE PRINCIPLE OF BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNMENT

"I know not if my feeble voice can reach my countrymen, but if it can, I tell them plainly that the bureaucratic Government to which they have entrusted the irresponsible despotism of India has not secured the happiness of the natives in their person, honour, property, or moral sentiments; it has not acted on what ought to be the principle of every Government, *viz.*, to serve the people, and root the sovereign in their interests and affections. Instead of this, it has acted on a system of distrust, and exhaustion, like that of a bad tenant who feels that his lease will soon expire, and scourges that land to get all he can off his farm before he is forced to quit?"

VII. ABSENCE OF COMPLAINT, NO PROOF OF GOOD GOVERNMENT

"It is a great mistake to suppose that the times about which history is silent are the l

mitous to mankind. All calamities are not ...ical; they require a certain dignity, a certain ...ent connection with politics and individuals ...hich all the world can see the chain of causes ...effects before they attract sufficient notice to ...corded in history. But calamities may afflict ...ation, not the less real because from their social ...re silent, by which a whole people may feel ...nselves, as men more than as citizens, degraded, ...oralised, disgraced in their own eyes, ruined ...their fortunes, and deprived of hope so long ...lose the power of voluntary effort; and all this ...out the connection between politics and their ...lition being evident to the world, or any ...natic effect of public interest attracting notice ...heir inward bleeding wounds.
...shall endeavour to show the reader that this ...been the case in India notwithstanding the absence of complaint."

I. India Happier under Native Sovereigns than under a British Bureaucracy

"The more I study the subject, the more I feel ...owing conviction that the natives were happier, ...merely under their good princes, but happier ...er the average of their native sovereigns, than ...have been under an English Bureaucracy.
...n discussing this point, we have always ...erto had the advantage of being the judges in ...own cause, therefore, because we first acquired ...er in India during a revolutionary period, we ...assumed that the normal condition of Indian ...ernment was a chronic state of revolution, ...we have assumed that the mass of the people ...t have been miserable, because we can prove ...many of their native sovereigns were warlike, ...el, &c But we must recollect that India is ...arge as the whole of Europe; and suppose ...were to apply the same ingenious process of ...ination to Europe that we do to India,*— ...ose we were to reckon up the wars and acts ...ppression of Europeon princes, as we do for the ...c princes, down to end of the eighteenth ...ry and calculate the amount of bloodshed and ...n misery caused by the ambition and selfish ...erence to the fate of the masses—suppose we ...to rake out of a few centuries of history, for ...pe as we do for India, all the deliberate ...es inflicted on mankind by religious fanati...—finally, suppose we were to see what the ...pu-writers of the time say of the condition ...e great bulk of the people in Europe, down to ...riod of the French Revolution?
...We were to do this with any good faith, we ...d begin to find it impossible to cast the first ...at India. We should begin to admit that if ...had been wars, if there had been bigotry, if ...had been misgovernment in India, there had ...such things elsewhere. But there had been ...compensations in India, there had been long ...ished Governments, and great masses of ...nted subjects, the Mahomedan conquerors ...settled in the country, and identified them... with the interests and sympathies of its ...itants, they had as the rule, respected the ...ms and religion, and private landed property ...e people, and any infraction of the rule was ...mned by their own historians as it would be by Europeans; they had preserved the municipal institutions, and arbitration system and excellent police, which gave the best security for person and property at the least cost, they never burthened the country with a *national debt*, and had spent great sums out of the taxes for the people, on public works and grants for education, and had not attempted to destroy their native aristocracy, whose capital was the support of the labourers, manufacturers, and merchants of India; finally, they had not treated the people as an inferior race of beings, they had maintained a free social intercourse with them; they had not confined them to such low ill-paid offices as they could not fill themselves, they had frequently left the most important share of the civil offices of State in their hands, and had allowed them to rise daily from among the lower orders to all ranks of civil and military employment, which "kept up the spirit of the people," said Mr. Elphinstone.

In short, the Mahomedans did not, by dividing the community into two distinct bodies of privileged foreigners and native serfs, systematically degrade a whole people. In a long course of time, and among a hundred millions of men, they had oppressed many, but they had left hope to all, they had thrown open to all their subjects the prizes of honest ambition, and allowed every man of talent, industry, and courage to aspire to title of honour or political power of high military commands, with corresponding grants of land

Very different from this has been the Government of the English conquerors of India.

We have kept the peace in the country for our own sakes, and this has of course, to a certain extent, increased cultivation and commerce, because the instinctive efforts of men to better their condition will always ensure the material progress of any people, until they reach the point where misgovernment sets a limit to progress.

But this benefit of keeping the peace in India is the only one our rule has conferred on the natives to make up for the loss of all the compensations mentioned above, and if I show this to be the case—if against one benefit is to be set our systematic impoverishment and degradation of a whole people, what will after ages say of our passion for aggrandizement in India?

IX. "The Blessings" of British Rule

"And why, for what purpose, is this incessant aggrandizement? Is it to give the natives "the blessings of British rule?" Let us see what these blessing have been.

"1stly. In Bengal, by one of the most sweeping confiscations the world ever saw, we transferred the whole landed property of the community to a body of tax-gatherers, but under such conditions that this body of newly-invented landlords were ruined almost to a man, and sold up by our Collectors, and their estates transferred to new men, within ten or twelve years; and in making the new landlords, we promised legislative protection to their tenants, yet we have left them from that day to this at the mercy of the Zemindars, and only the other day it was said by the "Friend of India," Sept. 16th:—"A whole century will scarcely be sufficient to remedy the evils of that Perpetual Settlement, and we have not yet begun the task. Under its baneful influence, a population of more than twenty millions have been reduced

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*Vide Gulliver's defence of "his dear country" ... king of the Brobdingnags.

to a state of such utter wretchedness of condition and such abjectness of feeling as it would be difficult to parallel in any other country."

"2ndly. In Madras, by another sweeping confiscation, perhaps without a precedent in history, we assumed that the Government was the owner of all property in land, and that, in the words of Government, we should "avoid all material evil if the surplus was in all cases made the utmost extent of our demand." this being the landlord's rent, and leaving to the cultivator only a bare sufficiency for his own subsistence, and this surplus produce being demanded from the riots, not as a corn-rent but as a money rent, and being assessed and collected in districts averaging 7000 square miles, and 150,000 individual tenants, by one or two Europeans, assisted by informers, with notoriously incorrect surveys

"3rdly When this Ryotwari system had ruined Madras, we forced it upon Bombay, in spite of Mr Elphinstone's opposition, and nowhere did we at any time lower our assessments until the agriculturists were beggared, and we retain the system to this day.

"4thly We established and maintained for the better part of a century, transit duties, which broke the manufactures, decayed the towns and demoralised the people of India, and left it a matter of wonder that any trade could be carried on at all.

"5thly. We destroyed those municipal institutions which had, according to Mr. Elphinstone, "preserved the people of India through all their revolutions, and conduced in a high degree to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence" We destroyed these and with them the excellent arbitration system and native police which gave the people full security for person and property at the least possible cost, and we set up instead an exotic system of English law, which has utterly deprived the people of security, besides corrupting their morals, that in our civil courts, "which give every opening for fraud, perjury, and forgery," all the most important interests of the country have been rapidly converted and transferred, and no man's estate is safe, and in our criminal courts, nothing but his most singular ill-luck can bring an accomplished criminal to justice; and even within a circle of sixty or seventy miles round our capital city of Calcutta, no man of property can retire to rest without danger of being the victim of Dacoits before morning.

"6thly. We levied great taxes on the people, and drained away one-seventh of their net-revenue to England, at the same time burthening them with a *load of national debt* for the *first* time in their history; and yet in spite of their admitted rights and necessities, we gave them back next to nothing in public works, never anything for education unless forced by pressure from without and the vigorous initiative of private individuals, and then as little as possible; and in most districts beyond comparison less for roads, bridges, tanks, &c., than has been given by wealthy native merchants and country gentlemen

"7thly. We have long been systematically destroying the native aristocracy, who furnished consumers for the articles of commerce and luxury, who stimulated the production of the labourers, the manufacturers, and the merchants, who were the patrons of art, the promoters of agricultural improvement, the co-operators in public works, the only class who could enable us to carry any comprehensive amelioration of native socie and we are extinguishing the native States which the effect is, according to Sir Thomas Mun 'in place of raising, to debase the whole peop and according to the Duke of Wellington, degrade and beggar the natives making them enemies," and meanwhile, our threat of absorpt hanging over their heads, deprives both prin and aristocracy of any inducement to improve tl country

"8thly. We regard the natives rather as vass and servants than as the ancient owners a masters of the country, we have as little possible of social intercourse with them, and though we allow them to do above ninety-sev per cent of the work of administration, we mo polise the credit and emoluments of it, and k every high office for ourselves. The establishme of our rule in any part of India at once shuts t door on the honest and laudable ambition of t natives, all prospect of enjoying those honours a distinctions, and lucrative situations of trust a power, which reconcile men to the oppressions arbitrary rulers in natives is thenceforward cut of we divide the community into a government foreign officials on the one hand, and a nation serfs on the other, of foreigners, constantly shi ing their quarters, having no permanent connectio with the country, and always looking forward t the day when they shall return to England w a fortune, and of serfs, who are the natives of th land, linked and identified with its interests an sympathies, and many of whom are regarded a little better than menial servants, who might hav been governors of provinces but for us, all of whom as a rule are confined to such low, ill-paid offices as the Covenanted Civil Service disdains to accept

"And therefore is the spirit of India broke under the Company's government—therefore do we hear of robberies and oppressions in Oude an Hyderabad and yet the people do not fly to us because hope is with them, and the future is not blank, instead of flying into our territory, they fro m it, often in flocks, come into it, they nev do only the other day some important works the Kistnah were stopped because the people of the country fled, *en masse* into the Nizam's dominions

"And why do they prefer to live under "effete native Government"? because they do not feel them selves degraded as they do under us, for it is n the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, l subjugation to a foreign one that destroys nation power and extinguishes national spirit, and wi this the mainspring of whatever is laudable bo in public and private life—but we make them fe the rule of the stranger to their heart's core w set a barrier of privilege between the natives an their foreign masters · the lowest European offi in a black or red coat, is above every native gentle man, though the latter may be the descendant of line of princes, and is often a man of the mo chivalrous feelings and the highest accomplish ments, nevertheless, we treat them as an inferi race of beings, and we are making them so o monopoly of every high office, from generation generation, is systematically degrading the peop of India; the deterioration of native charact under our rule is manifest to every one, and s

mas Munro went so far as to say, "it would more desirable that we should be expelled n the country altogether, than that the result of system of Government should be such an ment of a whole people." Here are samples the blessings of British rule '"'

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE ARISTOCRACY

shore says "To bring the subject home to English heart and mind, let us turn our thoughts own native land, and compare the effects proed by individual example and influence there, what might have been the case here Let represent to ourselves an English country leman, overlooking his estates, promoting the rovement of agriculture, superintending the s and public buildings, and subscribing to the charities as a neighbour, opening his house, by his hospitality affording the means of l intercourse to his neighbours, all the dit members of his family contributing their to the general good. Contrast the picture the state of things in India. The upper es of the natives, who used to occupy the situations, ruined, and their places supplied foreigners, who keep aloof from the people, whose ultimate object is to return to England a fortune ' He adds: "As to the number of ctable people who have suffered, let any one English stations, few and far between, and to the country towns and villages and there e innumerable houses which not many years were in good repairs, and inhabited by men ived in the style of gentlemen, keeping up ishments and servants, horses, elephants, and ages, but which are now all falling to decay, their owner or their descendants are ing in mud huts, with little more than the t necessaries of life" And let the reader ect that the *destruction of the native aristo-* is still going on with unremitting vigour, of the "blessings of British rule."

SUBMISSION TO FOREIGN RULE, NO INDICATION OF NATIONAL COWARDICE

ord Ellenborough said last session, that "no gent people would submit to our Govern- and though he alone would say it, I am ed in my own mind that many think it, and my countrymen in their hearts despise the of India, because they do submit to our rnment

evertheless this submission does not argue dice in those who submit We enforce subon by an overwhelming mercenary army; and ng as that army is faithful, submission is a of necessity, but although, under such nstances, they submit to our Government, is not a race on the face of the earth who more personal courage than the men of and the fact is not altered by their subn to us, because the bravest people in the may be subjugated by foreigners, when they ivided against themselves, which was the with the natives of India when we founded mpire there.

nd not only were they divided, but for half ntury before an opening was given for our macy, the great powers of the country had shattered by wars, which may be called wars ants, from the magnitude of their operations In the last great battle, in 1808, which decided the contest between the Mahrattas and Rajputs, the forces brought into the field by the latter were 125,000 strong, and by the former 111,000 strong,

"I could add many other proofs of the personal bravery of the natives, but it has always been conspicuous: so I will merely remind the reader of the brilliant native armies of Clive, Lawrence, and Coote, which carved out our way to empire. And yet those armies, unrivalled for valour and loyalty, were officered by native gentlemen, with only one or two Europeans to a brigade, and this was our original system in India, until the thirst for patronage, as usual, surmounted every other consideration, and substituted European for native officers."

THE COMPANY AND THE CROWN *By Hon'ble T. J. Havell-Thurlow, William Blackwood and Sons, 1866 Reprinted and published by Major B. D. Basu I M. S. (Retd). Bahadurganj, Allahabad.*

This book was written shortly after the transfer of the Govt. of India from the East India Company to the Crown. It appears to have been written in the interests of the services and contains some pen pictures of civilians and military men but very little of general interest to the people of India nor is the tone of the book quite sympathetic and liberal. Major Basu's reprints are usually very carefully selected, but in the present instance he seems to have backed the wrong horse, and we say this after a careful perusal of the whole book The Calcutta High Court was established during the regime of Sir Charles Wood, and the following extract will prove of interest

"Its doors were also to be open to barristers from home, and on its bench two new and startling precedents had been adopted. Natives were to be appointed to this high tribunal...the effect of this was quite electrical·· ··Ramaprosad Roy was a name, at the very sound of which corrupt Vakils or pleaders quitted court. He was without price, and the office had been made for him, but ere the letters patent had reached Calcutta he had died. Sambhunath Pandit Roy Bahadur, indeed, was found to reap the honours invented for another; but the new High Court went forth shorn of its greatest ornament."

INDIA REFORM TRACTS. NOS IV AND IX. LONDON 1853. *Reprinted and published; by Major B. D. Basu I. M. S. (Retd) Price 1 as. each.*

These tracts were written with a view to the renewal of the Company's charter in 1854. No. IV is headed 'The Native States of India' and No. IX 'The State and Government of India under its native rulers' The following extracts will show the drift of these pamphlets :—

SIR THOMAS MUNRO: IF ALL INDIA COULD BE BROUGHT UNDER THE BRITISH DOMINION

"I doubt much *if the condition of the people would be better than under their native princes.* The strength of the British Government enables it to put down every rebellion, to repel every foreign invasion, and to give to its subjects a degree of protection which those of no native power enjoy. Its laws and institutions also afford them a security from domestic oppression unknown in those States, but these advantages are dearly

light on London during the Dutch War of 1665-1664 and the Great Plague.

THE RISE OF THE IMAMS OF SANAA. *By A. S. Tritton. (Oxford University Pr. 1925) Pp. 150 Price Rs. 6*

Sanaa is a small (present population 18,000 souls) but very ancient town, the capital of Yaman or the south-western province of Arabia. As it lies in the farthest corner of the Islamic world, its history has been most "turbulent" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, C. 145) It has frequently changed masters, *e.g.*, in the *twelve* years from 901 to 913 A. D., it was taken no less than *twenty* times. Only one small sector of the bewilderingly changeful history of this town is dealt with in the volume before us, *viz.*, its conquest by the Imam Md. Qasim of the *Zaidi* section of the Shias, from the hands of the Ottoman Turk's governor, 1628-1631 A. D. In this book, which was his doctorate thesis at the University of Edinburgh, Dr Tritton has translated and annotated an anonymous and fragmentary Arabic MS (ascribed to Sayyid Ahmad-ush-Sharafi), "controlling the story" with the help of three other Arabic books in the British Museum dealing with the period

As a piece of microscopic study of a small and obscure dynasty in a far-off and obscure nook of Dar-ul-Islam, the volume may have value for minute specialists But the general reader is apt to be repelled by the abundance of proper names, the lack of a clear outline of the history of Sanaa (which might have placed the incidents described in this volume in their true perspective) and the translator's omission to supply modern conveniences like sectional headings and Christian equivalents of Hijera dates The 9th chapter on religion and social life, though short (11 pages), is interesting

J SARKAR

SOME SAYINGS OF THE BUDDHA (ACCORDING TO THE PALI CANON) *Translated by F. L. Woodward, M. A. (Cantab). Oxford University Press Pp 356. The book consists of passages from the Vinaya Pitaka, the Four Great Nikayas and the short Nikayas.*

Among the many religious beliefs originating in the speculative Oriental mind, Buddhism is one which becomes increasingly attractive to Occidentals. In the number of its adherents and in the area of its prevalence, Buddhism surpasses any other creed ; and its existence through twenty-four centuries entitles it to be considered one of the most venerable forms of belief Mr. Woodward's only desire seems to be, to make this book an ambasssdor of goodwill and understanding betwees East and West—the old world of Thought and the new of Action. He has succeeded in his attempt through his own veneration for the sayings of the Great Lord Buddha

A BOOK OF MODERN VERSE *Chosen by J C Smith. Oxford University Press. Price 2/6 d. Pp 63.*

This is a collection of poems of the Modern English poets including Mr. Bridges, Mr Kipling, Mr. Masefield, Mr. Rupert Brooke. The poems are well chosen. The books gives the reader a fair idea of the later 19th century and 20th century English poetry. It is a finely got-up book

CONQUEST OF BENGAL *By Basanta Cooma[r] B[...] M. A. B L. Chuckerverty Chatterjee and Co L[...] Calcutta, pp. 99, price annas 8.*

The author has shown with apt quotat[ions] from the best authorities that Bengal was [...] conquered by the East India Company.

YOUTH AND THE NATION · *By T. L. Vasw[ani] Greater India Series Ganesh and Co. Mad[ras] As. 1. Pp. 31.*

Mr. Vaswani calls the Youth—the Energ[y] Renewal He gives his message of hope to the Yo[uth] of India and the high place that is India's [...] in the regeneration of the world is depicted w[ith] emotion He says, "India's way will not [be] the way of Violence and War. We must sh[...] *Shakti* before we reach Freedom or Freed[om] reaches us

S K [...]

C R DAS *By S. N. Bisi. Published by [...] Gurudhanath Mitra from the Book Compa[ny] College Sq., Calcutta Pp 76, 1925, Pri[ce not] mentioned*

This book is the English translation of the aut[hor's] Bengali book entitled "Reminiscences of My Mas[ter] Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das." The autho[r has] portrayed the greatness of Deshbandhu's soul a[s it] was reflected in the sundry little events of his eve[ry] day life. We hope that this illustrated book wi[ll be] of interest to all who adore the memory of De[sh]bandhu Chittaranjan. The printing and get-up [of] the book leave nothing to be desired.

P C S

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HINDI

JIBAN KA SADVYAYA :—*Haribhau Upadhy[aya] Navajivan Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad, Pri[ce] Manava Jiban ka Vidhana—Sankaram, [...] The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Price -/12-*

These two books are translated from the Eng[lish] work called "The Economy of Human Life" w[hich] is said to be "written by an ancient Brahm[in]" On the whole both these translations are tole[rable]. The title could best be translated as "Man[ava] Gita" or "Jiban-Gita"

SURYYA SIDDHANTA · *By Mahavir Prasad Sri[vastava] B. Sc., L T, Vijnan Parisat, Allahabad.*

The first chapter of the Suryya Siddhanta w[hich] is called "Madhyamadhikara" is translated and [ex]plained in this book. The charts, diagrams, and [cal]culations are very useful and lucid. The wr[iter] discusses other editions of the original, and [...] compares with the theories of modern West[ern] Astronomy

PRACHIN BHAGAVATGITA *Mangalananda [...] Ahamabad*

We congratulate the writer for publishing [the] old text of the Gita which was at first disc[ussed] by Dr. N G. Sardesai in his article, "[...] Bhagavat Gita from the Island of Bali", in [the] "*Modern Review*" of July, 1914. The text con[tains] only 70 slokas unlike the ones current in [...] containing 700 slokas. The writer tries [his] utmost in establishing the link between these slokas.

BRAHMA YAJNA: *By Swami Mangalananda ...n. Saraswatindra Pustakalaya, Benares.*

This pamphlet contains original texts and ...lish and Hindi translations of the various Vedic ...ntras relating to Gayatri.

RAMES BASU

—

MARATHI

...IFE OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT: *By Malhar R. ...nis, edited with copious notes by Rao Bahadur ...unath Narayan Sane. (Kalayan, 1921.) Pp. 16+ ...76 Price Rs 2.*

...he lives of Shivaji and his descendants written ...arathi by Malhar Ramrao, a hereditary clerk ...nis) of the Rajahs of Satara, in 1810, is the ... source of Grant Duff's history so far as these ...s are concerned. The section of this work ...ng with Shivaji the Great was first edited and ...ed by Rao Bahadur N. V. Kirtane and ran into ...ond edition in 1894. It has long been out ...int And now an altogether new edition has ... published by Sane with admirable industry ...holarly accuracy Every variant has been ...ed with meticulous care, on the basis of three ...scripts Kirtane had changed the language of ...riginal and modernised the text in many ...s' Sane's edition wisely avoids such methods ...ul to scholars. His notes are minute, bulky ...valuable Thus, in chapter one, the text (with ...otes too) covers 32 pages, while the separate ... appended to the chapter run to 21 pages! ...efore this, Sane had edited the second and ...section, of the vast history of Chitnis, namely ...eigns of Shambhuji, Rajaram and Shahu. In ...ion, he had published with scholarly notes the ...*sad Bakhar* and the *Bhau Sahibanchi Bakhar* ... of which have gone into several editions ...is pleasing to note that Rao Bahadur Sane, ... has already exceeded the length of days ...ed to man by the Psalmist and has had more ...an ordinary share of sorrow and sickness, is ...ontinuing that service to Maratha history to ...h he has consecrated his long life. His last work ...s even greater care and even finer scholarship ...his earlier works, deservedly admired as these

...o Bahadur Sane in his Apology (nivedan) ...3 (rendered into English here by the reviewer) ...s

...next learnt that the finely written MS. [of ...*Chitnis Bakhar*] belonging to the Maharajah ...tara had gone to Seth Mawji of Bombay and ...the Sethji would study the MS. for 2 or 3 ...hs and then return it. So I wrote twice or ...e to him. Then came his reply—'I am still ...ged in reading Chitnis's autograph work and ...fore the aforesaid life is not being returned'. ... months later I wrote to the Sethji offering ...nd a man to him to fetch the book,.. to which ...ethji replied that the MS. had gone to Rao ...dur D. B. Parasnis.

...now wrote to the Rao Bahadur, who replied ...the MS had gone to Seth Mawji. Then I ...ed again to the Seth, but he replied that he ...given to Rao Bahadur Parasnis the entire ...raph work of Chitnis. In fact [I was] sent ...post to pillar and pillar to post again. In these circumstances, I despaired of seeing the MS. that had once belonged to the Satara Maharajah. Finally, I was told that the book was with Rao Bahadur Parasnis, but he was intending to print and publish it. I wrote to him, 'Do you print and publish it. Let the authentic text of this book be published in any way. That is what we wish.' But no satisfactory or decisive answer came from him"

In view of the fact that a definitive edition of the *Chitnis Bakhar* is a matter that concerns all students of medieval Indian history, the state of things revealed in the above extract is truly astounding. Surely, Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis owes an explanation to the Indian public, and our readers ought, in fairness to *him*, have his version of the affair placed before them. Or, better still, his *edition* of Chitnis without any more delay!

JADUNATH SARKAR

—

TELUGU

HAIDAR AND TIPPU SULTAN: *By M. Sitarama Rau, B A, L T Pp. 200, price Rs. 1-4-0. Printed at the "India Printing Works"—Madras.*

Mr Sitarama Rau is one of the few writers in Telugu who has undertaken the task of educating the youths by offering a very remarkable and lucid exposition of the history of our country. It is very necessary that more books of the stamp should be written and read One great feature is the strict impartiality with which he judges Tippu's doings. We heartily recommend it to our youngsters.

CHANDRAGUPTA: *By S. Kameswar Rao. Pp. 184. Price Re 1 Printed at the Sujana Ranjini Press, Rajahmundry*

This is a prose drama depicting the well-known story of Chandragupta, the first of the Mauryan Emperors. It is an intelligent adaptation of D. L. Roy's masterpiece—"Chandragupta". The style is simple and the dramatic interest does not suffer by the omission of songs and poetry. The careful manner in which Chanakya is portrayed reminds one of Vedam Vankata Raya Sastri's Yudhisthir in his Prataparudriyam.

B. RAM CHANDRA RAO

—

TAMIL

ISLAM (ILLUSTRATED): *By the P. Dowood Shah Sahib, Editor, "Dar-ul-Islam", Madras. Price as. 14.*

This book is an excellent treatise on the rules and practices of worship according to Islamic doctrines. The book is intended for those Tamil-speaking Mahomedans, who have not access to original Arabic or Urdu texts on their sacred religion. It is written in simple and chaste language with authoritative quotations.

MOKSHA SADHANA RAHASYAM: *By Srijut Subramania Siva (Swatantrananda). Sri Sadhu Ratna Sarguru Book Co., 4-34, Nainappa Naiken St., Madras. Price Rs. 4. (Edition de luxe Rs. 5).*

The book was originally begun by Sri Subramania Siva, while he was in Trichinopoly jail serving a term of imprisonment as a result of his patriotic

activities. Owing to his illness, it could not be finished as he had expected but he took the work in hand early in 1922 when he was released from prison The book treats of Karma yoga, Bhakti-yoga, Hatha-yoga, Raja-yoga and Jnana-yoga aspects of Hindu philosophy and is profusely supported by well-known authorities. The book will be of great use to men and women of the Tamil land

RAMATHIRTHA PARAMAHAMSA VIJAYAM (TWO VOLS) *By R Narayanasami Ayer Publishers Sri Sadhu Rathna Saguru Book Co, Madras.*

The life and teachings of Swami Rama-Thirtha have profoundly influenced the ideals of Indian nationalism in the present generation. This book is a Tamil account of his life with translations of his important speeches and writings of Vedanta and nationalism Both the volumes together cover over 1000 pages of well-written Tamil dealing with the manifold aspects of the Swami's noble and inspiring life The book will assuredly find a welcome in every Tamil home.

S. V. C.

MALAYALAM

KUMARA-SAMBHAVAM (2 VOLS.) POETICAL [TRAN]SLATION OF THE SANSKRIT WORK: *By Kavi Th... Kundoor Narayana Menon, B A., published [by] Sundara Iyer and Sons., Trichur.*

The author holds a high place among co[ntem]porary writers and poets of Kerala and has, [by this] work, laid the Malayalam literature under a debt To quote the words of another Malayalam scholar, Mr. Ulloor S Parameswara... whose charming foreward to this work ... pleasure to read Mr. Menon has raised the [trans]lation to a level far higher than usual an[d in] beauty and fluency of diction may be sa[id to] exceed the original in some places. But, [those] who have read and admired the poet's ... writings such as 'Komappan", 'Hanuman," ... would feel that in this work the poet has deve[loped] a heavy style not easily accessible to the av[erage] student of Malayalam poetry. This book will s[urely] make a notable addition to the store, not ... voluminous, of modern Malayalam literature

THE SPINNING WHEEL

By NORAH RICHARDS

"It would be sceptical to doubt but that the future of mankind will be the fairer and the fuller for all the mingled pride and degradation, ambition and drudgery, borne by the Western peoples since the birth of modern science and the era of the Industrial Revolution,—but that the soul reaches its distant ends even through denial of the soul. ......For the sake of a higher unity than any ever before realized, except in the highest thoughts of men, half the world has broken itself into atoms and suffered all the pain of isolation from the knowledge of the everlasting arms ....This should not embitter us in the West against our age. it should rather provoke our sympathies as pain borne for the future, pain by which a day to come will yet benefit."— P. E. RICHARDS

IF I were asked to name the three things in India which had most impressed me by their beauty, I should say: The Persian well, the ox wagon, and the spinning wheel. It is not only the things themselves that create this effect—though each are beautiful with the intrinsic beauty of right construction—their association also plays a part in the aesthetic effect they create. The Persian well is part of the landscape and we associate with it ideas of coolness—the plash of water as it empties itself from the dripping vessels in a constant flow towards the thirsty fi[elds] ... the spreading trees that overshade it, ... dark restful mass silhouetted against ... sunbaked land. All this has its effect ... us, quite apart from the beautiful thing ... well is in itself. The ox wagon belong[s to] the road and in our mind's picture ... usually sunlit and laden with produce ... a pleasing sight but we are divided bet[ween] pity and admiration of the noble creatur[e] ... the yoke, as slowfully it moves along, b[ear]ing a great burden. The spinning wheel ... inseparable from the domestic interio[r] ... the courtyard. Around it is a halo of p... with Woman in the centre spinning in t[ran]quillity. Outside ornamentation of these ... things is unnecessary; they are so b[eau]tiful in themselves. The well is never ... namented except by the driver and ... patient driven creature that moves in ... circle and by the occasional groups ... peasants that love to linger about it ... ox wagon is sometimes studded with b... which no doubt is intended to enliven ... monotony of the lives of the drivers by

of its polished surface in the sun. brass is not insistent enough to damage fect of the whole - a rich mass of heavy work laden with produce, dignified of bullock, and colourful form of man. hang together, brass and all, in harmus composition The brass does not h the form of the wagon which is an air thing living in diffused light, but nning wheel is an interior thing living ht and shade and the only legitimate ation of it is that of the spinner herself. sometimes brightened by the application lliant colours. Personally, I prefer the of plain wood,—the darker and more ned, the better. Picture to yourself ark mass of a spinning wheel that has much service, mellowed to lovely shades own and behind it a woman in coloured ents and gold or silver ornaments with skin and glossy black hair. Would ie colour value be lost if the spinning was also highly coloured and covered lesign? And would not the form value e spinning wheel be lost if it was a ng mass of colour against colour?

ese three things are part of the very f India and they represent agriculture, ce, and home. They are suggestive of ace that is associated with India. They ow moving You cannot hustle an ox , you cannot send the wheels of the in well spinning at any rate but that blind-folded ox that moves slowly round und to the droning lagging music of the ty wooden wheels. The spinning wheel t be hurried. With infinite patience the n manipulates the raw cotton as she turns thread. Whatever progress may have re for us, these three things will survive very summit of perfection in primitive ments for creating the necessities of a ve life The rural population of India ill use them for many a generation to and when we are being hustled into that is not the pace of India, they and for us as symbols of the slow g "Not so fast, not so fast," they will Why hurry? What is it you seek so nd furious that we cannot supply?" riously enough, I find that these three are applications of the wheel—one of eatest of inventions. In the Persian he ox wagon and the spinning wheel, application it is primitive; in other it is old-fashioned, simple, rude, and of wood. The Wheel cannot stop at this. So great a boon to mankind must evolve from the rude to the refined, from the simple to the complex. In the process we appear to lose much of the simplicity and the purity of life. This is appearance only. We are in the process of *becoming* and mechanical invention is playing its part in the process. Who can doubt it? It is easy to level facile criticism at soul-stunting machinery as it appears to us today, it is not so easy to see what soul-expanding effect will be ours when we have become sufficiently civilized to know how to use machinery aright. True, the Machine is a giant, an ogre, and like the fabled ogre of our nursery tales, has to be stood up to and overcome by men of ordinary size. It is no use running away from it, that is merely putting off the day of reckoning. We cannot avoid the Machine. We live in a mechanical age, and daily, new mechanical wonders appear on the horizon. Nature is prodigious. She produces in superabundance and there is much waste of seed, fruit, insects, animals, and men. Man too is prodigious in mechanical invention and much that he invents will in time be thrown upon the scrap heap.

The people of the world can be placed roughly into three classes. The primitive, the civilizee, and the civilized. The primitive are the *unbecome*; the civilizee, the *becoming*; and the civilized are the *become*. So far, there are only civilized individuals and their followers No country can yet be called civilized. The leaven of our Prophets and Seers must work in many more of us before civilization on a large scale can appear. We must allow civilization to civilize us and this can only be achieved by the mastery of civilization. It can never be achieved by running away from it. The civilized person must be so advanced in spirit that having the power to aggrandize himself and to dominate, he must refrain, if not to do so is anti-social. He should be willing to scrap machinery that produces. trash and vulgarizes life, even though he may be making wealth by that which he destroys. A sifting process is necessary—a purification. The chaff and the wheat of mechanical production must be separated. The only justification of labour-saving machinery is that it really does save labour—for the emancipation of the labourer from toil, not for the material advantage of the owner of the machine. The emancipation of the labourer from toil would be the

commencement of civilization on a large scale.

One of the evils of machinery, under present conditions, is that it produces too easily, not for use but for profit—resulting in over-production, creating an inflated and unnatural consumption, forcing upon us many useless things; for much that is machine-made is meretricious In the process of mastering the machine we must so train and discipline ourselves as to be able to resist the pressure put upon us to buy what we do not need. There is only one test of labour-saving machinery. Does it simplify life? Then it is good Does it complicate life? Then it is bad. Edward Carpenter once remarked that when the sewing machine appeared, instead of lightening the labour of stitching by hand, it but encouraged the women to complicate their clothes by adding tucks, frills, and flounces. The obvious fact is that machinery can do both. It can simplify and it can complicate. If it simplifies, it is a blessing If it complicates, it is a curse. The choice of curse or blessing rests with ourselves. Machinery connected with the unification or improvement of the world is a burden to be borne Ships, trains, aeroplanes, cables, engineering, electricity—these, and more, demand the sacrifice of men bound to the Machine. The sacrifice is worth while. After all, who would wish for a bed of roses? This is the age of the Machine and it is futile to bury one's head in the sand like the ostrich and say we cannot see it. We must raise our heads and look upon our age unflinchingly, realizing it and accepting it, but working through it towards a simpler and therefore a fuller life.

I find the political significance of the spinning wheel very baffling. I cannot grasp it. Politics stand for power and to my thinking the spinning wheel as a symbol stands for the Simple Life. The Simple Life is not primitive life but cultural life and as such is utterly opposed to politics. Political government is outer rule, but cultural Government is inner rule; and that, I believe, is the original meaning of the word *swaraj*, individual self-rule. The pitch of the spinning wheel has been queered by being associated with politics and economics. In all reverence, I suggest that the Apostle of the *Charka* has had his own pitch queered by being drawn into political politics. His politics, I venture to think, are of the cultural order, and that is why he is possessed with a burning passion for the *Ch*[illegible] a passion which persists in spite of e[illegible] kind of just criticism, opposition, and [illegible] of ridicule. The weakness of the cult of *charka* has been to take it too literally— literal application reduces it to an absur[illegible] Literally, it can only be applied to prim[illegible] life. A revival of spinning and weaving villages is to be desired. The literal ap[illegible] cation of the spinning wheel is mere reac[illegible] from complexity and economic subject[illegible] But to go forward through complexity [illegible] simpler life, and to face economic probl[illegible] with clear thought, not ignoring the Mach[illegible] benefiting in both cases by the comple[illegible] period, is progress. The only political signi[illegible] ficance of the *charka* that I can see is th[illegible] of non-government. When India is ready [illegible] *masse* to live the Simple Life, there will [illegible] no one to govern, for all will govern them[illegible] selves. If India, as a nation, is on the Pa[illegible] of Return, she can dispense with politics an[illegible] take to spinning metaphorically That she [illegible] on that path remains to be proved.

The cry of the spinning wheel is a cry [illegible] protest against the Machine. This same cr[illegible] is heard in other parts of the world, thoug[illegible] the spinning wheel is not its symbol. Whe[illegible] ther India can be so easily mechanised [illegible] countries in the West have been is doubtf[illegible] India has fewer material needs, and in t[illegible] light of her semi-lost philosophy, there [illegible] bound to be resistance to material progre[illegible] even if that resistance is not fully conscio[illegible] India's genius is more suited to a simple li[illegible] than to a complex life, more suited to handicra[illegible] than to machine-made goods, more suited [illegible] cottage industries than to factories Nev[illegible] theless, the Machine can ease the toil, [illegible] where it can help in the simplification [illegible] life and in production, it should fearles[illegible] and gladly be used. Like civilization, [illegible] Machine is only harmful when we allow [illegible] to master us and rob us of our virtue, [illegible] vital force Things only hurt us when [illegible] shrink from them If we would avoid bei[illegible] stung by a nettle, we must grasp it, [illegible] there is nothing that puts one into such [illegible] glow of heat as playing bravely and vigorou[illegible] with snow.

The Spinning Wheel is a challenge, but [illegible] we dropped the word *spinning* and cr[illegible] "The Wheel!" we should raise our vo[illegible] to some purpose, for that cry would be [illegible] implicit appeal to the Machine to save [illegible] from deadening toil—its only justifica[illegible] where human life is concerned. The wh[illegible]

our day—the wheel of the Machine—should p us to civilize ourselves, not to make of ourselves complex barbarians, nor to drive us back to the primitive life.

TENDENCIES IN MODERN ITALIAN LITERATURE

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

I

Italian Risergimiento

FTER Dante and Machiavelli, the only great Italian name that is popular in India in literary circles is that of zini But although the politics of the age Mazzini are well known, the spiritual back-und of the Society for which the heroes he *risergimiento* fought and fought with cess has hardly as yet called forth from Indian admirers of Italian movements the ntion it deserves

Carducci and Manzoni

It may be remarked that English transla-is of great Italian authors of the nineteenth tury are not as plentiful as one might ne The attention of English translators been bestowed principally on France. ile Victor Hugo, Duma, Balzac, Anatole nce and others have nearly grown into glish classics, Carducci, "the greatest since nte,' as Italians know him to be, and nzoni, the protagonist of Italian romanticism, yet scarcely known outside of the ialists in Italian lore Indian poverty in ard to Italy thus explains itself as a ter of course

Verdi the Composer.

Great Britain and America, however have le good in another direction. The English American operas have served to natura- the Italian composer, Verdi, in English aking lands. And to know Verdi is to be uainted with a musical genius whose ation used to exert as powerful an influence the mentality of the Italian masses as the zzinian gospel of duty in Young Italy. But in India, unused as she is to European music, Verdi continues to remain as unknown as Carducci and Manzoni.

Alfieri the Dramatist of Liberty.

Like the national movements in other lands, the Italian *risergimiento* was accompanied by a dramatic revival. And the Schiller of the Italian stage was Alfieri, the poet of freedom and writer of historical dramas. Ancient Greece and Rome furnished him with the major themes. But whatever be the subject-matter, Alfieri was first and last a propagandist.

In those days, Italians used to sing the glories of the republicans of "Roman times". The revolt against Caesar was a popular theme and Alfieri's sense of propaganda made use of the subject in quite a successful manner.

A Maker of Modern Italy.

Propaganda and art do not match each other and so Alfieri's dramas possess today mainly an historical significance even in Italian estimation. But during the first half of the nineteenth century, the *Bruto Minore Saul Filippo* and other tragedies were the most powerful weapons calculated to spiritualize the peoples of Italy in their hatred against the barbarians, the foreign rulers. Alfieri will therefore always rank as a maker of modern Italy, one of the precursors of the triumvirate consisting of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour.

Niccolini's Contributions to the Stage.

It was not possible for Italians to write freely on contemporary politics. The Austrian government as well as the governments of the Italian princes controlled the

productions on the stage. The authors were therefore compelled to fall back upon the classics or the medieval history of Italy itself

A popular subject was the tirade against the tyranny of the Venetian oligarchs. European literary as well as historical tradition has always ascribed the worst excesses and inhuman cruelties to the Council of Ten at Venice. But when the dramatist Niccelini produced his *Jescarini* on a Venetian theme, it did not take the audience long to understand the moral. Niccelini has been honoured by the government of New Italy with a grave in Santa Croce by the tombs of Dante and Machiavelli.

II

Italy in English Literature

It is doubtful if in India, Italy and Italian literature are known at all except in so far as they have influenced the English men of letters Italy's influence upon the literature and fine arts of England from the days of Petrarcha down to Dante Gabriel Rosetti and the pre-Rafaelites is a matter of history which every student is expected to master.

To the same category also belong the incidents connected with the aesthetic complex described as Byron in Italy. Nor is it easy to discriminate as to whether Italy has become a household word among the readers of English poetry and drama through Shakespeare's stories or Robert Browning's artistic studies. All this is classic

Romantic and Real Italy.

One feels as if Italy has appealed to the English mind exclusively as a source of romantic inspiration and idealism almost in the same manner as India touches the sensibilities of the Europeans and Americans: It is therefore with a tremendous shock that one comes across the following lines of D. H. Lawrence in regard to Venice:—

"Abhorrent, green, slippery city
Whose Doges were old and had
Ancient eyes.

This is the rude awakening of an artistic mind to the actualities of Italian life. One recalls the vicissitudes in America's reactions to Japan. For about a quarter of a century, Americans used to love Japan as the land of cherryblossoms, chrysanthemums and maples. But since the event of 1905, the same little islands of the Pacific have been getting their proper worth in the prosaic transvaluation of the world's values.

A Change in Orientation.

While calling a "spade a spade," Lawrence has happened to be too sincere. In his rigorous imagination, Italy is but a land of sepulchres. While other poets have sung of Italy's oranges, figs, grapes and pomegranates, to Lawrence the fit emblem of Italy is the Cypresse of Florence. None but a cruel *Realpolitiker* in the realm of poetry could have written —

Vicious dark cypresses
Vicious, you supple, breeding,
Softly swaying pillars of dark flame
Monumental to a dead, dead race
Emlalmed in you."

Italy is thus but another Egypt. Th unsentimental orientation to Italy amo English writers is not without its practic counterpart For, the British statesmen ar captains of commerce and industry hav learned how to adapt themselves to the "new Italy in all problems of internation intercourse Not by the glories of the dea past but by the possibilities of the imm diate future can Italy inspire Englan to-day

III.

Dramatic Forms in Italy.

A new form of the drama has made it appearance in Italy. Only two character are seen on the stage, the rest to be know and inferred from the conversation betwee these two persons. The vogue has been in tiated by Niccodemi in his *Alba*. Niccodem is by far the most popular playwright but his new technique, although it does not fail to introduce the audience to the most complicated developments in human senti ments and social situations, has given rise to much adverse criticism.

Niccodemi Personalities.

Niccodemi is one of those dramatists who still hold to the art of producing real human types and not mere Ibsenian abstractions and Maeterlinckian symbolisms. Contemporary Italian society with its objective personalities and concrete intrigues is depicted by him in a brilliant style. As a rule, the leading role is played by bourgeois or midd e class and aristocratic personages in the Niccodemian plays.

Pirandello's Symbolism and Satire.

Symbolistic creations have also been ining favour among the Italian masters. ·amas modelled on Ibsen's *Ghosts*, for stance, are not unkwown Pirandello, the cilian author, has described a family in in caused by an incurable disease.

Pirandello's reputation is, however, not that an imitator or an author of adaptation. He is nonist and satirist of the first rate The istery with which he employs sarcasm and creat- absurd and almost impossible situations is marvellous item in the world's dramatic art id yet as a rule Pirandello's characters are t individual personalities that one comes loss in the cities and villages of Italy but stract generalizations of human attributes

Historical amas

Historical drama has never been without votary since Alfieri and Niccolini wrote · the audience of Risorgimento epoch. The sorgimento itself is the theme of a number plays by Tumiati In his Tessitore, the otagonist is Cavour who is described as the sh-diplomat successful in winning over ance to the cause of Piedmont against istria Like diductic poetry, patriotic drama o can hardly satisfy the criteria of art matis efforts have not been crowned with ich success.

Benelli's Renaissance Plays

But another playwright in the historical ld, Benelli has displayed his ability as master stagecraft in an exceptional manner. His ychological studies on the men and manners the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are preciated by the Italians as significant ntributions to dramatic literature. As a rker in history, it may be noted, *en passant*, nelli tries to be a faithful antiquarian.

Real historical personalities have been lowed with flesh and blood in the dialogues Benelli's plays Lorenzo de' Medici, among ers, functions as one of the most living *matis personae* These characters, although y familiar to students of history, appear resh artistic Benellian creations and yet rue perspectives. Some of the characters, may be expected, are of course unhistorical, are fitted in with the milieu of the age well as with the local values.

IV

Diversities in Italy.

When somebody begins to know Italy a little bit intensively, it appears that the land is very diverse in landscape, folkmanners, dialects and what not. Lombardy, Venice, Umbria, Florence, Sicily, Naples, Liguria, each is almost a world in itself in French and German estimation, and Italians themselves do not deny it.

Tuscany's Atmosphere

Tuscany, the land of Dante, continues to occupy a prominent place in modern Italian litterature. Literary critics of Italy consider the language and very atmosphere of Tuscany to be the natural elements in which arts and letters flourish as a matter of course. Tuscan style, it is said, is clear, simple and perspicuous and although the impression conveyed is that of a superficial treatment, the substance is deep indeed

Cicognani's Short Stories

Simple stories of Florentine folk-life constitute the forte of Cicognani. He is interested in the middle class families and the lower strata of Tuscan society. Cicognani is a lawyer of Florence and has much to do with the poorer men and women of the city. As such, the romance of depressed and submerged classes has whetted the literary appetite of this author, realistic as he is.

The Florence of the Poor

What is the Florence of Cicognani ? In his stories we see a city of old medieval palaces, dilapidated, unrepaired and almost uninhabitable, where to-day the families of petty clerks live or perhaps the descendants of whilom aristocrats. Cicognani's Florence is, further, the city of lanes not often more than a yard wide, the narrow passages between the houses of the destitute and poverty-stricken persons. He exhibits the dirty worn-out rags hanging over the passages on both sides and the brilliant eyes of the cats running about in the dark entrances to the houses.

V

D' Annunzio

The most famous representative of Italian letters abroad is at the present moment

undoubtedly D'Annunzio. Perhaps he owes his reputation to a considerable extent to the aggressive part he attempted to play in the political life of post-war Italy, especially in connection with Fiume. But it is curious that he has recently bidden adieu to public life and proposes to devote the rest of his active days to the pursuit of art in the villa at Gardone on the romantic lake of Garda in Trentino.

Adventurer without a Venture

D'Annunzio's literary work is many-sided He is known in Italy as dramatist, story-writer and lyricist. Something like a miscellaneous volume of autobiographical reminiscences and comments under the title of Venturiero senza Ventura (Adventurer without a Venture) has just been issued by the author in order to furnish his admirers with some specimens of his "best prose, the richest and most fertile in quality" The book, as a collection of writings from 1896 to 1907, serves, at any rate, to open up D'Annunzio's youthful days the period which witnessed the birth of his greatest poetical works.

Parables Reinterpreted.

One of the stories in this miscellany deals with the Biblical parable of the prodigal son. But the interpretation is non-Biblical. One almost remembers Anatole France's handling of the story in Judas the procurator. D'Annunzio's prodigal son is not a vagabond living the life of riotous Epicures but an artist and admirer of classic beauties, a "Bohemian" in the better sense of the term. The author has sought to bring the culture of ancient Greece into relief by placing it in the perspective of Jewish life and institutions, inferior as they are in his estimation. The prodigal son of D'Annunzio, as a student of the "higher values," does not therefore repent but is on the other hand conscious that he is teaching his parents things that they know not Two other parables, the one of Lazarus and the Virgins, are dealt with in the same "modern" manner

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AT NANNOOR

By JEHANGIR J VAKIL

Rajakini Rami,

I dip five hundred years
  In the past, and see—
As thro' a veil of tears,
As thro' bright sheets of light,—
  A village lass,
A washerwoman washing white
  The soul of Chandidas.

[NOTE. Nannoor, a village in Birbhum, Bengal, is believed to have been the home of Chandidas, the lyric poet, whose beloved was a *Rajakini* or washerwoman named Rami.]

Indian Art and Atmosphere

Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar K C I. E, writing in the *Daily Express* annual for 1925 on Indian Art and Atmosphere, says,

It has been recently asserted and thereafter much debated that Indians cannot, in the nature of things, produce good poetry in the English language. There is some truth in such statements though, like many another, it is only a half-truth Is it not indeed obvious that all art must, of its essence, be individual, be, in other words, the expression not only of mind and soul but of atmosphere? Not only pedantic, therefore, but supremely silly are the efforts of those who sing of the primrose and of the nightingale never having seen the flower in bloom nor heard the bird sing If anything may be said to be truly "a heritage" it is art. The "remnant" shop is never a thing of beauty but the vendor of reminiscent or second-hand literature is an "old clothes-man," of the worst variety. Not only so, but exponents of such literature or painting cannot ever attain respectable mediocrity because their innate tendencies run absolutely counter to their half-acquired artistry. Especially is this the case with Indian art whose origins are so thoroughly differentiated from Western tradition Until the other day, the rules laid down by Agastya and followed by countless generations of Silpis for making images in bronze were either derided or looked upon as productive of bizarre forms, and only within the last decade has the inner meaning been understood, even by the Indian student, of the tremendous cosmic energy embodied in the Nataraja at Chidambaram, the supreme repose of the Dhyani Buddha and the rapt adoration of Uma. It is just being perceived that the long tradition of the Vigraha, whether it be that of the Lord of the Universe in rhythmic dance or of the flute-player Krishna, has its own place in the history of human endeavour and its special significance as a symbol of emotion and faith We owe it largely to Gangoly that we have been able to realise the comprehensiveness and the eclecticism of that craft.

Historically it is also proved that in India great sculpture and great architecture have been the resultants of quickened religious enthusiasm. Art for art's sake has never brought about transcendental results at all events, in this land Elaborate rules may be laid down and faithfully followed but where there is no elan aroused by deep feeling, they will, at every turn, be a hindrance Within those rules the Indian artist, if he is touched with the divine fire, does not perchance produce naturalistic facts but he becomes a revealer of idealistic conceptions The new Bengal school of painting so much in marked contrast to the lacquered prettiness of Ravi Varma is an example which lies to hand The Tagore brothers had to get rid of the traditions of Western painting, and it was only when the obsession not only of the picture galleries of Europe but of Japan was eliminated that the Indian painter came by his own. The characteristics of the Bengali School, it will be admitted, are its delicacy and its quiet suggestiveness of the infinite Perhaps the school has not produced vigour or movement and as in Indian poetry and Indian epic, so also in Indian painting, the personality of the artist is not so much in evidence as in the case of the great European masters You do not get a Velasquez, a Titian or a Rembrandt but in the works of men like Nandalal Bose and Surendranath Kar and Haldar, the feeling abides that the artist has essayed not to reproduce Nature but to escape from symbols and even technique, this process being another phase of the same spirit that created the Upanishads and marking the essential difference between Turner and Constable and the contours of the Indian landscape portrayed by the Mughal and Rajput artists Indeed, the ideal of the Indian school of painting is that enshrined in the assertion of the Swetaswatara Upanishad, "The One who is beyond all colour and shape by means of his Sakti colours and shapes the whole Universe and to Him we bow" It has been aptly remarked that it is an appeal from the seen to the unseen In saying this, I am not forgetting that Europe has in many instances produced the same effect and one need not go further than Leonardo da Vinci's "Monna Lisa" for an example.

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Migration of Indian Culture

To the same number of the *Daily Express* Mr O C Gangoly contributes an interesting article on the above subject He opens his article as following

Some of the most fascinating pages of Indian history are those furnished by the narration of the story how the continental culture of India overflowed its geographical boundaries and poured in diverse and fructifying currents over many parts of Eastern Asia, in order to establish rich colonies of Indian thought which very soon developed into Greater India beyond the seas It is very commonly believed that Indians sought and found refuges for their outgoing colonies under the stress of religious persecution in the main land and that it was the impact of Muhammadan culture, which forced persecuted Hinduism or Buddhism to seek protection in the distant countries across the seas This popular misconception and misreading of Indian history has received a very useful corrective in the valuable data of solid historical facts which have been gradually revealed by the researches of scholars It has now been definitely established that India sent out her colonies of Aryan thought long before the advent of Islam in India and that Aryan adventurers crossed the seas not under the stress of any domination or political force but out of the abundance of their own energies and with the laudable object of sharing the fruits of Aryan cultur

with the primitive races of the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, Siam and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The currents of Aryan thought and culture have flowed into Eastern Asia through diverse channels, the marks of which are now very difficult to retrace There is a very persistent tradition that one of the earliest colonies to go out to the East originated in Guzrat, but it is impossible to subtantiate this, by actual historical evidence. On the other hand, the evidences hitherto accumulated go to show that South Eastern Asia was colonised by emigrants hailing from the banks of the Krishna, the Godavari and the Kaveri, that is to say, from the coasts of Orissa (Kalinga) and Southern india The people of the South have played a great part in the development of Indian civilisation beyond the seas *The great Tamil* races of the South have sent out successive waves of new colonies at different stages of their history to the different parts of Indonesia, The history of this colonisation is an interesting volume of *many chapters and pages*

Our Health

Dr Muthu, writing in the Annual Supplement to the *Swarajya*, says

It can be laid down as an axiomatic truth that the security of State is founded upon its happy citizens living healthy lives in decent homes and congenial surroundings that only strong and vigorous nations inherit the earth and possess the land apart from moral and spiritual qualifications I contend that only the race which is physically fit and efficient is capable of enjoying the blessings of liberty and of civilisation and handing down their heritage to succeeding generations Health is wealth In these days of economic stress and fierce industrial competition only that State which has the greatest number of healthy and capable workers rise to the top commands the international affairs and successfully competes in the markets of the world

Where do we stand to-day? Looking from this points of view where do we Indians stand to-day? We as communities struggling to be a nation are handicapped and disabled at almost every turn Let us face some facts There is no country in the world where poverty, insanitation, sickness and death are so rampant as in India There is no country in the world where plague, cholera, small-pox, malaria and other fevers claim their victims in millions as in India Add to these tuberculosis which is becoming a fearful menace causing a great havoc in every part of India—especially among young manhood and womanhood Our infants die in terribly large proportion So much so that there is no country in the world where infant mortality is so high as in India Thousands of our young men and women have no strength or stamina to fight the battles of life and fade away from such disease as tuberculosis in the very flower of their lives. Our middle-aged men, just when they are becoming useful to their country, are cut off before their time like the fruit blown before the autumn wind Why? The very foundation is poor The child is born weak from a weak mother and its pulse of life runs feeble and continues to do so all its existence. Now, medical experts are beginning to realise that social economic and industrial facts take a very important part in the incidence and mortality of tuberculosis. Medical opinion is slowly but surely coming to see what I pointed out years ago that the soil is more important than the seed If the soil is rich and the resisting power good, no microbe or infection can hurt us. It is man that creates the conditions of disease within himself and the soil thus prepared blossoms into disease. Poverty, insanitation, on the other hand, social customs and habits that have grown with ages have prepared the soil in India for the growth of consumption Therefore, it is the solemn duty of every father and mother to do everything in their power to help *their children to build* up a strong constitution They may not have any money to leave their children but they can hand them over a vigorous health which is real wealth

The Rise of the Negro

Mrs Kamal Das gives us in the same paper an account of Negro life in America since its beginning She sums up the present situation as follows

The Negroes in America do not enjoy equal rights for the reason that they are discriminated against in the Christian Churches educational institutions and public places. In the south they may not even ride in public vehicles that are used by the Whites They are under great disadvantages because they are, as yet, an oppressed minority with no dominant power, and strength In spite of the disadvantages under which the Negroes suffer within fifty years from their slave days they have progressed with astonishing rapidity To-day, 70 per cent of the Negroes in the United States can read and write They are doing their best to spread education among their people Schools, colleges, and Universities supported by the Negroes are increasing No longer are they landless but are becoming agriculturists, mechanists, skilled workmen and professional men as well The future progress of the Negroes in America is bound to be greater in the coming years than it has been in the past because it is only the children of the first generation of free Negroes who are getting into Universities and colleges and making their lives a success and they will exert a tremendous influence to raise the standard of Negro life, and they will rouse the Negro people to work for their national regeneration To-day there are among the Negroes in America first rate scholars in every field of human activity—Poets, Scientists, Doctors, Lawyers and Engineers Their number is on the increase.

American Love

Not the proverbial cross-ocean variety, but the universal serious sort is the subject of an article in *Swarajya* from the pen of an able man on the spot, Dr Sudhindra Bose.

Dr. Bose has been specially impressed by the philosophy of love as found in college boys. He gives us bits of it from a college magazine.

"Don't try to make a woman fall in love with you. If she's going to she will any way. Don't try to interest her, and she will find you perfectly fascinating. Be just as mediocre as you can, and she will exalt you to unmeasured heights.

Never agree with a woman—not even if you are forced to desert every principle you hold most dear. Woman adores man when he dares to contradict her. She loves to imagine herself weak and helpless to fancy man big, strong, and capable, firm as a rock.

"Never believe anything she tells you. If she declares she adores football heroes, give up athletics altogether and spend your time lounging about in lavender pyjamas and a pink quilted dressing room not forgetting a heavy oriental scent and several gold-tipped cigarettes. If she tells you she hates sports, never appear in her presence in anything less virile and startling than a track suit, and football cleats. She will go into rapture over your very perversity.

'Don't exhibit a grain of sense, or she will think you are intellectual and boring. In other words, be yourself, she will love you for your worthless, pointless existence.

"New Light' on Opium

To Meryn G. Cadwallader, a contributor to *The New Outlook*, an Anglo-Indian monthly, we owe the following discovery·

In India, the eating of opium does very little harm, there are two reasons. First, it is not widely used. Second, it is not smoked or eaten to excess It is believed that the widespread harm that the drug does in China is due to the very short time it has been in use in that country as compared with India It is also believed that a population after a few centuries becomes immune to such poisonous, though attractive, indulgences. Of the harm done to a population by the habitual use of opium there is little doubt, yet everyone who knows anything about medicine and the wise use of drugs, speaks of opium with reverence, nay, even with affection

Danger for Islam

Khalid Sheldrake writes in the *Islamic World*.

I was talking one day last week to a prominent Christian when he informed me that a great new offensive movement was being prepared by Christianity against Islam. He said that the principal headquarters were in America but the other Christian bodies were co-operating. "Soon," he said, "we shall see the attack in full force by means of newspaper articles, magazine stories and notes, plays, films, new periodicals, the issue of a vast amount of anti-Islamic literature backed by all the vast resources of the missionary propagandist machinery.

It is easy to see why this is being undertaken. Islam is gaining ground everywhere. The missionaries are now genuinely alarmed. Africa bids fair to become entirely Islamic; news filters in fairly slowly from Russia; but the *Islamic News Service* is informed that the Muslims there are increasing wonderfully. In China, there are now 62,000,000 Muslims. Java and the other Islands are almost entirely Muslim. Australia has many mosques and a number of Australians have adopted Islam. Turkey has risen from the ashes. In South America, there are many thousands of Muslims, especially in the Argentine Republic and Brazil. In the United States of North America, many people are coming to Islam, and in Europe, we find Muslims in many countries The vigorous propaganda from Woking in England is felt on all sides, and the number of the British Muslims increase weekly. And yet the country is in need of more Islamic missions to strengthen the Voice of Islam. Can you not imagine the state of mind of the clergy who see before them almost empty churches, abroad in the mission field little or no success? So this vast scheme is being worked out to try to combat the the success of Islam in all parts of the world. There is one thing that is necessary It is that we should be fully prepared.

How Indian Muslims look at New Turkey

In the same journal Mustafa Khan writes on "Turkey in Transition" and condemns the policy of westernisation followed by Kamal Pasha. We are told that Turkey being no longer the seat of the *Khilafat* "cannot enjoy the spiritual homage of the Muslim World" any more Not only that. Mr. Khan also says .—

But the most deplorable thing of all this is that the events which are taking place in the new Turkey under the *regime* of Kamal Pasha are assuming a grave attitude which is likely to deprive her even of that commonplace sympathy which the Muslims of the world are expected to have with a Muslim State. The Muslims of India, for instance, who were perhaps the foremost in adoring the Turkish Khilafat and who were even ready to accept Kamal as Khalifa; if he had recognised the institution of Khilafat, are now asking with great anxiety · "Is Turkey turning her back on Islam and adopting western ideals. Is she casting her Islamic costume bit by bit, and Europeanising herself ?"

It seems that Kamal and his colleagues are determined to adopt western ways without putting them to the test of reason. They seem to think that every thing that comes from the west is good. Surely it is a sort of mental slavery, condemned by Islam. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said that "wisdom is a lost property of a believer who should get it wherever he finds it" But at the same time, Islam forbids us from blind following. The Modern Turk, however, appears to follow blindly in the foot-prints of western nationalism. He is indiscriminately adopting the ways of the western nations. In making the brimmed cap the national headgear, the Turk has

only copied the West. In laying restrictions on polygamy, he has again yielded to the influence of the western nations, and has not thought over the harmful consequences of this measure His sole argument on this point pertains to the economical conditions He says 'why should a man have two wives if he cannot support one, and for this reason every one wishing for a second wife is required to satisfy the court about his income or means of subsistence' But if we are to follow this argument the Turkish Law is imperfect. It should go further, and enact, that a man should remain single if he has not got sufficient means to support even one wife And then the number of the children should also be restricted and birth control should be imposed The young Turk has perhaps forgotten the elementary principles of economics Any individual who wants to enhance his income must increase his expense This will serve as incentive for more earning Therefore, economically a second marriage is beneficial because it contributes to the earning capacity of the man Again, the sacred tie, which binds the husband and the wife should not be only based upon mercenary considerations

According to this principle of economics, polygamous countries should be the most prosperous in the world Are they?

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Muslim Criticism of Christianity

In the same journal, M K Andrew criticises Christianity in none too sympathetic terms Says he

> The dogmatic Christianity of the Church cannot be a true religion from God, because its very teachings imply a suggestion of sin to the pure innocent minds of the children To preach Christianity among children means to induce them to commit sin, of which they are so far unconscious We cannot say to a child "You are sinful and bond slave to Satan, because you have come out of your mother who conceived you in sin" These words are sure to upset the simple mind of a child Hearing these, he cannot possibly have any idea of self-respect or any veneration for his mother

Muhammadanism, says the writer, takes a higher view of human nature and believes in the innocence of childhood The writer supports his view by apt quotations and goes on to say

> Now, in comparison with that, let us take the case of Jesus In the first place, he did not marry, nor did he beget any children Therefore, he had no opportunity of experiencing the filial love The life of Jesus is absolutely devoid of pathos, and sentiments connected with the family hearth. His mother was the only nearest relative with whom Jesus had to deal, and his treatment of her as reported in the New Testament is not commendable. He is said to have addressed his mother with these words :—
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> "Woman ! who art thou, what have I to do with thee." This mode of speech is surely far from being polite and civil I do not know how Jesus would have treated his children, had he got any But from his treatment of his mother he seems to be a man of very peevish and irritable nature.

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Religion of the Future

Sh Muhammad Din Jan discusses the "Religion of the Future" in the same journal and says

> *The human race* cannot remain without a deity. This postulate has come to be recognized through a general practice of long ages obtaining amongst peoples of all colours and hues that inhabit our globe With the advance of reason, the form of Deity or the mode of worship may improve but the *religious sentiment* yields *ground* in this respect very reluctantly. No wonder, therefore, that we find even the twentieth-century Hindu worshipping his stone-god side by side with the Hottentot and offering rice and fruit to the round pebble which may have been picked by one of his forebears from *the bed* of any *hill*-stream and placed on *the* altar receive the homage of children and children's children who may be disposed to seek blessing from the *Charnamrit* (the water with which a votary has washed the imaginary feet of his pebble-god) at his chance acquisition No wonder that the melodious chant of the holy hymns is still rising from every cloister more regularly than the Zulu's extatic dance around his gods of wood and stone These were, once perhaps, expressions of a yearning heart which goes out spontaneously to its imperfect conception of the deity.

He goes on to describe how Reason has progressively asserted itself in human life and finally says

> The modern man has fully realized that he has been given life to live and the Deity gave him limbs to work with and not to be dried up He is not an idle dreamer running after ideals which he knows for a certainty cannot be attained His need is a practical code of life which should raise him spiritually as well as materially at once, helping him on in this life and the life to come Neither Hinduism nor Buddhism nor yet Christianity supply it They break short at a few ideals unworkable and unattainable This does not suit him He must, therefore reject them to-morrow, if not to-day Sooner or later his choice must fall on Islam when he will blushingly admit his error of deliberately remaining ignorant of it and regret the lost time

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Greater India

The *Calcutta Review* publishes a monograph on the above by Dr Kalidas Nag M A. D Lit, (Paris) Dr Nag deals with the many aspects of the history of the India which dazzled the imagination of the world of pre Christian days and draws general conclusions of paramount importance As an answer

to those who love to dream of India as living in the heart of the world through millenniums and all the time separated from it culturally and in other ways, he says

The first fiction and unfortunately the most tenacious fiction of Indian History is the glaringly unhistorical hypothesis that India grew up in "splendid isolation." For the fabrication of this fiction we have to be thankful as much to the narrow outlook of late Hindu orthodoxy as to the erroneous picture of primitive Indian society drawn by the early school of occidental philologists. While acknowledging fully the value of the works of these scholars in the decipherment of the ancient texts, we cannot forget that the outlook of these new types of *Pundits* were generally limited by those very texts which engrossed their attention Thus, frequently, too much emphasis was laid on particular aspects of Indian life as suggested by some special terms or words, and too little regard paid to the general historical evolution Words are valuable as landmarks in the progress of society, but for that very reason they are but *static symbols* of the ever-changing and ever-expanding life So, the picture of caste-ridden India, cut off from the rest of the world by the external barriers of the ocean and the Himalayas as well as by the internal prohibitions of a morbid all-excluding cult of purity, India ever chanting Vedic hymns or celebrating occult sacrifices, weaving transcendental philosophies or absurd reactionary principles of life,—this fancy picture of India fades away as soon as we view it from the vantage ground of history

Dr Nag then tells us about a superior conception of World Empire than that found in the ancient, the mediaeval or the modern West

World-empire may be a new ideal with the occident but it is a dangerously old institution of antiquity In spite of the unmistakable warning of ancient history as to the inevitable self-disintegration of such gigantic edifices resting on the precarious foundation of *force*, Greece under Alexander and Rome under her republican proto-caesars and imperial caesars attempted the dangerous experiment, met with usual tragic disaster and even in the very failure, left the fateful legacy of empire-building to all of their "Barbarian" successors who are struggling down to this day, with varying degrees of success and permanency, with the same impossible, antiquated experiment of antiquity of building a world-empire—a machinery of gain for a *few* at the sacrifice of the *many* based on the quicksand of selfishness and propelled by the inhuman energy of brute force!

With phenomenal originality, nay with divine inspiration, India under Asoka the Great (273-242 B C) suddenly developed an ideal of *Empire of Peace and Progress* for all. Within 250 years of the appearance of the great Buddha, India produced another historic personality, *Dharmasoka*, not only contradicted with an unparalled historical sagacity, the entire politics of antiquity up to his age but also like a Spiritual Columbus, discovered a new world of constructive politics, which, unfortunately, remains as yet only an aspiration and a dream for humanity. Behind him stretches the dead ruin of ancient empires, before him unfolds tableau of lamentable duplication of the same selfish politics in our modern history; and in the centre lies the spiritual oasis of Asokan imperialism It shines as a beacon light in the path of the political evolution of humanity, explaining the inevitable decay of old empires and putting to shame the retrospective laughter of the cynical imperialists of our modern age. Thus the empire of Asoka, with its new philosophy of conquest by Righteousness (Dharma-vijaya) and its new foundation of universal Well-being (Kalyana), stands as the central climacteric of human history—at once a fateful warning and a divine inspiration for humanity

India of the times that Dr Nag discusses was a source of inspiration to even the Greeks, for, we are told,

Down to the end of the reign of Asoka, the Hellenic people looked up to India as a powerful ally and a civilising power and thus the Greeks seldom aspired to impose a civilisation of their own Historically also, this is the commencement of the period of steady decadence of hellas which rendered the hellenism of this epoch a dangerous solvent of the victorious Roman society Both in art and literature the Greeks were betraying unmistakable signs of exhaustion and atavism So, when Hellenism under Heliodorus and Menander made headway for the second time into the very heart of Hindustan, we find some of these Hellenic adventurers already devotees of Hindu faith The famous Besnagar Column (c 150 B C) announces the conversion of a Greek ruler to Vaishnavism of the Bhagavata sect, while the Buddhist classic *Milinda Panho* (the Questions of Milinda or Menander) stands as the proof of the assertion of Buddhist thought against Greek mind This process continued also in the *realm of art* when the Greek converts to Buddhism, collaborating with their Hindu fellow believers, developed the *Graeco-Buddhist Art* which exerted such a profound influence on the art evolution of Central Asia

And then the long and profoundly interesting chapter dealing with the spread of Indian culture in the Indian and Pacific Oceans which Dr Nag fitly sums up as follows

Thus listening to these profound hymns of the Polynesian Vedas amidst the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean, we seem to catch the real *secret of India's success* in her career of internationalism. In spite of occasional lapses to militarism on the part of individual sovereigns the *Indian people, as a whole, stuck substantially to the principle of Peace and Progress* They respected the individuality of the races and nations which came into contact with them, offering their best and evoking the best in others Thus India managed to leave a record of collaboration in the realm of the Sublime and the Beautiful, quite remarkable in world history, The political conquerors and economic exploiters may have been there too, but they never played a dominant role in this grand drama of Creative Unity That is why, when the

names of the great kings and emperors were forgotten, the people of these cultural colonies cherished with gratitude the memory of the service rendered by the innumerable Indian monks and teachers, artists and philanthropists—selfless workers for human progress and international amity.

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Grievances T

The Telegraph Review says

It seems that the *Department* is suffering from old sores, and [illegible]ians seems to be *quietly* pocketing their due toes without even attempting to find salves to heal them. There is, first of all, the *Recruitment* It is incomprehensible how the authorities have kept the door to General Service open, for all practical purposes, to one community alone and closed for all else There are about half a dozen Anglo-Indian Homes from where the Department obtains recruits for the General Service, and the pity of it is that these Homes are not even open to those Indians who have adopted European mode of life, but have unfortunately retained Indian names. There are two Indian Colleges, no doubt, for training in the line, but the only service the successful candidates can aspire to through them is Station Service. The General Service recruits are in the enjoyment of such higher salary and other facilities, whereas the Station Service hands have to be satisfied with practically half the salary the former enjoys.

We are rather reluctant to take upon ourselves the unpleasant task of dealing on communal distinctions in existence in the Service We have already given our opinions on the subject, and have stated in plain language on what principles the union stands We however, find that in the *Engineering branch* of the Service this communal distinction is a prominent feature and the predominance of one community is not by virtue of any extraordinary merit which it possesses, but because it *happens to be that particular community* We shall have no cause of complaint if selection in the Engineering branch is made on *merit*, and not on complexion, and the door is made open to all.

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Bishop Fisher on the South African Question

Bishop Frederick Fisher, who visited South Africa in order to obtain first-hand knowledge of the situation there, contributes a highly interesting article to *The National Christian Council Review* of January, 1926. We give below a gist of the same .

The continent of Africa presents one of the most perplexing racial situations in the modern world. The problem is not confined to any one section. Its major difficulties rest upon the conflict between a native-born population of more than 150 million Negroes, and a community of less than three million Caucasians who, with a highly developed modern commercial civilization, have taken possession of the continent. The white controllers, whether political, commercial, or industrial, are determined to maintain absolute and universal white supremacy. How to do this, and at the same time allow for education and advancement among the black and brown people, is the unsolved problem

The material resources of South Africa are in the hands of the white race. These possessions have made it possible for certain sections of that race to maintain a complete monopoly of raw materials and minerals. These resources have been developed through coloured labour. That labour has now come to the place where it realizes its own disadvantages and its own slavery. It has become vocal, and the question now is whether the one million and a half white people of the Union of South Africa will be able to continue to own and control all the resources of the country without gradually yielding at least a portion of the possessions and the control to the people whose labour has helped to produce the prosperity. And deeper than this is the fact that the land and minerals both originally belonged to the millions of people who originally inhabited the continent. The history by which white control was developed is not an unsullied page.

The racial character of the population in the Union of South Africa is approximately as follows : White, 1,519,000, Indians, 161,000, Blacks (Negroes of various tribes), 5,000,000; Coloured (the technical term used there for those of mixed blood), 700,000.

The distribution of the Indians is approximately as follows · Natal, 140,000 , Transvaal, 12,[illegible] , Cape Province, 9,000 The Orange Free State is scarcely worth listing because an absolute exclusion law has kept the Indian population down to 400 residents. Most of the Indians in Natal are engaged in agricultural labour There are, however, a few thousand engaged in skilled labour in mills and factories, as clerks in offices, as waiters in hotels, and as domestic servants. The more prominent and powerful personalities among the Indians are successful traders engaged in all kinds of trade—wholesale, import, retail Some of them are extremely rich and live in palatial homes, possessing all the luxuries of modern life Others are in very comfortable circumstances and carry on successful retail trade in the cities, in the small towns, and in the rural districts This situation, with slight variations, prevails in other provinces.

The successful Indian trader is undoubtedly the cause of the present agitation. The native African prefers to trade with the Indian. The European, therefore finds great difficulty in competing. The Indian is willing to spend more time in bargaining than is the European The African, along with the Oriental, is fond of spending time over his purchases and therefore the Indian is much better equipped to carry on successful trade than is the European. The poor European in most cases, as well as the native African, can secure better bargains through Indian traders and shopkeepers. The Indian is willing to give long credit and easy terms of payment, and seldom, if ever, takes the debtor to court This means that the poor European trades with the Indian in preference to his fellow-European. Strangely, however, this very European, who secures his goods at a cheaper price and on better terms from the Indian, becomes greatly influenced by politicians when the racial issue is raised at election time. Many poor Europeans told me that

they feared they could not exist without the Indian shops, but that when the racial issue was at stake, public opinion practically compelled them to cast their votes for the 'white policy.'

It would appear, therefore, that the problem is not altogether one of economic competition, but that race prejudice lies at its root The Indian is able to sell his goods at a cheaper price, partly because of the fact that he does not spend so much money upon his own living The European constantly refers to this fact as evidence of a lower standard of living. Very frequently the remark is made that the Indian is able to live 'on the smell of an oil rag' But other elements enter into this question of the standard of living The Indians are debarred from residing in the expensive hotels, and from dining in the good restaurants of the city They are debarred from theatres and other amusements This naturally means that the Indian is forced to patronize the cheaper and less desirable places of the city His inhibitions compel him to practise economies which are as distasteful to him as to any other self-respecting citizen

There is a strange jealousy on the part of the whites with reference to the prosperity of the browns

Still another fact is that the Indians do not drink. The liquor bill of the white South African citizens is colossal One wonders how European society can long continue to exist with such high liquor bills Gambling at the races and elsewhere, excessive sports, luxuries, inflated white wages, and other extravagances enter into the high cost of living among the whites, and the relatively lower cost of living among the browns Any stranger from a foreign country would be surprised at the comparative luxury in which the white people of South Africa desire to live. There are here and there dreadful slums where the poor whites congregate, but for the most part, the whites expect to have a standard of living which is far beyond that which prevails in their own home countries

One of the reasons most often given for the white attitude toward the Indian is his alleged low standard of living

But the reasons for this low standard of living must not be overlooked.

First, the ghetto-system, under which the Indians are segregated in a small section of the city and not allowed to live in the better sections reserved for the Europeans. Most of the hillsides and lovely views are restricted residential sub-divisions No Indian need apply for land there Wherever new suburban sub-divisions are being developed in cities such as Durban, the real estate sign-boards read, 'for Europeans only'. Furthermore the deeds which are granted for residences in the good sections have a non-Asiatic clause, making it illegal for the owner to sell at any time to an Asiatic Naturally the Indian is segregated in a territory which becomes a ghetto and where the worst living conditions prevail.

Another reason for the low standard of living is the meagre wage which is paid to the agricultural labourer. About the best that he can earn is £2-10 per month What kind of high standard of living can be maintained on this wage? The barracks, or living quarters, provided by the plantations and mills for their labourers are in most cases a disgrace. The only respectable thing about them is the whitewash on the outside.

The humiliations endured by the Indian communities are difficult of explanation. If the discriminations were social only, then the observer could find parallels in other countries. But where the restrictions are social, economic, domestic, political, racial and religious, one is compelled to look to ancient times for parallels. Indians must ride on the three rear seats only of the trams, they are debarred from certain public libraries, they are refused entrance to first-class hotels, dining-rooms, clubs, Christian associations, and even churches. They are universally called coolies An official textbook in geography for certain of the white schools, shows the picture of a Bengalee gentleman with the caption 'a typical Indian coolie.' An Indian graduate of Cambridge or Oxford or any Indian University will be pointed out by ignorant white children or adults as a "coolie." It is not culture which is taken as the standard, but race, and race alone

All Indian business men are required to obtain a trade licence, which is given by a white official at his own discretion, and which must be applied for and renewed periodically. All Indians wishing to travel for commercial or social purposes from one Province of the Union to another, must obtain a passport ticket which is always limited as to time, the maximum being two or three weeks. This humiliation partakes of the same nature as the indignity that is heaped upon the native African, who, since the white man has come into his country to control him, has been obliged to wear continuously a pass on his person, giving his registered number and showing that he has paid his tax It is as though the whole black population were convicts at large Nothing in modern times is at all comparable to it save the infamous 'yellow ticket' of Czarist Russia.

In industry, the 'colour bar' reserves all remunerative labour to the white worker, and the colour of his skin determines whether a man may receive twenty-five shillings a shift or two shillings and his food Just consider to what lengths an unblushing racial arrogance can go, when in the Transvaal, half the tax of a native African is remitted *if he has worked three months for a white man!*

Of course, the white man forgets the circumstances which brought the Indians to Natal In the early days, the British sugar planters found that the Bantu was not a successful agriculturist Therefore, the early planters looked to the great country of India for their agricultural labourers. Agents were sent to Indian villages, and labour was recruited. Individuals and families came.

There is no greater cultivator of the land in the world than the Indian There is no agriculturalist so patient There is no agriculturalist more industrious and steady Men, women and children worked long hours. The contracts that they had signed stated that, if they successfully completed one or two terms, they were to be allowed to purchase plots of land and settle as permanent citizens of the new country. They successfully completed one term, two terms, three terms They saved their little earnings, and purchased little sections of land on which they planted sugar-cane and vegetables. They prospered until after a while they or their native-born sons gained control of the vegetable markets of Durban and other towns.

Then came bitter opposition. The newly proposed anti-Asiatic Bill intends to take away this well-earned land which the Indians have acquired. A strip thirty miles back from the sea is to be confiscated. *Let him who has a conscience answer whether this is justice or perfidy!* 'Scraps of paper' has become a favourite expression of the Anglo-Saxon race of late and perhaps it has got so thoroughly into our consciousness that we propose to make our own solemn contracts nothing but 'scraps of paper.' *But let it not be forgotten* that, where nominal Christians break contracts of this character, and are supported by Government legislation, in parliaments opened by Christian prayer, they will have to answer to the conscience of Hindus and Muhammadans for their actions, and will stand condemned at the bar of enlightened public opinion.

Meantime how did the Indian trader get to South Africa? It was on this wise. The thousands of Indian families who had migrated to the new country found themselves without ghee, without Indian sweetmeats, spices, curries and rice. They found themselves without the little Oriental trinkets and jewels that they loved. They found themselves without the lovely coloured silks to which they had been accustomed. Nothing but plain Anglo-Saxon cloth was available. Therefore, certain traders began to import for the Indian communities the things that they loved. This little trade with the growth of the population, grew until it became a thing of power.

Meantime Indians began to find that they were successful intermediaries between European wholesalers and the African communities. They began to find that they were able to carry forward an ever enlarging commercial enterprise. Therefore, just as people of all nationalities follow the stream of successful commerce, so Indian traders grew year by year in numbers and in power. The proposal to deport the whole Indian community and to deny it the rights of citizenship and trade becomes all the more difficult when one remembers that, approximately, two-thirds of the present Indian population of the Union of South Africa is native-born, some families going back as far as three generations of native-born residence in South Africa. Thousands of these Indians have never seen India, and one might just as well talk of repatriating the third generation Americans sending them back to England, Ireland, Scotland, France or Germany, as to talk about repatriating third generation Indians in South Africa.

White South Africans quite freely express their approval of the anti-Asiatic bill, and the policy of segregation on the ground of their fear of intermarriage. This is always the final plea of the racial jingoist.

I will not pursue this subject at great length but will frankly state that in the country where segregation has been tried with unprecedented thoroughness (South Africa), the largest percentage of mixtures prevails. Is it not true that in the countries where the white race has the least respect for the coloured, illicit relationships are most frequent? The reason is that if a man respects a woman, his inherent attitude towards her is one of chivalry, whilst if she is to him a mere human inferior, it is easy for him to descend to an unethical relationship. The only safety of the several races with respect to misegenation is that every race be raised to the highest possible cultural standard so that there will be mutual respect, understanding and freedom.

The proposed anti-Asiatic Bill is not a solution but an irritant. If adopted, it will accomplish no purpose, other than to aggravate the Indian population through persecution, to deepen its sense of martyrdom and to raise up friends for the Indian community throughout the world. I sincerely trust therefore that true statesmanship will prevail, and that the Union Parliament will recognize the impracticability and unwisdom of the present proposal.

Bodh-Gaya Controversy

The January number of the *Maha Bodhi* contains the report of the committee on the Hindu-Buddhist controversy regarding the possession of the Temple at Gaya. The committee after making a thorough examination of the case in its historical, political and religious aspects, concludes:

> 'The whole history of the Temple and the judgments of courts leave no doubt that the Temple was *ab initio* a Buddhist shrine and has remained so throughout. Our own observation of its present condition confirms the view that the shrine is in fact Buddhistic. All the images that we could see are Buddhistic and even those which have been given Hindu names are by their very appearance Buddhistic, e.g. what are shown as the images of Pancha Pandava and Taradevi are nothing else but images of Bodhisatwas and Buddhas and as found by the court, the temple has never been converted into a Hindu Temple. On the other hand there is absolutely no evidence that the temple was built by the Hindus or that it has ever been repaired by the Hindus. Whenever it has stood in need of repairs, the repairs and restorations have been executed by the Buddhists including those of Burma. The Buddhists have always enjoved the right of worship there. There is clear evidence (*vide* Jambugha Inscription, 4 B & O R. S. J., p. 272) to show that till the 13th century Buddhist Bhikshus were in actual possession of it.'
>
> The occupation by the Mahanth of the great temple at Buddha Gaya is to be attributed to a peaceful friendly assumption of the guardianship of the temple—more by mere chance as a squatter than as an act of deliberate volition and certainly not as a hostile occupation by a man of one proselytising faith of the sacred place of another faith for forcible conversion to the former's own use. In fact, the process of Hinduising it in that peaceful slow but nonetheless effective manner so characteristic of the Hindu faith and practice which has assimilated so many cultures, faiths and reformers to itself is not yet complete and as held by the courts in the judgments quoted above neither the temple has become a Hindu temple pure and simple, nor has the Hindu worship carried on by the Mahanth's men become the exclusive worship in it. If anything, both continue to be predominantly Buddhistic up to this day.
>
> We would therefore recommend that (a) both Hindus and Buddhists should be assured fullest

liberty of worship according to their own methods. (b) A committee of five Buddhists and five Hindus should be formed and the management and control of the temple and of the worship in it should be entrusted to this committee.

Besides these ten, the Government also may be represented on the committee by the Hindu Minister for the time being We consider it premature to go further into the question of the composition of this committee except saying that the Mahantha of Bodh-Gaya should always be a member of it

(c) To disarm all suspicion and misapprehension the properties of the Saivite Math should be altogether excluded from the jurisdiction of this commitee

An arrangement like this ought to be satisfactory to all parties. The Hindus ought not to be excluded from worship, if they wish to perform any, of the image and they should certainly not be interfered with in any way in offering Pindas where they have been doing it The Buddhists who have always worshipped the image will have their rights secured and placed above the caprice of a single individual of a different faith The Government may also have its interests guarded against any foreign influences and international complications The Mahanth may also have his suspicion regarding the property of the Saivite Math laid at rest by excluding it from the jurisdiction of the Committee

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A Widow Relief Bill

The same journal gives us the following information

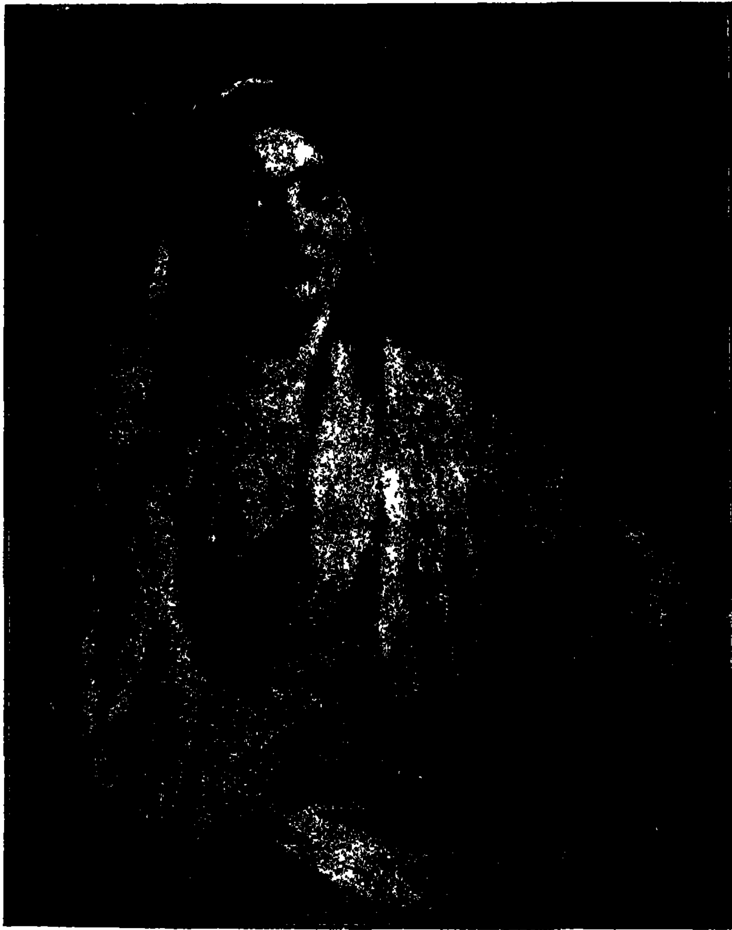
In Cochin State, a Draft has been published for an "Old Age Widow Relief Bill" (a most awkward name). The mover of the Bill stated that it would not only prevent beggary but would also enable all living in Cochin State to live happy and contented lives The provision of old age pensions has been an unquestioned improvement in the lot of poor, old people in other countries. One expects Cochin State to be the leader now in all things connected with the lot of women. The laws of inheritance are very uneven and unequal in different parts of India, and it will be a happy day for many widows when the Government gives them pensions and maintenance allowance for each of their children, a procedure which has become the law now in many other countries

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Primary Education

The same journal also tells us .

The Annual Report of the Nari Sikha Samiti of Calcutta (Women's Educational Society) shows a fine record of activity along educational lines



Lady Abala Bose

through the provision of many schools for girls, a Widow's Home for vocational training and wage-earning by hand-crafts, for which Lady Abala Bose informs us the Government has just allocated a grant of Rs. 300 per month. The Report points out the line of development which all social workers find to be also their experience. It says .

"As the bulk of the nation live in villages, and girls and women form the major portion of our rural population, any work for the improvement of

our womenfolk must, to be of use to the largest number, be carried on in villages mainly, more so because the villagers left to themselves can hardly take up any good cause for want of the necessary knowledge, funds and facilities

The experience gained during these years has convinced the Samiti that its slender resources can do much good, and to a larger number of girls and women, if it extends its activities more and more to rural areas And this work can best be achieved through Girls' Schools, lantern lectures, circulating libraries home industry classes, and meetings of mothers. The Council of the Samiti earnestly appeals for the active sympathy and hearty co-operation of the generous public in order to be able to carry on this noble work"

The Imperial Library is a Lending Library

Many people are under the impression that the Imperial Library is a bureaucratic institution of some sort and not a library in the ordinary sense of the term, meaning a library from which people can borrow books and so on To such people the following quotation from an article by Mr J A Chapman (who is in charge of the Imperial Library) which appeared in the *Statesman* will prove of interest

> The greatest difficulty we have experienced has been to make known that the Imperial Library is not for Government and departmental use only but is for the public also, further, and this is of still greater importance, that it is a Lending Library and is prepared to send its books to approved persons, anywhere in India or Burma There are scholars all over India and Burma who do not know this It is not only scholars to whom the books may be sent, in practice anyone who applies for the loan of book is approved

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A Champion for Indian Women

The *Stri-Dharma* says

> Lady Chatterjee, wife of the High Commissioner for India, is writing in the English papers in support of reforms for the Indian working women. She upholds all the legislative activities of Mr. N M. Joshi for the betterment of the labouring classes. She calls attention to the present unsatisfactory inspection of factories and mines, half of the latter not being inspected at all though there are 80,000 women working in them. She supports the passage of the Maternity Benefits Bill and urges the establishment of an industrial health service. She also wants a Truck Act which will protect the workers from being fined by the deduction of wages sometimes for double the length of absence. Of course she promotes the child welfare movement which is even more necessary in India than in England What is primarily required, she says, is recognition of the fact that the worker in a factory is a human being, and that his and her health and happiness are as important to society as the prosperity of the industry. We agree entirely with her and hope her words and influence will do much to improve the conditions of the millions of women in the factories of this vast land.

Sir Valentine Chirol on the New Viceroy

The *Indian Review* contains an article on the New Viceroy from the pen of Sir Valentine Chirol We qoete from it below

> An English gentleman in the highest sense of the term, Mr. Wood stands for all that is best in British public life Untouched by the faintest breath of political intrigue, he has never sought the limelight from which as Viceroy it will be difficult for him altogether to escape He has none of the parvenu's love of pomp and circumstance nor the lawyer's facility for glib phrases which so often disguise the lack of courage required for coming to decisions and shouldering responsibility. He is universally credited with just those qualities of character which patriotic Indians like Gokhale used to recognise as typical of the best representatives of the British race in India, and his straightforward sense of duty is part of a simple religious faith—the same earnest Christian faith which inspired the love of India in some of the greatest British administrators who were his grandfather's contemporaries and collaborators and were not ashamed of believing that the governance of India was a great and pious trust committed to them by Providence This is surely no mean title to the confidence of the people of India who pride themselves on being more spiritually minded than the modern nations of the Western world and the restoration of Indian confidence in the sincerity of British statesmanship is perhaps the task supreme beyond all others in the India of to-day If the new Viceroy can achieve that task, his selection for the most distinguished but also the most difficult position in this far-flung Empire of ours will be a boon for India and for England.

Sir Valentine has most probably painted the New Viceroy in right colours, but he has set him a task to perform which the Viceroy-elect will have to fight not only Indian pigheadedness in not having any faith in the British but also the spirit of British Imperialism It will be a boon to the world if he can do the latter successfully.

Officers of Civil and Postal Accounts Offices

The Accounts Comrade, a quarterly run by the Civil and Postal Accounts Offices Association says :

> There can be no two opinions that our official status is practically nothing above that of a work-

shop cooly with the exception that while the latter earns his livelihood by means of purely physical labour, the former does so by the virtue of mental labour. In beholding the scene when we emerge out of the four walls of our offices after the office hours are over, one can easily realize the truth of the aforeseid statement.

Then it goes on to describe how these officers find it impossible to live decently on the pay they get Their whole life is drab and devoid of 'carefreeness' and comfort

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Social Survey of a Chinese Village

We take the following account from the *Monthly Labour Review*

A study of social conditions in Sung-Ka-Hong, a small Chinese village about 7 miles from Shanghai, was made in the fall of 1923 by students of Shanghai College While in the United States ocial surveys are frequently made as a preliminary o devising plans for civic betterment, this is said o be the first one made in China. The study overed the following points Family and religious ife town government, housing, health and anitation, industry, agriculture, and trade, recreaion and education

The village which was chosen for the survey is a small one of about 360 inhabitants, and although t is situated within a few miles of such a center of trade and industry as Shanghai, the life of the eople and the organization of the village are much he same as they were a hundred years ago. In iew of the rapid development of the country bout Shanghai, however, and the fact that the illage is now only a little more than a mile rom the present industrial region, which s rapidly pushing toward it, it is to be xpected that the inhabitants will soon be orced to give up their agricultural pursuits and ake part in the industry and trade of the region. he industry of the village was originally entirely gricultural, but now only about a third of the opulation are farmers while there are a number f small shops and workshops The people in eneral are poor and less than half the families wn farm lands

The principal agricultural products of the village re rice, wheat, cotton, and beans Owing to the atural fertility of the soil, the crops require omparatively little labor, the men working hard nly in the planting and harvesting of each crop, hile most of the weeding and cultivating of the oil is done by women.

Wages vary according to the season. During the ummer and in the fall, the pay is 50 cents, lexican, (one $ Mexican ½ $ American) per day, ith no food provided, and $6 per month with ood, and 38 cents per day without food and $4 er month with food during the rest of the ear.

In nearly every house, there are more or less rimitive industrial processes carried out such s spinning, weaving, pounding grain in stone essels, etc. On the other hand, some more odern types of machinery have been introduced such as cotton gins and rice-polishing machines Most of the clothes and shoes worn by the residents are home-made.

There are 21 workshops in the village, the wages of carpenters, masons, and tailors being 50 cents per day without food and 25 to 30 cents per day with food. Bamboo workers received 40 cents per day if no food was furnished and 20 cents with food. There were only 6 factory workers, all women residing in the village Their place of employment was a cotton mill 3 miles away which could only be reached by walking, and their working hours were 12 per day Their wages ranged from 20 to 50 cent per day.

There were 47 small shops in the village which carried on the retail trade of the village and the surrounding country The earnings of these shops were uniformly small, owing to the small amount of business done and bad debts. These shops are generally located in the front rooms of houses and are looked after by the aged or infirm members of the family

The means for recreation in the village were almost entirely lacking as there was no public playground and no prospect of securing one except in connection with a newly established school Such villages as the one studied are almost completely shut off from the outside world because of bad roads and lack of conveyances and there is a general lack of association with their neighboors among the inhabitants, particularly on the part of the women as they never go to the tea houses which are the chief meeting places of the men

A school established in 1921 by a club in Shanghai College has taken the place of the old-type school formerly maintained In 1923, a new schoolhouse was built by one of the citizens. At the time the survey was made, there were 60 pupils in the school, of whom 8 were girls The school has so far been very little used for social purposes but it holds about the only possibility for development of social and recreational facilities at present among the residents of the village.

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The Karnataka View of the Congress

The Karnataka and Indian Review of Reviews, edited by D. V. Gundappa, is "an independent organ for the people of Indian States and a register of the progress of Indian Nationalism". Considering that it contains less than twenty pages of reading matter, it is titled a bit extravagantly. No less extravagant are some of its opinions as can be seen from the following.

If its past had been not so illustrious and its work not so fraught with the destinies of the nation we could have afforded to laugh over the last session of the Indian National Congress as an elaborate hoax. So wanting in leadership was its presidential address and so complacently purblind were its proceedings, as against the tremulous expectation with which its decision was being looked forward to. A woman, a Bengali, a poet—the president (Mrs. Sarojini Naidu) could do no more than present a flamboyant paraphrase of the axioms of Indian politics.

What does *The Karnataka etc etc* propose to do with Mrs. Naidu for her threefold crime of being "a woman, a Bengali and a poet"?

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Religion in East Africa

The *Vedic Magazine* publishes an interesting article by Pandit Chamupati M A on the above We give quotations from it below

The natives of East Africa, though *dubbed* "Heathen' by Christian writers, are not without their own *conception* of God, to whom they think, man is responsible for his good and bad deeds The theory of evolution, which traces a *gradation* in the ideas of divinity, cherished by various sections of mankind, so that to *primitive* races it assigns very crude superstitions, from which, by a process of gradual development some sort of *pantheon*, according to it, takes shape, to merge finally into pure *monotheism*, is entirely upset by a cursory observation of the simple form of religion professed by the East African Negro. He has neither idols, nor sacred places, nor therefore any temples of worship His God whom he calls "Mungu" is an abstract divinity. He relates no mythic tales of His earthly or heavenly life. Call to account an African servant for some fault in serving you, and he will at once answer, "Mungu" knows Threaten to dismiss him, he will instantly reply, his trust is in 'Mungu." Fine him, he will take it stoically, and say you are not cutting his hands -- these are the gift of "Mungu," and yet can earn him his bread. Such complete resignation is peculiar to this "barbarous" believer in "Mungu."

The East African has no system of worship. His innate trust in an omnipotent, omnipresent providence steels his heart against any mishap. His wants are few, incredibly few. His cattle are his main wealth He eats of the abundant products, which mother Earth ungrudgingly supplies him He wanders about in a state of nature and only on market days hangs a piece of leather or a bunch of grass to hide his "nakedness" He has no elaborate home and knows little of the sins of society Any Negro may share with him the piece of bread which his labour has fetched him With your black-skinned menial another Negro will come to sleep and if you ask what relation the intruder is to your servant the latter will unhesitatingly say, he is his brother

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A View of the Chinese Renaissance

Ph de Vargas discusses "the Religious Problem in the Chinese Renaissance" in the January number of the *International Review of Missions* In his discussion he appears to take into account only the ultra-modern youth of China, victims of a type of Western Education which receives everything with a "rationalistic" sneer excepting a hard blow between the eyes, and draws conclusions with an All-China significance. He says in the beginning

China's primitive organizations could not resist the impact of western industrialism in its youthful aggressiveness supported by the huge power of modern states and by their military forces For a time China refused to see in this defeat anything essentially different from former military defeats sustained at the hands of barbarians. Then inferiority in certain material features was recognized and western armaments and railways were adopted. Later again was seen the necessity of adopting some of the methods of the new civilization in education, industry and government. Finally, when these partial revolutions proved ineffective, China decided to open wide doors to modern culture as a whole, accepting not only its industrial products and its technique, but also its thought and its spirit This fundamental change of attitude *took place about the period of 1915 to 1919*. It has given rise to what the Chinese call the New 'Civilization Movement,' or 'the New Thought Movement, often referred to by foreigners as the 'Chinese Renaissance,' the creative movement by which China having appropriated the new culture which has come from the West, is applying its principles to the renovation of Chinese cultural life, which is to become an integral but independent and original part in the vast unity of to-morrow's world-wide civilization

Then we are told that "China" at present values nothing higher, than material progress, scientific learning, political freedom and patriotic fervour, the hitherto established religions of "China" are tottering on the brink of non-existence and whatever savours of the non-scientific and impractical is anathema to "China". For example.

A large number of Chinese had studied in universities abroad They found that in many a lecture-room Christianity was never mentioned except as a negligible, obsolete institution. They heard science taught as if it were the sole foundation of modern culture. Most of them do not seem to have come in contact with the newer and broader currents of thought in Europe and America.

Having taken with them from China a strong prejudice against the foreign religion, they did not trouble to seek out Christianity where it is living and strong. On their return home those men became very influential, many joined the staff of the National University in Peking, or of other progressive universities. Some of them, notably returned students from France stood for aggressive atheism. The great majority taught the greatness of science, the absoluteness of the truth which it reveals and the duty of building the whole of human life on the basis of science alone.

And

Tagore's visit to China in April and May, 1924 was of great interest from the religious point of view His poetical pantheism roused no sympathy in spite of his literary prestige, and although he came as the representative of one part of Asia to another, his reception was extremely cold, and amounted in fact to a deliberate rejection The enthusiasm of Young China for material civilization of the western type rose up in arms against Tagore's ideal of a primitive oriental culture, of detachment from material goods and of a contemplative life. All compliments addressed to Tagore were strictly limited to his poetic work, and he was bitterly attacked as a teacher of sentimental dreams and of cowardly laziness in numerous newspaper and magazine articles, and in leaflets which were distributed in the very halls where he was lecturing On this occasion the Chinese conclusively demonstrated that they have not that mystic temperament which some western writers insistently ascribe to them.

But, we are told, there is hope for Christianity in China

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The Chinese trouble

The following account of the trouble in China, by P W. Kuo, Ph. D in *The International Review of Missions* would be found interesting.

What is the cause of the recent uprising in China? The Shanghai tragedy of May 30, now well known to the world, was of course the immediate cause of that uprising, the spark, as it were, which set the whole nation into conflagration. The killing and wounding of a large number of unarmed Chinese students and labourers in sympathy with a strike to improve labour conditions in a Japanese cotton mill, by the order of a British police officer of the Municipal Council, under the circumstances as revealed by the Mixed Court proceedings and eye-witnesses, is now generally admitted to be indefensible. Is it any wonder that this deplorable act should have filled the Chinese nation with horror and righteous indignation and that her people have been demanding in the name of justice and fair play, that the wrong-doers should be punished and the wrongs righted? Indeed, many of the missionaries and other foreign residents in China, convinced of the terribleness of the wrong thus perpetrated on defenceless people, did not hestitate to voice their feeling of injustice in public statements.

While this unfortunate act of the Shanghai, municipal police was itself sufficiently serious to call forth national resentment, it was further intensified by the long-standing discontent with the Municipal Council of Shanghai. The persistent refusal to allow Chinese representation, the illegal seizure and control of the Mixed Court in Shanghai, the unlawful construction of roads beyond the boundaries of the settlement and the curtailment of the freedom of speech, of assembly and of publication, these represent a few of the old grievances which in a way had prepared the ground for the outbursts of popular feeling.

Had justice been meted out promptly after the unfortunate incident and had a sympathetic attitude, instead of harsh measures, been taken by the Municipal Council toward the Chinese protest, the case would not have become as serious as it did It is true that after the tragedy the diplomatic body in Peking lost no time in appointing a commission to investigate the trouble with a view to locate its responsibility. However, the report of this commission has never been made public. From a summary of it, which leaked out and found its way into the press of Tokyo and Paris, one can see clearly that there was not much question as to wherein lay the responsibility. But the prestige of the Municipal Council was at stake and 'to save face' is evidently considered to be important by foreigners as well as by Chinese. As a result, the negotiations for the settlement of the Shanghai trouble came to a deadlock. Meanwhile, the Powers concerned, proposed to re-investigate the Shanghai incident through a judicial enquiry. This proposal, however, was not looked upon with favour by China for the necessary enquiry into the Shanghai affair had already been conducted and was based largely upon the proceedings of Shanghai Mixed Court which are judicial in character Moreover, it was believed that the setting up of this proposed judicial inquiry was merely a means of counteracting the adverse findings of the previous commission through too great a regard for the susceptibility of the Municipal Council But, in spite of the opposition of the Chinese government and people, the proposed judicial enquiry is being held without the participation of the Chinese, its usefulness and value are questionable. In the meantime, the long-delayed Shanghai case remains unsettled

Believing that the mere settlement of the particular incident and the improvement of the local situation will not prevent the recurrence of similar incident nor place the relation of the Chinese people and foreign residents on a more stable and satisfactory basis, China is also seeking a more fundamental solution, namely, the revision of the existing treaties between China and the Treaty Powers. These existing treaties were made long ago, mostly as a price of defeat and under circumstances which did not permit free discussion. They were contracted not on a basis of equality, hence they are known as 'unequal treaties' Under them the foreign nations enjoy certain privileges and rights, which infringe upon China's integrity, restrict the exercise of her sovereignty and obstruct her fullest development. The Chinese people believe that the time has come for a fundamental revision of these treaties, for most of

the conditions obtaining when these treaties were negotiated do not exist now. The standard of general enlightenment in China is considerably higher now than in former days. Educated people to-day cherish with no less fervour than do the people of the West the fundamental principles of liberty, of equality and of self-determination as well as other ideas of modern democracy. They are more and more coming to understand the meaning of the numerous treaties by which China is bound and her freedom of action restricted. At the time China entered the Great War with the Allies, she was encouraged to hope for a definite improvement of her international status. Great therefore was the disappointment of the Chinese people when, after the Great War for a common cause had been won, China's own international status remained practically unimproved. These are some of China's contentions.

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Buy British Goods

This is by no means our advice to our readers. The British Empire League some time ago organised a meeting to propagate the above attitude in all members of the Empire. In this meeting, the Lord Mayor of London presided and many distinguished speakers spoke. The *British Empire Review* publishes a detailed account of the proceedings and we gather our knowledge from this source.

After the Lord Mayor had gone through the preliminaries, the Right Hon. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister K.B.E., M.C., M.P., president of the Board of Trade talked for a while on his "abiding faith in the quality of British goods, the skill of British workmanship and the initiative and enterprise of British industry." He supported the Lord Mayor in his view that "in the development of the inter-Imperial trade, there are advantages, immediate advantages, and growing advantages" to the whole Empire.

Then Major the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore got up and with true soldierly tactlessness gave out the secret of this love of inter-Imperial trade. He said:

You cannot get further developments of the great Dominions, and an increasing flow of Britons to follow the lead of the other Britons already there unless you can do something more to assure those of our kith and kin who do go out to open up new lands that they will find a market for their produce. Now there is another thing that I want to say. The world to-day, and Great Britain in particular, is suffering from the fact that the relation of primary production to manufacturing production is unequal. During the war and since the war, the capacity of the industrial countries to manufacture has enormously increased, but, with the exception of the United States of America, the corresponding increase in primary production—that is of raw materials and foodstuffs—has not advanced to the same degree. Consequently it is to the interest of the whole Empire, and Great Britain in particular, that primary production should be stimulated throughout the world and *particularly* inside the British Empire, where the greatest opportunities lie.

Sir Vansittart Bowater, Bart., M. P., ended up by giving away a family secret. He mourned the fact that people very often bought foreign goods unconsciously and gave the following instance:

My daughter came home last night after buying what most ladies buy now-a-days—a pair of silk stockings. After she had got out of the shop she found on the label, much to her disgust, "Made in Germany." She would not have purchased them at half the price had she known their origin. Let us advocate it, and let it go out to the world at large that we Britishers want to support our own Colonies, Dominions, and Dependencies.

And, let us add, *vice versa*, which is more to the point.

The Hon. Sir John A. Cockburn K.C.M.G. told the audience that

Some years ago the attempt was made in this direction by insisting that all goods from Germany should be marked "Made in Germany" but that was found to be an advertisement for Germany instead of for ourselves and we do not want to advertise others, we want to advertise our own goods.

This information hardly rhymed well with Sir Vansittart's assertion that in England one finds "the very best workmen in the world;" for one would hardly expect the mark, "Made in Germany," to serve as an advertisement of German goods in England, had the goods been inferior to things made in England.

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British Self-Depreciation

To those who have heard the British talk in India, the following quotation from the British Empire Review will prove enlightening.

The British people have never been given to self-praise nor is such a mood desirable. It has been more inclined to self-depreciation. This quality has, it may be, been more marked in recent years, and its harmful effects are becoming more apparent. More than a generation ago Herbert Spencer—writing on Sociology—when dealing with the ill effects caused by the bias of patriotism or undue self-estimation, took pains at the same time to pass judgment on the perverting effects of antipatriotism, or undue self-depreciation. "In no people more than our own," he said, "has under-valuation of ourselves become a fashion: it seems to imply a wide knowledge of what is foreign, and brings a reputation for culture." The one habit is to be deprecated

as much as the other Most of us in our generation must have met with numerous instances of the latter habit, which may, and indeed does, co-exist with an 'undue valuation of material prosperity."

India Wastes Money on Cheap Jewellery

We take the following from the *Industrial and Trade Review for Asia*

According to a Prague journal, large orders have recently been booked from British India for about 250 tons of cheap glass jewellery, which in Europe is known as "Gablonz Ware" Indian orders this year are estimated up to the present month at 2000 tons valued at nearly 40 million Czech. Crowns, i e at about a quarter a million pounds sterling This means an increase of exports in this commodity to British India by 50 per cent. as compared with the same period of 1924 The report states that India has thus advanced to the first place among customers of the cheap glass jewellery of Czechoslovakia, instead of the United States of America to which country exports have declined to 50 per cent and are estimated at only 22 million Czech Crowns for the first seven months of this year The figures given above have reference only to glass jewellery, chiefly bangles, and do not include Indian imports of other necessary cheap glass goods

When we add to this the imports of cheap metal jewellery from Pforzheim and the cheap fancy goods from various other German towns, we find that a tremendous price is paid every year by India for the most useless articles that can possibly be imported It is a serious reflection upon the standards of life and taste of the Indian population of both sexes, as well as upon the morality of the commercial classes engaged in this kind of trade The use of jewellery in any country is a relic of barbarism, but in India it was at least true that gold and silver jewellery represented a form of savings although constituting dead capital The fact that this jewellery is being now increasingly replaced by glass goods ought to give us food for reflection. For we do not find that the demand for glass jewellery has led to the development of the Indian glass industry, nor that the gold and silver are being increasingly employed as organised industrial capital It is our contention that this item of India's foreign trade represents a distinct impoverishment of the Indian people, and we recommend the subject to our economists for detailed investigation from the standpoint of national economy.

Away from Civilization

The *Living Age* gives a translation of an rticle in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* which elates the experience of a man who got isgusted with civilization of city-life and ook to the forest for a change. We quote a ortion

It is worth recording, however, that I never ould have lived under such primitive conditions for so many weeks—all I took with me was an old blanket, a knife, three dishes, some matches, and a little salt—if I had not had my dog Lux He was not only a devoted companion, but an indispensable aid in hunting. He took to wild life better than I did, and really was my teacher. I had plenty to eat—fruits and vegetables from the neighboring farms, fish and shellfish from a brook, and now and then a bit of game that I owed more to good luck than to my skill as a Nimrod.

You ask me, whether the experience was worth while I have pondered a long time what I could reply with a clear conscience, that would be satisfactory and helpful As long as I lived in the woods I was almost perfectly happy Life there had a different rhythm Everything was so simple and understandable, toil, effort, rest, fear, victory I had time to think and to dream The sunshine that warmed my ill-clad body was luxury No one asked me for tips I swam races with my dog unconcerned over bathing suits and bath-house fees I was never too late, I had no duties my few needs were easily supplied After I had become accustomed to the life, my feeling of perfect physical health, which I had seldom before experienced, was a source of positive pleasure. Hunger and eating, exertion and repose, had a keen zest they never had had before And my dog enjoyed the life immensely

One day a gentleman surprised us, to whom I had to explain our unusual appearance and the reason we were there He was a good, clever man, who really wanted to help me But it was quite impossible to make him understand that the best help he could give us was to let us alone He had to tell the newspapers about us, and our idol was at an end Reporters came out and insisted on taking our photographs. A publisher wanted me to write him a novel, even going so far as to bring out paper and writing-materials for the purpose Charitable old ladies who read about us in the newspapers started a regular hunt after us I might have easily made quite a reputation as a health apostle if I had any gift for acting At last I was forced to flee again this time back to the city Anyway, autumn was approaching and cold winds began to blow across the stubble. A foretaste of winter for which we were not prepared, was in the air.

Thanks in Anticipation, but ..

The following is taken from the *Abkari*

At a meeting of the National Temperance Federation, held in Manchester on October 20, Mr. Joseph Malins, J P, in the chair, the following resolution on prohibition in India was unanimously passed

The National Temperance Federation notes with satisfaction recent public manifestations in India in favour of the suppression of the liquor traffic, particularly the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly to the effect that the ultimate policy of the Government should be the prohibition of the production, manufacture, sale, and import of intoxicating liquors.

The Federation also welcomes the declaration of the Bombay Government that the extinction of the drink and drug traffic is the goal of their excise

policy, gives its hearty support to the Prohibition Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council this year by Mr. R. G. Pradhan M. L. C., and urges the Government of India and the local Governments to provide facilities for the passage of similar legislation applicable to all parts of the country.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has informed Mr R. G. Pradhan, M. L. C., that he cannot allow the introduction into the Legislative Council of the Local Option Bill of which Mr Pradhan had given notice. The sanction of the Governor is required under Section 80 C of the Government of India Act before any measure affecting the public revenues can be brought up for discussion in the Council. The decision is disappointing. The measure undoubtedly has behind it the support of a great many of the legislators, and the leaders of public opinion in different political parties have indicated their sympathy with its purpose. Further particulars of the situation in Bombay are given elsewhere. We note that Mr Pradhan, undaunted by the unjustified rebuff he has received from the Governor, has moved for the appointment of a committee of the Legislative Council to examine the question of Prohibition in its financial aspects, and that this motion has been accepted. We have no doubt it will be shown that Prohibition is likely to be financially profitable as well as morally beneficial.

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Prohibition Results in the U S A

The same journal also informs us

A committee of the Judiciary House of Representatives of the United States was requested last year to report on the proposed modification of the Prohibition Law to permit the manufacture, sale, and use of 2·75 per cent, beverages, instead of the one-half of 1 per cent alcoholic strength permitted under the present law. The liquor interests of America are perfectly aware that there is not the remotest chance of rescinding the 18th Amendment. It was passed by a two-thirds majority vote of Congress and ratified by 46 out of the 48 State Legislatures—a greater majority than any amendment that had ever preceded it. In any challenge of the Prohibition Law, it will only need the support of thirteen State Legislatures to prevent repeal.

But what the "Wets" can do is to attack the standard fixed by the present law so as to increase the alcoholic content of beverages. Why was one-half of 1 per cent. fixed ? Because it was a safe standard, sufficiently low to prevent the development of the alcoholic appetite. Why do the liquor interests want the higher standard ? Because they want to legalise the sale of beverages which are intoxicating especially beer, and bring back the breweries, the saloon, and 90 per cent, of the evils of alcoholism which the 18th Amendment was passed to prevent ! The American people are not likely to be caught napping. The day of the drink poison beverage for them is over. It is down and out.

In the discussions over this matter before the above-mentioned judicial body, much evidence was given on the general results of four years of Prohibition. And it is well to see just what this "dismal failure" of Prohibition really means. Let us first of all deal with statistical information.

There have been 500,000 fewer arrests for drunkenness in a single "dry" year. On July 1, 1922, the ratio of the criminal population of the United States had decreased from 143 to 137, and that signified 1,960 prisons without any prisoners !

The national death-rate, which has been affected by Prohibition and other agencies connected with public health, helped by Prohibition, has been reduced to an equivalent that signifies the saving of 873,000 lives in the four years of Prohibition. The reduction of the number of institutes devoted solely to the treatment of alcoholic cases has been from 275 to 27.

The per capita wealth of the 100 million inhabitants of the United States has increased from 1,950 dollars in 1912 to 2,918 dollars in 1922, which a vice-president of one of the national banks of New York reckons as equivalent to saying the total addition to the wealth of the nation last year was twelve billion dollars.

The total savings deposits amount to 18,000,000,000 dollars, or one-seventh of the amount of the national interest-bearing debt. The economic gains to which Prohibition has made an indispensable contribution are almost beyond computation. The public debt has been reduced by 400,000,000 dollars, since peace was declared, and is being paid off at the rate of 2,000,000 dollars per day. The churches have been the gainer from the new social policy. Over 200,000,000 dollars were spent last year in new church buildings. America owns 15 million motor vehicles.

These figures appear to be exaggerations until one realises that the drink bill of America for the last "wet" year was estimated at 2,500,000,000 dollars.

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No Sympathy for the Bejewelled Rich

Chester T Crowell contributes an amusing article to the *New Republic* on the unnecessary nature of affording police protection to those who go about in jewellery. He says

According to the newspaper headlines Mr. and Mrs. Somebody-or-other were returning home from an after-theatre party when a highwayman confronted them and relieved the lady of jewelry valued at $10,000—or perhaps it was $100,000, I am not certain. Anyway the police were summoned. And that struck me as amusing. In such cases, it always does. Everyone, I surmise, has his pet insanity and mine happens to be that I do not understand why the police should protect jewellery. By what process of reasoning, I wonder, does the human race classify jewelry as property. If it has any useful function, I have never heard of it. On the contrary, it has always seemed to me that the primary purpose of jewelry is to excite cupidity as though the possessor of it would say ; "Lool you, sirs, I have here certain little glitterin baubles which you might grab and carry off in a thimble if you were able first to overcome my opposition. They would fetch in the market som thousands of dollars. I am already fed an clothed and housed, otherwise I could not affor to disport myself adorned with these indigestibl

trinkets, so the challenge, I offer, is a jolly sporting proposition I am in robust health and I don't believe that you can take these things away from me But if you succeed, I shall not starve. First come, first served"

If it is worn in that spirit, I can understand jewelry quite clearly ; more especially when the man in the case drapes it over the lady of his choice A healthy male has no great objection to fighting, with or without cause, and if he can stir up a fight in which he is absolutely assured in advance of the role of champion and defender of his lady, the enterprise can scarcely fail to yield profit and pleasure no matter whether he emerges victorious or defeated But to go swaggering about with jewelry that one is not prepared to defend, and then to yell for the police when attacked, strikes me as ridiculous No less so, indeed, than if Jack Dempsey were to complain tearfully that Harry Wills had taken his boxing gloves away from him

If jewelry were denied the status of property, as I think should be done, then special provision would have to be made for owners of it who had passed beyond the prime age for fighting Briefly they ought to be *allowed to employ their own* retinues of guards, gunmen and retainers This arrangement, I believe, would give the owners of jewelry great pleasure The purpose of the stuff must be display, since it has no practical value yet many persons, like myself, cannot tell paste from pearls, and scarcely notice either, which is not entirely fair to the owners But jewels if were usually accompanied by eight or ten men of the size and build of New York traffic cops, attired preferably in scarlet and green livery, I should rarely fail to observe that a very wealthy man (or his lady) was passing in my vicinity. In all probability, I should turn to gaze upon him and the realization of his power could scarcely be avoided Frankly, I should enjoy such spectacles and I believe there are plenty of men eager to provide them.

My objection is not to the jewelry itself but to classification with groceries and real estate, which seems to me unreasonable I might even go so far as to allow the police to protect jewelry shops since the proprietors are business men supplying merchandise that is obviously in wide demand, but the man who constitutes himself a carrier of his stuff upon the highways ought to do so at his own risk because he cannot possibly prove that the loss of it does him any real damage. And if it doesn't damage him consider, how much less it damages me , yet I have to pay my part of the cost of his vanity.

—

Turkey and Mosul

The *Literary Digest* supplies us with much information on the above question Portions such as the following would be found interesting:

Turkish Atrocities in Mosul—deportations, pillage, rapine and cruelties to Christians and Kurds—put Turkey in wholly to the bad at Geneva where the Council of the League of Nations decided to award Mosul to the kingdom of Irak under British mandate So correspondents wire to American newspapers, quoting the report of an investigating committee headed by General Laidoner of Esthonia. The report estimates that 3,000 Catholic Chaldeans have been deported from the frontier.

General Laidoner's report, made public at the same time as the Council's award, no doubt served an important political purpose, according to the Brooklyn *Eagle*, which asserts that "there is no better justification for awarding the disputed territory to Great Britain than direct proof that the Turks would maladminister it" *The Eagle* proceeds

"Atrocities did occur That much may be taken for granted, even tho the evidence comes from prejudiced sources They occurred in connection with the expulsion of several thousand villagers whom the Turks call Nestorians, who rebelled against Turkish authority, and whom the League investigators call Catholic Chaldeans, who served the Kurdish chiefs as slaves Whenever a population is expelled, there is bound to be cruelty and suffering, yet the Christian Powers were the first *to authorize such expulsion when they signed the* Treaty of Lausanne By this Treaty the Turks were permitted to drive all the Greeks out of Asia Minor Expelling an antagonistic race from Mosul territory was a logical second step

Great Britain's thirst for oil, however, is the deciding factor in this case, from the anti-League point of view of the Chicago *Tribune*, which declares that we owe something to Turkey for making the League and World Court "uncurl from the serenity of altruism and reveal real purposes," the present purpose being "to assure Great Britain the possession of the Mosul oil-fields" We read :

"The League, with the indulgence of the Court, decides to mass its military strength for oil.

"Force is to decide the possession of wealth, just as it has done heretofore. It's useless to have any objection to that If objection prevailed against it in Irak it would prevail against it everywhere the white man is found exploiting the lands of other people whom he has been able to subdue. Why protest in the case of Mosul oil ?

"What we dislike is the pietistic claptrap which invests this old procedure with the aureole of altruism and human good. This semi-deluded country of the United States seems about to go down before a wave of moralistic humbug, a ballyhoo of auto-intoxicated sentmentalists and dogooders who have Baal all drest up as Santa Claus and are about to wheel his image before the people

"Great Britain will get the oil, and it may have to divvy up with some of the other claimants The others will get something as the *quid pro quo.* A mandate will remain soft pickings, but the demented farce is to force the United States Senators to dress in white robes, take palm-leaves in their hands, and lead the American people into the World Court as an ante-chamber to the League of Nations, with the idea that they are promoting fair dealing in the affairs of men."

The New York *World* says :

League authorities have no illusions regarding the British motives for an interest in the region. England is not spending $20,000,000 a year upon

administration without the hope of a profit—in cotton, in grain, above all, in oil. But hewever selfish their objects, the British are unquestionably offering the Arab inhabitants great benefits. They have reformed the judicial system and land registry system, reorganized education, encouraged scientific agriculture, established hospitals, checked epidemics, and built more than 700 miles of railway."

The following bit also will be of interest.

The following view of "a Turkish spokesman" at Geneva on the published account of the award is cabled to the American press.

"If what we read about Mosul is true, it means that Turkey gets worse treatment and less Mosul than she received under the Treaty of Sevres; in other words, we have gone backward and the Turkish Government and people can scarcely be pleased. The word is now up to Angora.

"By the sworn act of our National Assembly, we are ready to waive our rights to Syria, Damascus and what has been known as Irak, but we cling to Mosul as a natural and necessary part of the new Turkey.

"Even the League of Nations Commission of Investigation, on which the Council bases its decision, recognized that Mosul is judicially ours, and remains ours until we renounce it."

Art in Japan

The *Japan Magazine* gives the following:

That certain artists, leaders in painting in Japan have come to take more interest in Japanese than in foreign pictures, their specialty, and also the fact that some musicians will translate popular Western pieces, to make them easier to be understood by the public, is meeting with approval in various directions is interesting says the *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi* in its editorial of October 25th.

European and American worship still run high here, even those, who speak proudly of Japan ranking with the three or five greatest countries in the world in consequence of the World War, showing at the same time their fear and admiration of Europe and America. This is not quite unreasonable, for while Japan is not so inferior in her military art to European and American countries, yet she cannot be independent of all thought and all sorts of civilization, and habitually follows Europe and America in every kind of institution, everything in Europe and America being indiscriminately looked upon as more advanced than that in Japan. *This Western admiration* seems to have been most apparent among artists in Western painting and music.

These two arts cannot, from their nature, stand quite aloof from Europe and America and in fact, foreign painting and foreign vocal music here have hitherto showed nothing independent and original, while other Japanese-traditional arts and literature, which have been deeply under the influence of European and American civilization, have recently shown more or less independence of Western influence or have shown some noteworthy originality, while following Western types. Even the above two arts have come to show, however, the above-mentioned tendencies.

Whether these tendencies are truly gratifying from the viewpoint of pure art, the paper cannot say definitely as an outsider. A new trial is a new stimulus in whatever case. Especially, the above tendencies are an outcome of self-inspection and self-criticism of art and is a new movement from self-awakening, grounded consciously or unconsciously on the traditional spirit of the nation.

Vanishing Pleasantness of European Life

La Revue Bleue paints a picture of European life of to-day which should have a salutary effect on believers in thorough Westernization. It begins as follows:

'Butter has gone up again.'

'We are no longer able to keep an apartment or to employ a servant.'

'Well, as for me, I haven't been at a theatre for so long that I don't know what it seems like.'

'Umph! What do you want? Those are things for the noveaux riches'

'Say, I've seen eggs for ten centimes apiece.'

'And to think it is the same everywhere.'

'Ah, that detestable war!'

We live in a chorus of these lamentations Some dwell on the comfort and happiness of the good old times before 1914. Others condemn our present manners and declaim bitterly against our unscrupulous profiteers. Many deplore the frivolity, the lack of seriousness, of the new generation its indifference to solid attainments and skill and scholarship, its devotion to pleasure. Good people are distressed over the decadence of our morals and manners. They say that courtesy, modesty, respect for authority, have vanished, that the young folks of to-day are wayward, abnormal, and more or less degenerate.

And sums up:

"The present world has mistaken the purpose of life, which is not conquest, for that is invariabl ephemeral, which is not material pleasures, fo they are equally evanescent; but is a state of moral equilibrium and perfection. The ills of ou sadly afflicted and nerveracked race can be heale only by a doctrine of renunciation."

This is what that prophet of a future age wi say. Will he fortify his doctrine by religion, b pure reason, by aesthetic ideals, or by hygien necessity? That is a secret that only the futu will reveal.

Anglo-Saxon *vs.* French Manners

Marcel Pillon bemoans what he calls tl Anglo-Americanization of French in *L' Ec de Paris.* We quote some of his grievance

There was a time when we French justly e joyed the reputation of being an intellectual peop History records the numerous salons where th delighted in conversing wittily and eloquen

upon art, literature, and similar themes. Every social gathering became a joust of bon mots and good-natured banter. We likewise cultivated our physiques, but not at the cost of our brains. But the Anglo-Saxons appeared and imposed their sports upon us. From that date we lost the art of entertaining conversation, of good cooking, of gaiety, and of appreciating wine—for laughter and wine are brothers. Sport killed these things.

We are not temperamentally fitted for cocktails, dancing, and jazz. We like to do things on their proper occasions, and not to dance between two courses at luncheon or dinner. These are exotic manners, offensive to our tastes and habits.

Your Anglo-Saxon is self-centred and self-sufficient. He loves his ease and cultivates his hobbies. He carries the latter with him instead of leaving them behind him at his frontier. They cling to him like his clothes. Without them life would not be life to him. He assumes that he is at home wherever he may be. He does not accommodate himself to foreign ways, but forces foreigners to adopt his own.

Thus it is that a whole series of alien habits has been thrust upon us and has upset our whole scheme of life. We used to take luncheon at midday and dine at seven o'clock. The Anglo-Americans come and, being in the habit of having meals at slightly later hours, they persuade us that it is not chic to eat at the time that we formerly did, and so we now take luncheon at one o'clock and dine at eight—unless it be at nine.

Thirty years ago, when a Frenchman or a French woman felt hungry in the afternoon, he or she entered a pastry shop, drank a small glass of port, Alicante, or Frontignac, and ate two or three little pastries. That was good form. But it was French, and not Anglo-American.

The English and the Americans show that Danton was mistaken. They always carry a little of their fatherland around on their boots. They prefer tea, their national drink, to our liqueurs, and cake, toast, and muffins to our *gateaux*. So they impose those things upon us, and under their influence our good old French fashions are becoming Anglo-Saxon. We no longer meet socially in the afternoon without the conventional cup of tea.

It is the same with our sports. Our national games have given way to boxing, football, and golf, and these have brought with them their own codes of conduct, their habits of life, to modify our national character. The young people of to-day bear no resemblance whatever to the young people of our own youth, and as we are instinctively *laudatores temporis acti*, we regard the transformation as by no means fortunate:

These violent and brutal sports have robbed our race of its most characteristic and excellent qualities—courtesy and amiability. Those were distinctively French virtues, precious qualities for which we were universally envied, and which we owed to our Latin heritage. We should not forget that we French naturally crave sentimental emotions. We must be vibrant, thrilled, immersed in some hobby or love. In this realm of the emotions, above all, Anglo-American influence has not been happy, especially as it has affected our young women. It has brought us bobbed hair, masculine manners, and flirting—something that rarely leads to matrimony, and still more rarely to happy matrimony. Anglo-Saxon flirting may be all right in England and America, but it is all wrong in France. Moreover, across the Channel and on the other side of the Atlantic laws and social customs protect the flirting girl, but our moral and social codes make no provision for her.

As an Englishman Saw Fascism in Action

Ever since Mussolini boldly rebuked Mr. Baldwin for having, in an uncalled-for fashion, said things against Mussolini and Fascism, Englishmen of the conservative variety have lost all love for the Fascisti. The following account by an Englishman in the *Manchester Guardian* will go to prove this. The introductory editorial comments are also noteworthy :

[A land with a censored press, such as Italy is to-day, must content itself with being reported by its critics. The anonymous author of the following article probably speaks with bias, but with a closer approximation to truth than official recorders of Italy's current history. In justice to Mussolini's Government, it should be said, however, that the Prefect of Florence, who was reputed to be one of the best in the kingdom, was instantly dismissed after the murders, together with the Chief of Police and some Fascist leaders.]

The writer describes the Florence affair and explains it as follows :

It is no accident that the victims of last week-end's Fascist orgy belong entirely to the class that meets regularly in the Brazennose or Constitutional Club in Manchester or any West End Club of a similar sort. No one who reads the Fascist press can fail to perceive that in the Fascist philosophy the enemy is not so much the Communist for whom there is indeed shown a sort of respect as being, so to speak, the other side of the same medal, but the Liberal, the intellectual, or, more broadly, the believer in ordinary political methods.

Herein, indeed, lies the origin of the whole affair. Politics is the ultimate, the unpardonable crime in present-day Fascist Italy. 'Thou shalt have no other gods but me' is the frank doctrine of a Farinacci (or shall we say, for politeness' sake, of his prisoner Mussolini?), and spies have of late reported to Fascist headquarters that the Freemasons, in Latin Europe traditionally a Liberal body, had in their lodge gatherings been guilty of 'talking politics,' of exchanging ideas among themselves, as men belonging to the responsible classes, about the present and future of their common country. Thereupon, some weeks ago, persecution of the usual type—menaces, castor oil, beatings—began.

On Saturday night, a Fascist condottiere, the Cavaliere Luporini, accompanied by his fellow Fascist, Signor Gambacciani, descended upon a certain Signor Bandinelli, a sexagenarian professional man, at his house, for the purpose of extorting a list of the Freemasons of the city. When the old man showed some reluctance, the Cavaliere, as in Fascist duty bound, smashed in his face. Fascism

of course, permits of no redress, so that it is perhaps intelligible, though no doubt inexcusable, that a guest who was present lost control of himself, drew a revolver, shot the Cavaliere dead and wounded his companion Whatever his fault, he paid for it afterward by being beaten to death Reprisals—not, be it noted, against Communists or Socialists or workmen or people of the baser sort—were then let loose, of course with the consent of the equally terrorized police and civic authorities Stores and shops and offices belonging to dangerous Liberals were systematically sacked and looted Private apartments of other people of the same detested respectability were similarly treated prominent lawyers and former deputies were murdered in cold blood, among them Signor Pilati formerly a moderate Socialist deputy, and Dr Consolo, a leading Liberal lawyer.

And comments

Fascism is what the biologists call a throwback to the days when Guelph and Ghibelline ruthlessly fought for supremacy, when the faction of the Palazzo Medici recruited the mob against the *Palazzo Vecchio Faction is triumphant* as in renaissance times and as in those times, the supreme faction sets itself to exterminate the others

And prophesies

In a few days, Mussolini will greet Chicherin with a real cordiality that Joynson Hicks could not feign Yet the chief Fascist paper in Florence—there are, of course no others here—is bitterly, ferociously anti-English

Let our British Fascists whoever they may be and if they really exist, think it out

—

French Financial Crisis

The Literary Digest presents the French financial situation in a very lucid form We are told

A France staring "bleakly at her own bankruptcy" is envisaged by a rather extreme newspaper writer who has been watching the downfall of the franc and the passing of Premiers and the vain struggle of Finance Ministers to cope with the fiscal problems of the Republic As a Paris correspondent of *The Wall Street Journal* sums it all up "Politically the situation is nonsensical Financially it is critical. Therefore the outlook is unhappy" France already staggering under the burden of reconstruction must so the Boston *Transcript* notes, choose between inflation with all that it implies, or a levy on capital, or a tremendous increase in direct taxation. And no political group in her Parliament is strong enough to put through its own program, or willing to submerge its own views to work out a compromise plan. France has had five revolutions in little more than a century, yet to-day, says William Bird, in a Consolidated Press dispatch from Paris, the nation "faces perhaps its most severe crisis in modern history" Yet there is no suffering, no unemployment, business is proceeding normally, and there is not the slightest sign of disorder." Nevertheless, statesmen, bankers, merchants, industrial leaders "meet hourly in frantic conferences, each questioning the other in the hope of finding a miraculous outlet from the threatening disaster" As this writer frankly states it :

'France's floating debt amounts to sixty billion paper francs (about $2, 400,000,000). If redemption is demanded, it means that the Treasury must pay out an average of 200,000,000 francs (about $8,-000,000) daily for a year. And to meet this threatened demand for payment, there are available 400, 000,000 francs (about $16,000,000)—just enough for two days"

This tremendous debt is due to the fact that

"Instead of printing money to meet the deficits in her budget, she has printed bonds and short-term notes. In order to refund such issues as have fallen due and raise new money for additional deficits, it has been necessary for the French Treasury to offer increasingly attractive terms in the way of interest rates and premiums until to-day the country has a hopelessly top-heavy internal *debt structure*.

'The total French internal debt amounts to about 300,000,000,000 francs The Government is forced in the current year to provide for the refunding of 21,000,000,000 francs in three-year, six year and ten-year bonds which have fallen or are about to fall due The scheme devised for meeting such of these obligations as have already matured was only a partial success, and a partial success is tantamount to failure.

In order to regain her financial feet

France must reduce her public debt, and, insists *The Nation* (New York), "if she is to do that, it will have to be by sacrifices on the part of her men of wealth The Left parties justly demand that men of wealth be forced to make sacrifices If they refuse, if they use the Conservative Senate as a fortress from which to fight any effort to make them sacrifice, they will only be calling on the deluge No country is revolution-proof when its rich men refuse to heed the writing on the wall"

In France, there are three general rival programs of financial reform, writes C R Hargrove from Paris to *The Wall Street Journal*: the Socialist plan of a capital levey, the Caillaux plan for super-taxes on income and certain kinds of property and the establishment of a special fund to take care of the floating debt, and the Conservative scheme for rigid economy, broader taxation, and the turning over of State monopolies to private hands A government lottery bond is also proposed

But

"The private view of the best-posted people is that there is really but one solution—and that is a practical repudiation by France of her entire internal debt In effect, that is what Germany did and if there is eventually any other way out for France, no one can see it The things, other than repudiation, which would put her on her feet seem to be politically impossible."

—

Germany does not like Locarno

The German Press appears to be very much against the peace of Locarno as can be gathered from the following quotation from the *Literary Digest*:

The peace of Locarno holds no illusions for the German Nationalists, it appears. Yet it is admitted in Berlin press dispatches that the German Cabinet realise that refusal to sign the Locarno treaties would mean a political defeat of the first order and that is why they will be ratified, because if they were not, the Nationalist would come back into power with a force they have not yielded since the revolution. The German Nationalist press, below quoted, has objections to the Locarno agreements that may be summarized as follows: Instead of forming the basis of a real peace, these treaties may prove to be one step further toward "the subjugation of Germany to the Allies." Some of these newspapers criticize the results of Locarno with moderation and caution, but others go to the limit of indignation and anger. Thus the *Deutsche Tageblatt* speaks of the "disgrace of Locarno," and of the "Third Versailles," while the *Deutsche Zeitung* expresses itself as follows:

"In cold blood and a lightmindedness unparalleled in history, we have written ourselves down, and so we have bought complete dependence upon the political will of the Allied Powers. The only hope is that at the very last moment it will be possible to prevent Germany from entering the League of Nations, for without such entry the Locarno treaties cannot become valid."

The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* explains Nationalist hostility to the Locarno treaties in these words:

"It is essential to note that France has not renounced her treaties with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, which were directed against Germany, in spite of the fact that in the near future Germany will become a member of the League of Nations. We fail to understand how it is tolerable that military alliances directed against other members, should exist within the League of Nations when the League of Nations is supposed at the same time to be the League of Peace."

Protestantism in Danger

Says the *Literary Digest*:

Protestantism in continental Europe is reported in a desperate battle for its life, with the outlook so ominous as to raise the question whether it is not on the point of death. It has been reported from time to time, sometimes with almost despairing insistence, that the churches of Luther and Calvin were in serious plight, but it is now imprest on us that they have reached the point where only prompt and efficient leadership can save them from being mere relics of history.

In Transylvania, where all churches derived revenue from the State, it has been cut off from government help. Elsewhere the people, overburdened by taxes and the task of eking out a sheer existence, are unable to contribute to the Church's support.

"Actual demolition of church buildings has been a grave loss in many regions. French churches were not the only ones to suffer from shellfire. In East Prussia the Russian and German troops together destroyed 117 churches, most of which are not yet rebuilt. In Latvia, one-fourth of the church buildings were ruined. One sees broken altars and ruined churches across the entire eastern front. One hundred and five Evangelical churches and twenty-three schools were destroyed in Poland. Nearly all the church buildings in eastern and middle Galicia were wholly demolished or badly damaged, including serious harm to the important Evangelical institutions at Stanislau. In Roumania, wherever the battle line swayed back and forth, one finds the wreck of chapels in which centered the religious aspirations of generations of believers. Scores of churches were destroyed in Russia when Red and White forces grappled for the wreck of the Russian Empire. Serbia and Bulgaria each has its quota of ruined church buildings, mute testimony of the passage of the Four Horsemen who knew no respect for faith or creed."

British Interests in China

The *Public Opinion* quotes the following—

"*The time has come when the Government ought to appoint some outstanding personage, a man of world-wide repute whose very name would commend him to the Chinese authorities, to go to the Far East and take charge of British affairs. If the darkness of China is to be dispelled the illumination of great personality is needed.*"

—Daily Express

And says in the words of the *Daily News*:

A Bitter Reality to Lancashire

"It is, of course, profound British interest to assist in the creation of a peaceful prosperous and contented China. The battles of the Chinese generals may appear barbarously remote to the average British citizen. They are a bitter reality to the manufacturers and operatives of the Lancashire cotton industry."

Sir Oliver Lodge on Evolution

The following is taken from the *Public Opinion*:

Sir Oliver Lodge recently delivered three addresses on "The Evolution of Man," and in his final discourse, reported in the "Christian World Pulpit" the eminent scientist expounded some great truths of especial interest in this New Year weeks issue.

"Humanity is in the morning of the times, the human race is still in its infancy," said Sir Oliver Lodge, "and in spite of the imagination of the leaders and geniuses of the race, and in spite of their great achievements, we have still much to learn.

The growth of the human soul, like the growth of the human body, must be a slow, laborious

process taking great tracts of time. Here and there a genius arises and towers above his fellows; the higher he rises the more convinced he is of his imperfections. But the great bulk of humanity is far below that level.

As Browning says near the end of that great poem 'Paracelsus':

Man is not Man as yet,
Nor shall I deem his object served his end
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth.
While only here and there a star dispels
The darkness, here and there a towering mind
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows when the host
Is out at once to the despair of night,
When all mankind at once is perfected
Equal in full blown powers—then, not till then,
I say, begins man's general infancy"

—

What Japan owes to India

J. Takakusu discusses the debt of Japan to India in the *Young East* and among other things mentions the introduction of cotton into Japan from India. It came about as follows:

Now it is an exceedingly interesting fact that cotton was one of the media by which intercourse between Japan and India was opened in ancient times, it being recorded in authentic Japanese history that cotton seeds were first introduced into this country from India. In July, 799, a foreigner was washed ashore in a little boat somewhere on the southern coast of Mikawa province, Japan. He had nothing to cover his body except a mino, or straw rain-coat, and a pair of short drawers. Over his left shoulder he had a piece of blue cloth, very much like a Buddhist's cassock. He looked about twenty years of age, stood 5 ft. 5 in. and had ears with ear-lobes over 3 in. in length. His speech was quite unintelligible, and there was no telling to what nationality he belonged, though a Chinaman, who happened to see him, asserted that he was from Quen-lun, a Malay country lying south to Champa. Later on, however, when the outlandish man learned to express himself in the Japanese language, he confessed himself to be a man from Ten-jiku, as India was then called in Japan He used constantly to play on his one-stringed harp, and his songs sounded extremely pathetic. Among his effects was found something like grass-seeds, which prove to be no other than some seeds of the cotton-plant. The Indian was allowed, at his own request, to live at the Kawara-dera temple. There he disposed of his possessions, and built himself a house at the western end of the Imperial capital, Nara, where he began helping others by giving accommodations to travellers and wayfarers. Afterwards he removed to the Kokubun-ji temple in Omi province. This account appears in the 8th volume of the Nihon-ko-ki (one of the official histories).

—

Mr. Baldwin Claims too Much

Harold J. Laski, referring to Mr. Baldwin's claims to have achieved wonders in Locarno and in India, says in the *New Republic*:

No one can doubt that Locarno is a real success. It has definitely put a term to the war-atmosphere; and the resounding ovation which greeted the German Ambassador at the Guildhall Banquet may be taken as the starting-point of a new temper in European diplomacy But we must not credit Mr. Chamberlain with too much. Against his success at Locarno must be put his abysmal failure at Geneva. Against his attitude to Germany must be put his elaborate offensiveness to Russia. He has done nothing to ease the situation in China. His careful aloofness in the Riffi war has deprived the native tribes even of access to necessary medical supplies. He has made one great gesture by learning from the methods of Mr MacDonald. We must wait to see what fruits he has the skill to gather from the seeds he has sown. We must, above all, be certain that his cultivation of Germany is not a move toward that bloc of the Christian West against the Soviet East, of which Mr Ormsby-Gore, the under-secretary for the Colonies, spoke so ardently a few days ago.

It is difficult to know from what Mr. Baldwin drew his satisfaction about India. He has appointed a new Viceroy who has considerable private charm, but no starting public merit. The new speaker of the Indian legislature has adopted the attitude of neutrality in his functions which his office demands But the twelve months' secretaryship of Lord Birkenhead has been completely barren so far as new ideas are concerned; and the Swaraj party has announced that unless the government moves toward further autonomy, obstructionist tactics will be resumed. No one can claim for the labour government that it showed any real imagination about India. But certainly it was not, like Mr. Baldwin, optimistic on such tenuous grounds.

—

Future of Religion

Discussing the above in *The World Tomorrow*, Harry F. Ward says:

Perhaps the one fact that means more for the future of religion than anything else in the life of our time, is the appearance of an ethical emphasis in some form or other in all of the great world religions. A concern with social conduct, a demand for change in man's attitudes and relations with his fellows, is the sign of new life in all the great faiths of the world What Gandhi has done in this direction from the background of Hinduism has been felt throughout the civilized world.

Not long since the Panchen Lama from Tibet came down to Peking. He is a great figure in the Buddhist world. While there, he declared that his religion must work with all others to help mankind get rid of the evil of war. Only a few months before, the official head of the Mohammedan religion had declared the same thing and had coupled with the question of war the kindred

great problem of property. In a joint concern to deliver man from the consequences of war from the evils of possession and the acquisitive sprit, Christians and Communists are on the same ground, no matter how they separate on the question of methods.

Here, then, is a common element running through all religion and irreligion, and growing constantly in vitality. It is the conviction that if life is to be worth living, it must be lived in a certain way: it must be a process of development and a process of sharing. It must have freedom and justice and fellowship.

—

Toru Dutt

Maris Johns writes in the *Bharat* a journal run by the Indian students of Oxford .

From time to time the literature of England has been enriched by the work of people of other races, and not the least interesting of these contributions is the work of an Indian girl. Toru Dutt, a member of a brilliant Bengali Christian family. Toru was born in Calcutta on March 4th, 1856, and died on August 30th, 1877. Thus her life was but a span of twenty-one years; yet, how crowded it was with literary achievements, a brief examination of her work will show.

The poetry she wrote was of a high lyrical quality, and assures her a lasting place in our literature. Perhaps her best known work is *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* a volume of translations into English from various French poets such as Victor Hugo, A. de Lamartine, Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, and Barbier. Copious notes, give a fearless exposition of the author's opinions, and reveal a keenly critical judgment. The work as a whole not only shows a complete mastery of two alien languages (English and French), but astonishes us by the wealth of poetical imagery that one so young has discovered.

What more of nerve and vigour could be found in alien poetry than these lines from Auguste Barbier's *La Cavale*?

> "O lank-haired Corsican! how grand was France
> In the fair summer month of Messidor!
> A wild steed with the lightnings in her glance,—
> Free—free, she owned nor king nor conqueror,
> Though tamest and beheld'st her attitude,
> Her restless croup and supple empty back ;
> One spring ! And then away—O Centaur rude,
> Thy spur she feels---choose, choose at will
> thy track."

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

A Universal Language for India

In the *Modern Review* for January, 1926, Mr. Madhu Sudan S. Gokhale has discussed the problem of a universal language for India and recommended Bengali as a suitable language for the purpose, as he thinks it satisfies the tests he would apply to a language claiming to become universal. Nothing could please a Bengalee more than to think that his language should have such a high distinction, because he knows no other language in India, has better claims to survival than Bengalee with its rich, varied, and living literature. But Mr. Gokhale does not seem to have taken into account all the elements involved in the question. From my experience of teaching Bengali to non-Bengalees, I would like to refer to one or two points that I find to have been overlooked by him.

Mr. Gokhale desires that Bengali should be written in the Devanagari script in order to avoid the difficulty of deciphering. Supposing this was done, it would at best enable the non-Bengalees to understand the written Bengali. But what about the spoken language? The Bengali letters do not possess the same sound values as the Devanagari letters. Again, Bengali phonetics is of a very complex nature, the like of which can rarely be found anywhere else in India. A Maratha, for example, may learn Bengali at home through the Devanagari script, but when he will speak Bengali with the Marathi sound values attached to the letters, he will be as perfectly unintelligible to a Bengali as a Bengali speaking the language in his own way will be to him. Will the non-Bengalees be ready to accept Bengali phonetics too with the Bengali language or will they choose to pronounce Bengali in their own way, requiring the Bengalees to change their pronunciation also? For example, is Mr. Gokhale ready to pronounce पद्म somewhat (but not exactly) like *poddo*, अमूल्य like *omullo*, यज्ञ like *joggo*, ऐक्य and ऐतिह्य with two different values for य (one as in Marathi, another like *a* in

English *cab*) खाया as in Marathi, but खोयार with the silent?

Another difficulty is that the written Bengali considerably differs from the spoken, principally in pronunciation and secondarily in vocabulary कोथाय याच्छेन would in the standard speech be reduced to कोथा याच्छ । This means, the non-Bengalee has to learn not only the written, but also the spoken form of the language

It would be very charitable to describe the Bengali language as homogeneous In the matter of pronunciation some of the Eastern dialects (e g those of Chittagong and Mymensing) have hardly a better chance of being understood by a Calcutta man than Marathi spoken to him for the first time And it takes an unduly long time for an Eastern Bengal man to be able to speak the Calcutta dialect without disclosing within the first ten minutes of his talk that he does not belong to Calcutta. The vocabulary of East Bengal also considerably differs from that of the West There are many Prakrit words in it which it has in common with Hindi Gujarathi and Marathi, but which are not to be found in the Calcutta dialect For example, the basic verb for the barking of a dog in the Sylhet district is भुक (e g कुत्ताय भुके, the dog barks) it is the same in Hindi, Guzrati and Marathi, but it is not found in western Bengali Standard Bengalee, therefore represents a fraction of the spoken language of the province though we may hope it will one day be universal in Bengal

To make Bengali a universal language, would, in the right sense, mean acceptance of the Bengali written language the Bengali spoken language, and the Bengali system of pronunciation, if not of the script also But Mr Gokhale would like to substitute the script by Devanagari Leaving aside the difficulties in printing, typing, telegraphic communication, to which it has in common with Bengali, the Devanagari is very slow to write. That is why the Marathas invented the *Modi* script for *writing*. If the script is changed at all the Bengalees would naturally desire to subsitute it by one that is decidedly superior to it and supplies the demands of modern times, like, say, the Roman script.

ABINASH CHANDRA BOSE
Kolhapur City.

The Maratha Recovery after Panipat

In the last portion of the article, "The Maratha Recovery after Panipat" by Prof Sarkar (*November*), there appears the following statement :—

"On the subject of the murder of the Peshwa, Narayenrao, Sirdesai elaborates the view, now accepted in Maratha circles that Reghunathrao and Anandibai did not instigate the crime."

This statement is rather incorrect, and misleading After discussing the various theories about Peshwa's murder, Sirdesai has come to the conclusion that at least Anandibai (not Raghunathrao) must have had no hand in the crime He pleads for her that in the absence of any documentary evidence showing her guilt, she should be given the benefit of the doubt (page 348). The statements made by Duff, Kincaid and Parasnis, in their histories that Anandibai changed the order of 'arrest' into that of murder', and instigated Raghoba to murder his nephew, Sirdesai dismisses as unbelievable because these authors adduce no evidence in support of their statements Sirdesai, however, nowhere absolves Raghunathrao from the guilt.

But one fails to understand why Sirdesai did not refer to Major Basu's suggestion that Mr. Moysten, the English envoy at the Peshwa's court, *must have instigated Raghoba to murder Narayenrao* (Rise of the Christian Power in India ,Vol II, page 40) It is suggested that he must not have referred to it as Basu gives no documentary evidence in support of it. But there would have been no harm in referring to Basu's suggestion and then dismissing it as unbelievable as he did those of Duff and Kincaid.

V. G PATWARDHAN
SATARA.

FIELDS IN RAINS

When the clouds loom over the skies
I look into my emerald fields
In childish delight !
The passing showers weave a pearly net.
Through it glimmers the daylight grey and soft.
The fields beam afresh in living green.
Specks of dust are washed in silvery rain.
The air savours of the grassy scent.
How picturesque the cranes
Flying against the smoky sky,
Like a garland of emancipated souls
Winging their way heavenward
Having broken the mortal bonds of form and lif

In every rain-drop
A sweet tongue sings a song.
Lo ! the music of the showers
Awaken in my heart
The long-forgotten dreams
Of my playful childhood !*

D. RAMI REDDY

* Translated by the author from his original Telugu poem.

Artistic Scene In Holland Done On Typewriter

Executed entirely on a portable typewriter, a scene in Holland is the work of a Dutch artist. Figures and letter characters both were used, and



What Typewriter Keys will do under an Artist's Fingers—a Dutch Scene in Letters and Figures

ontrasting shades were achieved by superimposing number of symbols to make lines of the heaviness equired

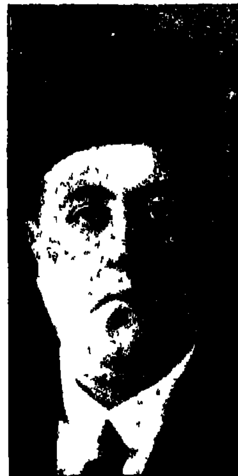
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Persia's Bloodless Revolution

Another Mussolini is seen by certain elements in ersia in the assumption of the Shah's throne by eza Khan Pahlevi, premier and former Minister of ar, after the National Assembly had adopted a solution deposing the youthful Shah and the ajar dynasty by a vote of 80 to 5. Thus a private ldier in a Cossack regiment garrisoned in Persia ecomes a dictator of an empire which for centuries as been one of the most exclusive monarchies on rth.

"The Shah himself is to blame for the present situation.

Two years ago he left Persia to regale himself with the delights of Paris. There he has given himself over to wine, women, and song, spending lavishly of the money that has been wrung from the Persian people. His deposition came in direct response to public opinion, and out of it may come a better and more popular government." "Nowhere in America will there be much sympathy for Shah Ahmed Mirza, who has been playing ducks and drakes with his big income in European gambling places



The Ex-shah of Persia, who, at the age of 16, became Persia's ruler, the "King of Kings." He is now under thirty, and lives in Paris.



The new ruler, Rezakhan who rose from the ranks of the army, in which he served for years as a private, to Commander-in-Chief.

The youthful ruler's losses, according to the New York *Herald Tribune*, have been estimated at $3,000,000 His parties on his private yacht have cost him another million, it is said. Under the new regime, he is to receive a pension—and his jewels, valued at $400,000,000, we are told.

"Before the World War Persia had come under the joint control of Great Britain and Russia, but the latter's hold slipt because of its own upheaval Reza Khan saw his opportunity. His rise to power was rapid, and for years he has been the Mussolini of Persia."

"In contemporary Persia, covering more than 600, 000 miles, there are at the most only about 100 miles of railway tracks. Thirteen years ago there was in the country only a single automobile.

"Reza Khan Pahlevi, who now is the virtual dictator of the land of the Shahs, is of a very humble origin, both as regards his ancestry and

education. His father was a farmer, which means that Reza Khan could not obtain in his childhood that elementary education which is comprised in the three Rs. He has been virtual dictator since February, 1921. Like Mussolini, Reza Khan has retained the Parliament in order that it may approve his will according to the formalities of a constitutional regime.

"It is rather difficult to compare Reza Khan with any of the dictators who have made themselves the rulers of several European countries. Both Lenin and Mussolini had sworn allegiance to causes which have served as the cloaks of their assumption of power. Reza Khan professes no adherence either to the tenets of internationalism or to those of nationalism. Altho there is some superficial resemblance between him and Spain's dictator, Primo de Rivera, their aspirations, as indicated in their utterances, are far from having the same objective. Reza Khan is fighting for the unification of his country, because the expansive power of his ruling ambition demands the widening of his field of action.

"Reza Khan has an army such as Persia has not had for a long time. It consists of 40,000 soldiers who, altho they are not models of military efficiency, are a great deal ahead of the military formations of the past. Reza pays them regularly, feeds and clothes them, thereby assuring for himself their loyalty and fitness for military action. His personal courage, which is extraordinary, has helped him in retaining his hold over the troops.

"The inhabitants of the country have attributed the greatest importance to Reza Khan's army. They *have not seemed* to be aware that the international situation has been greatly favoring the dictator's scheme of unification and of centralized sovereignty. Soviet Russia had renounced her claims to Persian concessions and privileges. Britain, too, the cause of perennial jealousy having been thus eliminated, felt no inducement to continue a policy of infringing upon Persia's sovereignty. The United States, too, had declared its insistence upon the policy of the open door, which was an additional reason for the course which England took.

"Since Reza Khan became dictator he has had the titles and ranks in the Army abolished, introduced several reforms to simplify the weights and measures, furthered the cause of sanitation, public charity and education, and has been doing everything in his power to initiate a system of orderly accounting in the State finances."

"Reza Khan may be an autocrat and virtual dictator, but he is likely to leave behind him a Persian republic as the fruit of his labors.'

—

Listening with The Fingers



A new method, which is akin to radio transmission in its effects, has been adopted to assist the deaf in hearing. Marie Tilson a deaf inmate of the Central Institute of St Louis, is shown listening to the young woman with the megaphone through her fingertips, which are placed on a drum which is stretched over the mouth of the megaphone. Miss Tilson cannot hear with her ears and so she listens with her fingers, the vibrations of the young woman's voice being transmitted to the child's brain via her hands.

—

The Modern Maid Marian

Archery and fencing, two ancient forms of killing, have come down to modern times, shorn of their deadliness and some of their glamour as sports—and sports of interest to the gentler sex, at that. When duelling went out of favor as an institution of "honor," fencing was retained to give poise and quickness of eye to young men of society.

Today there are women's fencing clubs in the large American cities, where many wealthy women have taken up fencing as their favorite sport. The deadly arrow of our own Indians exists only in the museum, the bow and arrow approved by archery associations is bought at the sporting goods store as athletic equipment. But in these modern days you must have a target from the sporting goods section, too, instead of an enemy's heart to aim at.

Recently, archery—there's room for only the one sport in our page—has been growing in popularity. Half of the two thousand women archers in the United States are in colleges, and in the past year or so not only most of the women's colleges but the women in a number of State universities as well have become enthusiastic over archery. One



A line-up of Mt. Holyoke girls with the bull's-eye the one objective

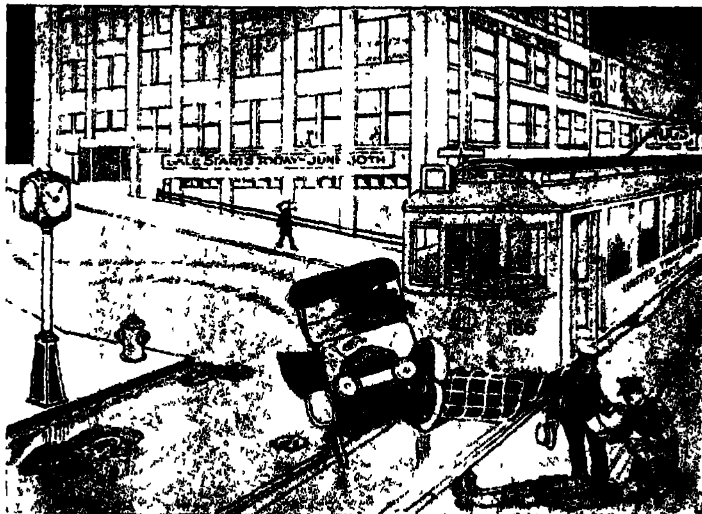
son why physical instructors are pushing it is that it is an attractive sport which can be offered to girls not quite physically up to the strenuousness of basketball and hockey. There is, of course, no such physical strain as is involved in these forms of team play, though greater nervous strain, while there is good exercise for the upper-arm muscles, the shoulders and the muscles across the back, training in poise and grace; in coordination of eye, brain and aim, and the interest of competition.

Besides, there is the appeal to the imagination of sharing in a sport to which William Tell, Hiawatha, Robin Hood and Maid Marian, stories of dark forests and desperate adventure, of the archers of Agincourt and Poitiers, contribute their flavor of association It is an appeal that the spectator feels, too—when he sees a line of young women, observing strict rules of position, a quiver at each belt on the right, bows well drawn, each ready to loose the arrow to speed to its mark. It is a picture full of grace and charm in its own right as well as in its romantic suggestion.

—

Puzzle Picture Tests Police Memory and Vision

To test the quickness of perception, accuracy and memory of candidates for police departments, the bureau of public personnel administration at Washington has prepared pictures showing a collision of a street car and an automobile. The would-be policeman is allowed to study the print for three minutes and may take any notes that he wishes. At the end of the time, he is asked questions about the things he saw, such as, "On what street was the auto being driven ?" "What was the number on the street car ?" "What shows reckless driving on the part of the chauffeur ?" The queries, ten in all, must be answered in fifteen minutes, and the applicant is graded according to the replies. The test has been found useful in that it indicates if the candidate is naturally alert and precise or is unlikely to notice the significant facts of such an accident. Another observation problem consists in allowing the competitor a three-second glance at an automobile license plate, the average time an officer or a pedestrian has to look at a tag under ordinary traffic conditions. He then attempts to write down the number correctly In tests for automobile drivers, ten photographs illustrating dangerous or objectionable situations are shown the candidates, and they are asked to tell the hazardous feature in each.



After Studying This Picture for Three Minutes, Police Candidates Are Asked Ten Questions about What They Saw, to Test Their Quickness, Accuracy and Memory.

—

Javanese Dances

By J. V. H. Labberton

From Jawa-Dwipam arrived in Madras recently a group of Javanese dancers and the Javanese orchestra (*gamelan*). They gave performances



Javanese Dancer as Arjuna



Javanese Dancer as Abhimanyu



Javanese Dancer in the Role of A Woman

at the Jubilee Convention of the Theosoph Society, and will do so throughout India, if desi

The Wayang Wong is, from the standpoint Art, a most beautiful expression of the human in dancing. There is not in the whole world other trace, except perhaps the old Bulgar capable of expressing themselves so beautifull the dance as the Javanese artists These ar cratic dancers have an unimaginable grace Ar souls, who feel for line and color, will be delig with the fine distinguished movements of dancers whose power of imagination puts in another world. This power explains why self-controlled movements are so delicate and

They dance a romance out of the great the Mahabharata War, called in Java the Bl Yuda. The more delicate and refined type of

ng is alloted to the Pandavas in the Drama, each one of whom has his own dance. For instance, Arjuna dances quite differently from Bhima, who is always the kshattriya. The Kaurava dance is again quite different, more wild, always aggressive, while the Danawas' dance is a savage dance, always attacking. Accompanying Arjuna, there are always three figures—clowns: these represent, in fact the powers of good, who help him to gain victory over his enemies.

In Java, there are several types of dancing. The dances of women are called *nayuban* and these are for the common people, except the Srimpi—which are danced by the little Princesses of the Kraton Palace. The Srimpi is the Symbolical Dance of the nine Gopis before Shri Krishna and may only be given when the King is present. The little princesses may have no other one in thought during the dance than only the King, who represents Shri Krishna.

The art of dancing the Bharata Yuda is practised only by the young nobles and is called *belso* Three years' strenuous training is necessary to master the canons of this art. Most of the Princes of the country are perfect dancers.

The Wayang Purva is something very different Wayang means shadow and purva means old. It is a kind of puppet show. The puppets are made of leather and are painted in gold and different colors Their appearance is very strange, with only a touch of resemblance to humanity. They are moved by the hands of the story-teller and the shadows of the dancing figures are cast on a white screen. The lamp behind the screen is in the form of a copper Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, oil ago. The Wayang Purva, the shadow, is burnt in it with a cotton string for the wick The strange, unhuman figures, like the Wayang Wong, the *human* shadow-dancers before mentioned represent the Pandavas and Kauravas from the Mahabharata of 5000 years puppet-play, is supposed to continue for not less than 12 hours.

There is only one man who at once moves the puppets, talks, and sings the story of human life while the orchestra follows the theme with its melodies of human joy and sorrow.

Russian Crown Jewels



A Russian Crown Jewel



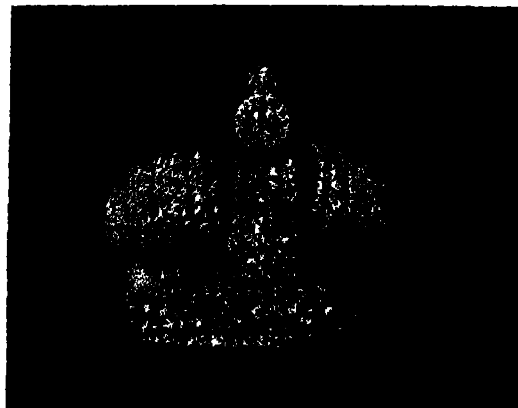
A Russian Crown Jewel



A Russian Crown Jewel



A Russian Crown Jewel



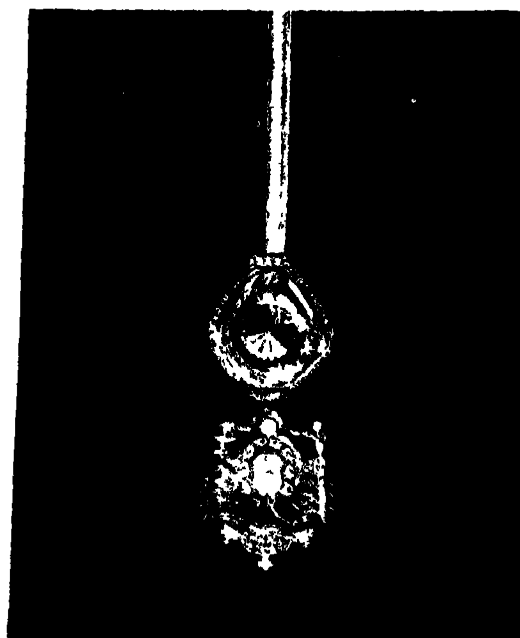
A Russian Crown Jewel

"Russian Crown Jewels, around whose fate and alleged misuse by Bolsheviks so much Alliec imagination had centred, now appear to be safely in the hands of the Russian Government. These form one of the most magnificent collection o jewellery in the world."

The Damascus Massacre

The screaming and bursting shells that scattere the streets of Damascus with the blood of innoce men, women and children sent a thrill of horr through the civilized world—a horror not lessen by the fact that the shells were fired from tl guns of a Christian nation And the work of tl artillery was supplemented by bombing airplan and by tanks that spit machine-gun fire as th lumbered through the historic streets of what said to be the world's oldest inhabited city. Tl exhibition of "frightfulness" began on Sund night, October 18—two days after the initiating the European security pacts at Locarno—and co tinued until late Tuesday afternoon An e witness quoted in an Associated Press dispat describes the period of the bombardment as one "unforgetable horror" tells of hundreds of de bodies lying in streets, and estimates that "at le 2,000 were buried in the debris of the wrec buildings of Damascus."

In the United States editorial writers disc this event under such uncompromising heading "Murder in Damascus" "Butchery in Damascus"; "French Butchers in Syria." "In one brief rain bullets France has done more harm than a thous peace pacts and missionaries can repair in a h dred years," thinks the Richmond *Times Dispc* "While we still mourn with the French over shelling of the cathedral at Reims, Damascus in smoking ruins," remarks the St. Louis *I Dispatch*, which reminds us that "Damascus is the Mohammedan what Reims is to the Christi The same paper notes further that "while the r hand of France was signing the Locarno agreem and intervening, as a member of the Leagu Nations, in the Greece-Bulgar squabble, its hand was committing ruthless butchery in Sy "Nothing can really excuse the occurrence," a



A Russian Crown Jewel



Where French Shells and Bombs wrought havoc for two days—
Damascus, described as "the heart of the Mohammedan World," was a seat of culture 1,000 years before the Parian laid the foundations of the city now known as Paris It was old before any one dreamed of Athens It was once besieged and conquered by King David, and in comparatively modern times was the home of St Paul.

the Detroit *Free Press*, which adds "At best, the whole imbroglio was the result of stupid blundering by the French authorities; at worst, it was a piece of ruthless vandalism which will leave the Orientals extremely skeptical about the superiority of French culture over their own" "The ghastly joke is that all this is done in the name of civilization," exclaims the St Paul *Pioneer Press*, which reminds us that France holds a mandate from the League of Nations for the just administration of Syria. "There will be little to be said for the mandate system" it declares, "if the situation in Syria goes on uncorrected and unrebuked" The international reverberations of the Damascus incident will be serious, predicts the Baltimore *Sun* "Will Western nations learn in time to save their own hides, that in dealing with the non-white populations, who make up nearly three-fourths of the inhabitants of the earth, sympathy and effort at understanding go far toward peaceful cooperation, while rough-shod violence serves only to advance an inevitable day of reckoning?" asks the Boston *Globe*

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* remarks ironically that "it is becoming ever more difficult for France or any other Power to impress the "backward peoples with the great blessings incidental to European overlordship." And in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* we read:

"France's great blunder at Damascus has shocked the world by irreparable damage done to precious historical monuments of one of the most ancient and picturesque of cities, a city that was old when Abraham dwelt in tents in Palestine It has roused the Moslem population to fury and made mandate administration everywhere harder for the Western Powers

"It has brought what threatens to be a long and obstinate war on France, imposing new sacrifices of men and money on a country already wearied by the prolonged struggle in the Riff

"London's chief grievance is the additional trouble it expects in mandated Palestine and Transjordania by reason of rekindled Arab rage against the Westerner and the Christian. The British mind is reflected in the sharp language of the London *Times*, which brands the French tactics which led to the Damascus rising as a 'grotesque imitation of the barbarities of primitive peoples'

"The action thus denounced was the parading through the city on the backs of camels of the bodies of twenty-four slain bandits. The French justification for the bombardment of an open town that followed was that the manner in which the houses of Damascus are huddled together in the immemorial style of the Orient gave such perfect cover to snipers at the French that their destruction on a large scale was a military necessity The French military administration in this case is charged with the fault, so often laid to the Germans, of letting purely military considerations overrule all considerations of humanity."

In an Associated Press dispatch from Cairo, we read

"A traveler who has just arrived here from Damascus says that at 4 P. M, October 18, Hassan El. Karreth, chief of a native band, penetrated into the Chagour quarter of Damascus with his followers, crying,

'Rise up! Your brothers, the Druses are here'

"The band then attacked a police post where they shot a French officer. The inhabitants of the quarter armed themselves and joined the insurgents, the traveler said, and then all advanced toward the Medan quarter, the inhabitants of which ranged themselves against Hassan El Karreth's men.

"The traveler relates that at this hour many Frenchmen were working with Armenians in the Medan quarter. They were savagely attacked by insurgents, who caught them between two fires. Here one hundred men died fighting.

"Suddenly an airplane appeared over the scene and dropt bombs on the crowds massed in the Armenian quarter to disperse them The angry crowds fired back, but without hitting the airplane.

"Tanks and armored cars arrived. A number of airplanes joined in, all uniting in spreading death among the rebels. The latter fled in all directions.

"The insurgents, however, did not cease their firing on public and military buildings. They barricaded the streets and set fire to certain quarters. Artillery in the citadel began shelling the rebel district, the French making it known that the bom-

bardment would continue until the insurgents ceased firing.

"The bombardment lasted from Sunday night until Tuesday. Shells destroyed the Medan and Chagour quarters, while parts of the Hamideh Bazaar, El Bouzourie and El Komeira were burned. A palace considered one of the finest monuments in the East, was greatly damaged

"The traveler describes the period of this bombardment as days and nights of 'unforgetable horror.'

He says, it is difficult to show how many persons were killed or wounded but that hundreds were lying in the streets, and that he believes at least 2,000 were buried in the debris of buildings wrecked by the bombardment

"Apparently the Christians escaped effects of the fighting The French sent 2,000 soldiers into the Christian quarters, but the insurgents made no direct attack on these



Blamed for the Damascus Massacre
Maj-Gen. Maurice Paul Emmanuel Sarrail, the French High Commissioner for Syria, has been recalled to France "to make a report on his administration".

"Tuesday afternoon, this traveler says, leading native residents of Damascus went to General Sarrail, French high commissioner, and undertook to fulfil all requirements laid down by the French Martial law has been declared in Damascus according to this account, and all persons found in the possession of arms are executed."

French witnesses from Damascus are quoted as saying that the greater part of the damage done to the city was due to vandalism by the rebels. They also argue that the shelling of Damascus "saved Syria from much more serious trouble." However this may be, dispatches report that the country around Damascus is "seething" and that guerrilla warfare is spreading throughout Syria.

The French losses in the Damascus trouble are reported as only ten killed and fifty wounded: but in an Associated Press dispatch from Paris we read

"France has lost more than 17,000 men and has spent more than 3,000,000,000 francs in Morocco and Syria since she took over the protectorate of Morocco and assumed the League of Nations mandate over Syria. In Morocco 2,176 men were killed, and 8,297 wounded, and in Syria 6 626 were killed, wounded or are missing. The cost in Morocco had been 950,000,000 francs and in Syria more than 2,000,000,000 francs."

France, the correspondents tell us, is more appalled and shocked than any other nation at the developments in Syria. The *Depeche de Toulouse* calls the whole affair "a veritable nightmare."

"The apparent failure of General Sarrail, military Governor of France's Syrian mandate, to understand the Syrian situation and particularly the delicate psychological difficulties of ruling a people who possess the age-old tradition of independence, has brought about a grave menace to France's Oriental prestige.

"An increasing number of persons, for various motives, wish France to abandon the Syrian man date The Socialists wish to abandon it on principle but hesitate to say so directly, because Sarrail, who caused the immediate failure in Syria, is a radical anti-Catholic, and closely allied to the Socialists

"The average Frenchman, seeing the countr faced with a prolonged struggle to regain wh Sarrail has lost, asks whether it is worth the pri in lives and money. Others, believing Franc would declare herself a second-class Power b throwing up Syria in the face of difficulties, insi that France must retain the mandate and try regain her lost prestige."

General Sarrail has been recalled to France " make a report on his administration and the co duct of military operations in Syria."

"Sarrail was a political appointee He had be in command of the Saloniki Armies in the wo War, but was relieved of his command in Decemb 1917, when Clemenceau became Prime Minist He continued without a command until the end the war, when he was retired for age.

"Upon his arrival in Syria, it is said, Gene Sarrail began to upset all the peaceful relati which his predecessor had established.

"Of all the troubles he has been encounter General Sarrail has reported little to Government."

But in any case, as some observers p out, the final responsibility for what happens Syria rests not with General Sarrail, or even France, but with the League of Nations, u which France holds her mandate.

"Syria is not a French colony. Its status res bles that of Irak under the British and in instances, if occasion requires, the League is position to impose checks on administrative abu

"If an unfortified community like Damascu bombarded as a 'punitive example,' 'what under the rule of a great Power, acting for League of Nations, is safe ?"

Our Frontispiece

Asoka was known as Chandasoka in his youth, and when conquering Kalinga, he was responsible for much bloodshed and inhuman cruelty. Later in his life he came under the influence of a Buddhist mendicant named Upagupta who slowly turned the mind of the king from the path of irreligion to that of one of the greatest helpers of a religious movement in the history of the world. His highly pious life on the throne as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race earned him latterly the title of Dharmasoka and the favourite of the gods' Our frontispiece shows Upagupta in one of his visits to the king's palace in the act of inculcating some moral and religious lesson on the king to which the latter listens with inward chagrin but outward submission.

—

Degeneration of English Public Life

The Mirrors of Downing Street, first issued in October, 1920, by an anonymous writer who appears to have intimate personal knowledge of all the members of the Cabinet, has already gone through eighteen editions, and it became famous in a day. It contains some reflections on English public life which should be borne in mind by our politicians. The reference is to the popular edition of October, 1922 (Mills and Boon, London)

"More and more, I think, gentlemen will stand loof from politics,—I mean, gentlemen who have eceived in their blood and in their training those otions of graciousness, sweetness, and nobleness hich flow from centuries of piety and learning. nly here and there will such a man accept the dious conditions of our public life, inspired by a ense of duty, and prepared to endure the intolerble ugliness and dishonesty of politics for the ake of a cause which moves him with all e force of a great affection. But, on the whole, is probable that the political fortunes of this eat and beautiful country are committed for any years to hands which are not merely overugh for so precious a charge, but not nearly ean enough for the sacredness of the English use." (pp. 33-34)

Again, we find it said :—

"But until our politics are of a higher order, we n hardly expect the best minds in the nation to el any attraction to a political career. More and ore the professional politician, the narrow man, the man of the loud voice and the one idea, the man who has few instincts of honesty in his mind and no movement of high and disinterested patriotism in his soul, will press himself upon the attention of democracy, and, by intimidating his leader and browbeating his opponents, force his way onward to office." (p 136)

Later on, the author asks —

"Is it not true that since the dawn of the present century the spirit of our political life has lost something of the cleanness, much of the dignity, and all of the grandeur which attracted great men in the Victorian era ? Thirty years ago the nation was shocked by the opinions of Charles Bradlaugh Yesterday a common swindler, Horatio Bottomley, if his own story is to be credited, was on easy social terms with the Lord Chancellor of England We have lowered the standards of public life Constituencies do not choose as their representatives men of education and character ; they accept almost any adventurer sent down to them by the Party caucus They are easily gulled because they are not vitally conscious of moral responsibility This loss of the sense of independence, of responsibility, of self-respect, is a greater national loss than any loss of life and treasure incurred in the war It means that English character has surrendered one of the main qualities which distinguished it so honourably in past years It has become subservient, passive, unimaginative, fatalistic. It is no longer deeply conscious of moral responsibility It is no longer vitally alert in the matter of its national duty." (pp. 144-5)

The reader may not agree with the glorification of English public in the past which forms the background of the present picture. But no nation ever could become great without holding some such high ideal before its mind's eye, however imaginative and untrue to facts it may be. And who can deny that public life in England has, in the past, produced some great figures ? Without them, England would not have occupied the place it does in world-politics to-day. What is more to our purpose is to take to heart the warning conveyed by the writer in the above extracts, so that our budding political life may not be tainted by the vices which he deplores, and what he says of the mighty British nation may not be true of our puny efforts at self-government. "Politics in our country", he says, "tend more and more in the American direction. The big men are outside. Politics are little more than a platform for a pugilistic kind of rhetoric" (pp, 134 35). It would be a fatal folly to say, as some do, that what is good enough for

America, where the best men are out of politics, and is going to be good enough for England also, ought to be good enough for India. Most emphatically no · for the public life of England and America was built up by men of a far different stamp, by their Pyms and Hampdens, Washingtons and Abraham Lincolns, who did make some distinction between right and wrong, and it is men of this stamp that we need in India. We must build up a tradition of cleanliness in our public life, and while striving manfully against unrighteousness everywhere and under all kinds of disguise, we should never permit our politicians to forget, in their own public life and conduct, the maxim that righteousness exalts a nation. Facile is the descent to Avernus, and once we allow them to choose the easy path of temporary success at the cost of the permanent interests of the nation, to retrace our steps will become next to impossible.

—

How the Marquess Wellesley Ensnared the Peishwa

In no work on British Indian history written by Indians or Englishmen, mention has been made of the manner in which the "heathen" Peishwa Baji Rao was ensnared in the Subsidiary Alliance by the Christian Marquis Wellesley It is easy to understand why Englishmen should try to suppress mention of it, because it does not enhance their reputation for justice or fair play Sir Frederick Lely in his pamphlet on "History as taught in India" writes (p. 16);—

"We now arrive at the Mahratta raj, which is closely coupled with the earlier days of the British. However fairly told, there is much for the English to be ashamed of in this period."

Ensnaring the Peishwa was one of the foulest and darkest deeds of Lord Wellesley in India In "Rise of the Christian Power in India" (Vol. II, pp 424-498) has been described how the Britishers succeeded in placing the yoke of the Subsidiary Alliance on the neck of the Peishwa The following extracts from a publication with the following title-page,

"The history of Nana Sahib's claims against the East India Company, with extracts from the Hindu sacred writings relative to the law of Adoption, the will of the Ex-Peishwa, Badjee Rao, &c., compiled from original documents in the possession of the gentleman deputed to England to advocate Nana Sahib's case.

"I will a round unvarnished tale deliver."
Othello

LONDON:
Printed and published by C. H. Biddle, 26, New Castle Street, Strand.

throws additional light on the subject :—

"When in the zenith of his power, he (Badjee Rao) was one of those Princes whose aid was evoked by the East India Company to crush the formidable Tippoo Sahib, but after the overthrow and death of that potentate, the Peishwa's rich territories excited their cupidity, and one occasion was soon found for interference in his affairs The East India Company dispossessed the Nabob of Surat, who was tributary to Badjee Rao, and the latter would not forego his right to the tribute in their favour. They therefore incited Jeswant Rao commonly known as Holkar, another Mahratta Chief, to attack him In the first campaign, which took place in 1801, Badjee Rao was successful, but in the second defeated and forced to fly."

Jaswant Rao Holkar was made their cat's paw by the British to gain their object and was then unceremoniously thrown overboard He realized the perfidious nature of his friends, which made him so embittered against them, that he killed all men of that creed then in his employ. He had also the satisfaction of wreaking vengeance on them when he defeated them by out-manouvering and out-generalling their military commanders and keeping them at bay for a considerable length of time.

—

Policy of Divide and Rule

Nearly four decades before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, a British officer subscribing himself as "Carnaticus" wrote in the *Asiatic Journal* for May 1821 :—

"*Divide et impera* should be the motto for ou Indian administration, whether political, civil o military."

Although such was the policy of th authorities of those days in their Govern ment of India, yet they did not proclaim i openly. The Indian Mutiny made many o them do so. It was not only the irresponsibl British journalists, some of whom did n feel ashamed to write that "our true polic in governing India should be to play o race against race, creed against creed an caste against caste," but many responsibl members of the bureaucracy did not hesita to proclaim such a policy. Thus one Lie Colonel John Coke, holding the very respon ible office of commandant at Moradaba wrote ;—

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in f force the (for us fortunate) separation which ex

between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. '*Divide et impera*' should be the principle of Indian Government." *

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute, dated 14th May, 1859, wrote :—

"*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours." †

It is not necessary to multiply other instances.

For the consolidation of their power in India, Britishers then made use of the policy of "Divide and Rule".

The Imperialism of a Republic

Years ago the United States of America solemnly promised that the Philippines would be made independent as soon as the Filipinos proved themselves capable of maintaining a stable government without the aid and guidance of America. But for years past the American have been adopting various devices to put back the day of Philippine independence farther and farther, proving that the morals and methods of imperialism are practically the same everywhere, whether it be the imperialism of an autocracy, or of a limited monarchy, or of a republic

The Japan Weekly Chronicle tells its readers how

The Filipinos are being taught the true meaning of "self-determination" and a 'world afe for democracy" The Governor-General, General Leonard Wood, has vetoed the Bill passed by the Filipino Legislature for a plebiscite to be taken on the question whether the Islands should remain under American rule or claim independence. There are some Americans who claim that the agitation for independence is conducted simply by a few professional politicians and that the people in general are quite content under American rule If a plebiscite were taken and the people declared by a decisive majority that they preferred to govern themselves as best they might rather than continue to enjoy the beneficence of American tutelage, that argument would be gone. The Americans would then be reduced to taking the same stand as other imperialist nations—that the subject people did not know what was good for them and must be taught—by methods of peace, if possible: if not, then by force The proposal to take a plebiscite has been denounced as a devilish scheme devised by Mr. Charles Edward Russell, who used to be considered somewhat of a radical but whom most Socialists would now count alongside the Arthur Hendersons and Clyneses of England. Mr. Russell wrote a biography of Rizal, the hero of the Philippines, who was martyred by the Spaniards just before the Americans captured Manila In that book he painted such a rosy picture of the freedom that America would bring to the Islands that he is bound to make some effort to see that the promises of liberty are carried out, with the alternative of being regarded as a deceiver or a fool.

In connection with the question of Filipino self-rule, *The Gurdian* of Calcutta quotes

Champourcin, who devotes two lengthy columns of a leading daily newspaper of Madrid to discuss the requirements which a Colony should fulfil in order to qualify for responsible self-government, "Various definitions of a stable, government have been advanced by statesmen of the United States of America," says the above-mentioned Filipino writer At first "stable government" meant for American statesmen one which was duly elected by the people, capable of preserving internal order and peace, and of fulfilling international agreements But their definition did not suit the imperialistic tendencies of America and a new one was coined, "A stable government," so runs the new definition, 'implies civic consciousness tribunals ready to administer justice impartially to all, low and high, rich and poor, resources to withstand external aggression, organisation to maintain the integrity of the country, sufficient supply of hospitals, social organisation sufficiently developed to attend to the needs of all, an effective system of public sanitation and hygiene, a common language" Obviously the Filipinos do not fulfil all these requirements, therefore, *in the interest of the Filipinos themselves*, let self-government be delayed *ad kalendas graecas*

'But are there many countries in the world which fulfil all these requirements," asks Sr. Champourcin, 'The demand for a common language will at once reduce Switzerland to a dependency. English is scarcely understood by the French element in Quebec, nor apparently has Belgium a sufficiently strong organisation to withstand a foreign aggression." Space does not allow to give in full the lengthy criticism of Sr Champourcin, but what we have quoted is enough to show how artificial and conventional is the definition advanced by American statesmen in support of continuing their stay in the Philippines.

* Papers connected with the re-organization of the Army in India, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1859: p. 279.

† P. 70 of the report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organization of the Indian Army, 1859.

British Altruism and Mosul Oil

The divergence of views between Britain and Turkey over Mosul, observes the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, is about as wide as it could be

As Mr Chamberlain says, there is no common ground for conversations. The British Government takes its stand on the contention that the decision of the League, granting the territory to Britain under 'mandate," must be absolute. The Turks

say they have never recognised the right of the League to deal with a territory which was captured during the war. They regard the League as simply carrying on the work of the Allied conquerors, and without much regard for the "Fourteen Points" Russia heartily backs the Turks in this view, and numerous British liberals support the opinion that Britain is in Mosul, not because she recognises any "sacred trust" for the welfare of the native people, but simply because she wants the oil. If the League were truly representative of world opinion, its decision would have to be accepted without question. Unfortunately, the matter is not so simple. Both sides are circulating atrocity stories (which should be taken with the usual necessary discount) and peace is under a cloud in the Near East

—

Indian and Non-Indian Executive Engineers.

Replying to a question put in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Surfaraz Hussain Khan, Sir B N. Mitra said that out of 382 Executive Engineers all over India 131 were Indians There is no reason why *all* Executive Engineers in India should not be Indians. We do not say that all non-Indian Executive Engineers should be cashiered at once and Indians appointed in their place. What we do say is that all fresh appointments to the posts of such engineers should go invariably to Indians and that non-Indian Executive Engineers should be retired as early as the rules will allow without injustice to them.

—

"The Crime of Caste."

Mahatma Gandhi introduces his narration of "an extraordinary case" by observing that "in South Africa it is the crime of colour and race for which we are being punished", whilst "in India we Hindus punish our co-religionists for the crime of caste" He goes on to add

> The fifth caste man—the Panchama—is the greatest offender, deserving the punishment of untouchability, unapproachability, invisibility and what not

Then follows his narration of the case

> An extraordinary case that was tried in a Madras presidency court brings vividly to light the sad plight of our suppressed countrymen A simple cleanly-dressed Panchama entered a temple in a *perfectly devotional spirit* without the slightest intention of hurting anybody's feeling or insulting any religion. He had been in the habit of paying his respects at this temple every year, though he did not enter it. But last year, in his ecstatic mood, he forgot himself and entered the temple. The priest in charge could not distinguish him from the others and therefore accepted his offering, but when he regained self-possession, he was terrified to find himself in a prohibited place and ran away from the temple But some who knew him caught him and handed him to the police. The temple authorities, when they discovered the crime, had the temple duly purified. Then followed a trial. A Hindu Magistrate covicted him and imposed a fine of Rs. 75 or one month's rigorous imprisonment for insulting his own religion. An appeal was filed There was an elaborate argument over it. Judgment had to be reserved! And when conviction was set aside, it was not because the court held that the poor Panchama had a right to enter the temple, but because the prosecution in the lower court had forgotten to prove the insult. This is no triumph of justice or truth or religion or morality.
>
> The only consolation to be derived from the successful appeal is that the Panchama will not have to suffer imprisonment for having in his zeal for worship forgotten that he was a prohibited entrant. If however he or his fellow-Panchama again dare to enter the temple, it is highly probable that they would be severely punished if they are not lynched by those who look down upon them with contempt.

Some of the other observations of the Mahatma on this case require to be reproduced. He says with great justice:—

> It is a curious situation. We resent, and properly, the treatment meted out to our countrymen in South Africa We are impatient to establish Swaraj But we Hindus refuse to see the incongruity in treating a fifth of our own co-religionists as worse than dogs For dogs are not untouchables Some of us now-a-days even keep them as drawing room pets
>
> What place shall the 'untouchables' occupy in our scheme of Swaraj? If they are to be free from all special restraints and disabilities under Swaraj, why can we not declare their freedom now And if we are powerless to-day, shall we be less powerless under Swaraj?
>
> We may shut our eyes and stuff our ears to these questions But they are of the highest importance to the Panchamas. Surely, judgment will be pronounced against Hinduism, if we as a body do not rise as one man against this social and religious atrocity.
>
> Much has no doubt been done to remove the evil But it is all too little so long as criminal prosecutions for temple entry are possible and so long as the suppressed classes continue to be denied the right of entering temples, using public wells, and sending their children freely to national schools We must yield to them the same right as we would have the Europeans concede to our countrymen in South Africa.

As, for at least the last forty years, we have been in opinion and practice against caste, of which untouchability is only the worst symptom and outcome, it is needless to say that we wholeheartedly support what Gandhi says. At the same time, we must observe in justice to our countrymen that things are n

as bad all over Hindu India as they are in the Madras Presidency; that though Hindus form the bulk of India's population, all Indians are not Hindus; that, speaking generally, Indian Musalmans, Indian Christians, and other non-Hindu Indians do not practise untouchability; and that, therefore, South Africa and other similar countries are not entitled to discriminate against and exclude *all* Indians simply because in some regions of India, not forming its major portion, caste Hindus (and even they with the exception of an important minority) discriminate against the Panchamas in quite an inhuman and diabolical manner.

We do not at all want to extenuate our faults; but we must say that Negroes in America are in some respects treated worse than our Panchamas, but South African whites do not for that reason discriminate against American whites as they do against Indians.

Even as regards the Madras Presidency, and with particular reference to the case in question, Mahatmaji observes:—

> But this case is not without its relieving features The quashing of the conviction is no doubt some consolation But the best consolation lies in the fact of so many *Savarna* Hindus actively interesting themselves in the poor Panchama's behalf. The appeal would not have been noted, if some one had not gone to the accused's assistance. Not the least interesting feature of the case was the fact of C Rajagopalachari arguing the appeal,—a fit application in my opinion of the principle of non-cooperation. Being in the court, when he got the opportunity, he would have been like a Pharisee if he had sat there stiff, gloating over the sanctimonious satisfaction of non-cooperating whilst the accused could have been discharged by his intervention. The Panchma knew nothing of non-cooperation. He had apppealed to avoid payment of fine or imprisonment It is to be wished that every educated Hindu will constitute himself the untouchable's friend and regard it his duty to free him from the tyranny of custom masquerading under the name of religion. Not the entry of a Panchama into a temple but the brand of prohibition against him is an insult to religion and humanity

—

The Cause of Indians and Native Africans in South Africa

In Young India, Mr. M. K. Gandhi quotes the following passage from a letter written by Mr. C. F. Andrews :—

> "Mrs Sarojini Naidu's visit has done one thing which I bless her every day. She has finally cemented the native cause with that of the Indian as one cause. She made an immense impression both on the native and on the coloured people and everywhere I find that this unity has been strengthened by her visit. The very publicity which attended her immensely attracted them and added to her popularity, but it was her genuine feeling of love for them that made them look to her almost as to a queen She has also left a healthy spirit behind among the Indian leaders themselves. They are not likely now to separate their cause from that of the natives at all. That danger is practically over at least as far as *South* Africa is concerned But I am by no means sure yet about *East* Africa."

Dr. Abdur Rahman, the leader of the South African Indian Deputation, publicly declared the other day to a representative of *The Indian Daily Mail* that he would always make common cause with the native Africans in South Africa and other coloured races. This is as it should be.

—

Refusal of Licences to Indians in the Transvaal

The Transvaal British Indian Association, Johannesburg, has sent the following cable to the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu —

> Under the General Dealer's Control Ordinance, licences to Asiatics in the Transvaal are being refused on a wholesale scale. At Balfour, where the Indian interest involves about £40,000, the Municipal Council have deliberately decided not to issue a single licence to an Asiatic and all Asitatic applications for renewals, there and in several places, have been refused. The boards mainly consist of interested parties The long-standing Asiatic lawful traders are being forced to relinquish their businesses and have no other option but to face ruination The Indian community is bewildered at the action of the local authorities and prays relief, and, if possible, Government intervention —A P. I

All over India, all Indians, irrespective of religious belief, race, caste and political party, are indignant at the treatment which their countrymen have been receiving in South Africa, and at the prospect of the worse treatment, if possible, which they are likely to receive after the passage of the new Anti-Asiatic Bill

—

The South African Question

Though it is not true that the Government of India has done nothing to get the grievances of the Indians in South Africa redressed, it is unquestionably true that it has not taken up a sufficiently firm and self-respecting attitude on the question. If

Indians had been Christian white men, the attitude of the Government of India would have been different—though, perhaps, in that case there would not have been any South African Indian problem at all. As regards the sense of self-respect of the Government of India, it does not appear that it possesses a great deal. The British rulers of India are undoubtedly self-respecting as Britishers. But as they do not in any way identify themselves with the people they govern, they do not feel insulted and humiliated when indignities are heaped on the latter. Even as a Government, the Government of India does not seem to feel humiliated at its Deputation to South Africa not having been officially recognised by the latter. If such a thing had happened between two independent countries, it might have been treated as a *casus belli*. We do not thereby mean to imply that the Government of India should forthwith send a warlike expedition to South Africa,—that would be a supremely absurd suggestion. We only want to draw attention to the impudence, arrogance and incivility of the South African Government and to the low opinion which it has of the Government of India. Indian public opinion was opposed to the sending of the deputation. It was disregarded. The nemesis has not been long in coming.

As to what Indians can do and ask their Government also to do, in addition to making representations to the South African Government, the general idea is that some retaliatory steps should be taken. We are personally not in favour of using the word retaliation or of doing anything which would be prompted by the idea underlying that word. Not that we have risen above all hatred and anger. But whatever our own moral and spiritual level may be, we perceive intellectually that to act under the influence of hatred, anger or vengeful feelings causes moral and spiritual injury to those who so act, and, moreover, what is done under such impulses may not be quite the wisest and most effective thing to do.

But apart from such considerations, we have to ascertain whether any retaliatory steps which we may take would be felt by the South African whites. The number of Indians in South Africa is far larger than the number of South Africans in India. And they have the power to persecute and harass our countrymen there; but we have not got such power to harass any body.

We do not mean to say that we should sit with folded hands. That is not what we mean. We should certainly do what all self-respecting men would naturally do under the circumstances. If "A" would not allow "B" to have certain neighbourly facilities in the former's domicile and estates, "B" cannot with any self-respect allow "A" to have the same facilities in "B"'s domicile and estates. Neighbourliness implies reciprocity. If you do not allow me to enter your grounds and sit and chat in your drawing-room as an equal, I cannot allow you to enter my grounds or drawing-room without writing myself down as a sub-human slave. Therefore, whatever the number of South African whites in India and whatever their occupations, they should not have any of those rights and facilities here of which our countrymen are deprived in South Africa. And in addition, as it is being made impossible for our countrymen to trade in South Africa, South Africa and South Africans ought also to be deprived of the advantage of trading with and in India, and all steps taken with the object of putting a stop to or reducing South Africa's commerce with India would be in order.

We may be told that this is in effect retaliation, though that word may not be used. In reply, we have to say only this, that beyond maintaining our self-respect by taking certain steps without intending to punish the South Africans thereby, we do not want to do (and would not do even if we had the power) anything to injure the South Africans from a feeling of revenge.

Some would say that even the proposal to do merely that which self-respect would dictate would exasperate the South Africans and impell them to be more cruel to our countrymen there, and that therefore humble representations and appeals to their reason and conscience should be the only steps which we should take. We think differently. The South Africans have been doing their worst, without our or the South African Indians' doing anything provoking. But supposing it were true that any self-respecting attitude on our part would impell them to be more unjust and inhuman, it would not, even then, have been proper for us to adopt a servile and cowardly attitude. We do not think our South African sisters and brethren themselves would like us to be servile and cowardly for their sake.

Whilst our countrymen in South Africa

far from enjoying equal citizenship with the white men there are going to be deprived even of the means of subsistence and treated as subhuman, here in India any South African white, like other whites from other parts of the world, assumes superior airs and has certain special privileges which we ourselves do not enjoy. This fact is peculiarly galling to our sense of self-respect. Let us, therefore, be self-respecting at any cost.

Since writing the above, we have read in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that Dr Abdur Rahaman does not at present wish any such steps to be taken as have been mentioned above Apparently he draws a distinction between the European public in South Africa and the South African Goverment. It seems the entire white public is not behind the back of the South African Government But, thinks Dr. Abdur Rahman, if India practised reciprocity, the white public in South Africa would all back up the Government and even the lives of the Indians would be in jeopardy. Under the circumstances, we should hesitate to appear "heroic" at a safe distance from the scene of action.

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Indian Science Congress

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, assembled this year at Bombay on the 4th January. After His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had opened the proceedings, Mr Albert Howard, Director, Institute of Plant Industry, Indore, and Agricultural Adviser to the Central India States, delivered his presidential address on "Agriculture and Science," which was very informing and interesting. He was sanguine as to the possibilities of the application of science to agriculture in India, but he did not seek to ignore or minimise the difficulties to be overocme; nor did he expect or hold out any hopes of brilliant results at an early date. Quite noteworthy were his views on the effects of irrigation on the soil and on the crops raised, on which subjects he said among other things:—

When we carefully compare the growth of the same crop under canal irrigation and under normal rainfall, interesting differences can at once be detected. The irrigated crop as a rule does not appear to be quite at home. Ripening is frequently delayed and the quality of the produce is apt to be irregular and inferior. Further, the standard of cultivation under a canal tends to deteriorate. After a few years, the producing power of the soil falls off, patches of alkali land often appear and grow in size and there is a tendency for the villages to become malarious. Compared with the best well-irrigated regions or with localities where the crops are grown on the natural rainfall, the well-being of both plants and animals on the perennial canal leaves a good deal to be desired.

Where rice is grown to perfection there is little malaria, where the crop is cut off from the necessary inundation, malaria is rife. In all probability the same rule applies to dry crops like wheat. It may easily prove to be that the intense malaria which often follows in the wake of the canal in North West India is not altogether due to the mosquito but is a consequence of the lowering of the quality of the food grains grown under canal irrigation. The subject is one which calls for early investigation and it is hoped that McCarrison's interesting work on the influence of soil conditions on the nutritive value of the chief food grains of India will be continued and that the investigation will be widened to embrace the effect of the quality of wheat on resistance to diseases like malaria.

The second day of the session was occupied with sectional meetings, at the Royal Institute of Science, under their respective presidents, who delivered addresses on medical and veterinary research, mathematics and physics, chemistry, geology and psychology.

A very large number of papers was contributed to the various sections The session was a successful one We give below a summarised account of the proceedings of one section of the congress.

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Mathematics and Physics Section of Science Congress.

The Mathematics and Physics section of the 13th Indian Science Congress met this year in Bombay at the Royal Institute of Science under the presidency of Prof. Meghnad Saha of the Allahabad University. The presidential address was "on the application of modern discoveries in physical science to astronomy", a subject in which the speaker himself has made very notable contributions. We give below a short abstract of the address.

The science of astronomy, which is as old as the days of the ancient dwellers on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, may truly be said, to use the language of the German Poet Heine, the old the ever-young science; for every period of renaissance in mathematical and physical sciences has been marked by an outburst of activity in astronomy. The present times may truly be said to be an Augustan age of discovery in physical science. For within the last thirty

years, so many first-rate discoveries as those of X-rays, Radioactivity, the Quantum theory Radiation, the electron theory of matter, and the last, though not the least, the theory of relativity, have entirely revolutionised our concepts of matter and the phenomenal world, yet astronomy has laid under contribution all these epoch-making discoveries

The present era in astronomy may be said to have begun just sixty-five years ago with Kirchoff's discovery of *spectrum analysis* This has enabled astronomers to study the physical nature of the Sun, and those island universes which we call stars. A systematic survey of the stellar world was undertaken by the late Sir Norman Lockyer, who discovered a number of fundamental types Prof. Pickering of the Harvard College observatory and his assistants examined the spectra of about two hundred thousand stars and found that about 99 per cent of them were included within these fundamental types, Lockyer showed, as can be expected from the theory of evolution, that these types gradually merge into each other, but the chemical composition seemed to differ in the different types For the earlier classes showed mostly non-metals, and the latter classes metals Lockyer formulated on this basis his famous theory of "Inorganic Evolution" just 28 years ago The substance of the theory was that what we call chemical elements are not simple, but they are evolved from simpler and earlier types, which he called 'proto forms' His theory was not accepted, as it challenged the fundamental creed of the chemist and the physicist, namely, "the indivisibility of the atom". He was like the old Greek aeronaut, Daedalus, who in trying to reach the heavens with wings of wax had to end by falling into the sea

The new phase in astronomy began with the theory of ionisation, which the speaker had the honour of inaugurating, and the new theory of evolution of worlds proposed by Prof Eddington of Cambridge According to the ionisation theory, which has been tested and accepted all over the world, the seemingly different spectra of stars is simply a heat phenomena When matter is excessively heated, it is split up into electrons and a positive residue The spectra of this positive residue are entirely different from the spectra of the ordinary atoms, and they appeared in the hotter stars alone The ionisation theory has given a complete explanation of the difficulties confronting Lockyer, and placed his theory of evolution on a firmer basis As a triumph of the ionisation theory may be cited the discovery of Rubidium and a few other elements in the spectum of sun-spots These elements, though quite plentiful on the earth, are quite absent from the solar spectrum. The speaker had shown by calculation that they were completely broken by heat, and hence leave no record in the solar spectrum. But spots, which appear from time to time on the solar surface, are regions of local cooling, and here the broken parts partly recombine. Prof. Russell of the Princeton University, has actually proved the correctness of this prediction in the Mount Wilson Solar Observatory.

The theory opens up a field of great interest and promise, namely, splitting up of atoms by heat. Not many laboratories in the world are provided with the necessary apparatus. The speaker has designed a furnace in his laboratory at Allahabad where atoms are being broken at a temperature of 2500°C. It has been found, as predicted by the theory, that the alkali elements are broken up most easily As an interesting side issue may be mentioned the use of Cæsium-impregnated filaments for triode valves, Their introduction is due to Prof Dr Langmuir of the General Electric Co. of America, who finds that such filaments give the most copious supply of electrons

The speaker then dwelt on Prof. Eddington's work on Stellar Evolution, and showed how mathematical studies have been successful in throwing light on very difficult problems of evolution. He referred to Dr. Adam's spectacular work on the spectrum of the dark companion of Sirius, the brightest star in the heavens. This is a very strange star, for astronomers had guessed from certain indirect evidence that the value of gravity on this star is a thousand times the value of gravity on this earth of ours According to Einstein, the wave length of light on this star would be substantially different from its value in the laboratory, and Dr Adams has actually found it to be so from a careful work on its spectrum. But the most extraordinary thing is not the confirmation of the theory of relativity, but of the fact that matter in this star is apparently fifty times more compressed than even gold The speaker said that the star consisted of stripped atoms, that is to say, of atoms which have lost their outer rings of electrons as a result of heat But how they can hold together within such a small compass is yet an enigma.

The concluding portion of the speech may be of some interest to those engaged in education. We may quote it in full .—

It is certainly very flattering to find that the number of original papers in this section has exceeded a hundred, and contributions have been received from all parts of India It signifies that a creative impulse has come amongst the teachers of our subject, and this is replacing the old habit of pedantry and stage acting. It is generally thought that the importance of regarding creative work as the noblest ideal for a teacher was never recognised in this country, and that the idea has been imported from Europe This is at best a half truth, for otherwise we could never have such positive sciences as medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, My revered teacher, Prof. Sir P. C Ray, has unearthed for us the following remarkable passage from a writer of the ninth century (Dhunduknath in *Rasendra Chintamoni*) :—

अश्रौषं बहुविदुषां मुखादपश्यम्
शास्त्रेषु स्थितमकृतं न तल्लिखामि ।
यत् कर्म व्यरचयमग्रतो गुरूणां
प्रौढानां तदिह वदामि वीतशङ्कः ।
अध्यापयन्ति यदि दर्शयितुं क्षमन्ते ।
सूतेन्द्र कर्म गुरवो गुरवस्त एव ।
शिष्यास्त एव रचयन्ति गुरोः पुरो ये
शेषाः पुनस्तदुभयाभिनयं भजन्ते ॥

"I have heard from the lips of many savants, I have seen many formulae given in scientific treatises I am not recording any thing which I have

not done myself. I am recording those fearlessly which I have carried out with my own hands. They alone are to be regarded as real teachers who can show by experiments what they teach.

"They alone are deserving pupils, who having learnt from their teachers can actually perform them and find something new. The rest are mere stage-actors."

Unfortunately for India, this high ideal was wrecked by pedants, men who regarded worship of ancient scriptures as the highest ideal of scholarship. Europe was also drifting into the same mess, her scholars at one time used to regard the worship of the Bible, Plato Aristotle, as the highest consummation of scholarship. But she was rescued out of the abyss into which she was falling by the life-blood of Galileo, Bruno and Kepler

In India, we have been trained to think that all scientific truths must come either from London, Paris or Berlin. The examples of Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P C Rai, and the late Mr Ramanujam have shown that the Indian brain is quite equal to the European brain in the matter of creative work Teachers are taking in large numbers to creative work, and the Sadler Commission has fortunately set a legal stamp on such works. It has recommended the organisation of teaching work on a basis which, if loyally adhered to, will foster the spirit of research and scholarship But though many universities have been remodelled on the basis of these recommendations, it cannot be said that the menace from pedants, stage-actors and vested interests has entirely disappeared.

The papers read and contributed in the section were representative of almost all branches of physics There were a number of papers by Prof. Raman and his students, particularly Dr Ramnathan on molecular scattering Bangalore came strong with a large number of papers by Prof. Catterson-Smith and his students on electro-technical subjects Dr. Field's paper on correlation between upper air currents at Agra and weather condition six months afterwards excited much interest, as the method, when perfected, will enable the weather conditions to be foretold with some certainty. There were a number of papers in spectroscopy from Allahabad, Vizianagram and Bangalore. Prof D M. Bose read an interesting paper on the explanation of the magnetic properties of elements from the Bohr-Stoner theory of the structure of the atom. Dr. N K. Sen attempted an explanation of the stability of the electron from the standpoint of the generalized Theory of Relativity. Dr. N. K. Bose suggested in his paper the application of the principle of rotar ships to biplanes, and remarked that this suggestion had actually been carried out in a new type of biplane brought out by Charles Gligorin of Vienna which attained a speed unequalled by any existing type. In pure mathematics, there were a number of papers of great original merit by Mr Bhimsen Rao and Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar. Mr. Bhimsen Rao is an undergraduate of the Madras University, and is a self-taught mathematician of no mean order

Two experimental papers by Profs. P. N. Ghosh of Calcutta and Prof A. T. Mukherjee and Kamala Prasad of Patna were highly appreciated

The session was quite successful and indicated a great advance in the study of physcial science in the country.

A Great Moslem Divine

The *Swarajya* of Madras says truly that in Maulana Abdul Bari the world of Islam has lost a great divine, and India a noble patriot

As the head of the College of Theology at Farangi Mahal, as one of the foremost organisers of the Jamait-ul-Ulema and as a staunch supporter of Mahatmaji in the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement, the late Moulana served his God and country with remarkable zeal and courage. The vastness of his learning and the sanctity of his personal life commanded the great esteem of Muslims of distant countries like Arabia and Egypt.

Dakshineswar Bomb Case

The accused in the Dakshineswar Bomb Case, tried under the Bengal Ordinance, have been convicted and sentenced, some to long terms of transportation and others to long terms of rigorous imprisonment. The expected has happened.

It is not impossible that the accused were not as innocent as new-born babes or as angels But it is a legal maxim that until a man has been proved guilty after a fair trial according to the processes of the ordinary law, he ought to be held innocent. In this case, however, it cannot be said that the accused have had a *fair* trial according to the processes of the *ordinary* law; - it would not be wrong to say that the framers of the Ordinance were not consumed with a desire to give a fair trial to all who might come under its clutches.

It has been not only suggested that the agent provocateur had much to do with the genesis of the case, but many things were said by the defence counsel to make it a very well-grounded suspicion. That suspicion has not been dispelled,

What sort of fair trial the accused had will appear from the following passages from what the defence counsel said, as reported in *The Servant* :—

"Mr. Sen, the Defence Counsel, in the course of his arguments said that the concrete difficulty in this case was that the trial started without the names of the witnesses who would come to give evidence and the defence could not make any enquiry about them. In this case, the defence could not know before who was the witness of the day and therefore it was impossible for them to find out the antecedents of those witnesses. The cross-examination was therefore of a speculative character. The documents which were seized could never be delivered beforehand. As for instance, in the prosecution arguments some torn pieces of paper containing code words were mentioned. Actually those pieces of paper were placed before the Court. But it was not known that those papers contained code words. In that case, the defence could have cross-examined the search witness on that point. The gentleman who had picked up the torn papers was not examined. During the examination of the witness, no importance was given to those torn papers and the defence naturally could not anticipate anything.

"The defence also said that the hand-writing expert came at the last moment with one set of photographs of the original exhibits and it was difficult to cross-examine an expert witness without comparing the exhibits with the photographs."

The Viceroy's Speech in the Legislative Assembly

The speech made by the Viceroy in opening the winter session of the Legislative Assembly was quite in the line of his previous performances. His reference to the South African question was slightly better than his reply to the South African Indian Deputation led by Dr. Abdur Rahman, in that he dissented from the view of the South African Government that the question was purely a South African domestic one. Said he :—

The question has now to be dealt with in South Africa and it must be remembered that the Government and the Ministry of the Union are responsible to their electorate and that this legislation is regarded by them as domestic in its character. We have never doubted the right of South Africa to guide the course of their own domestic and economic legistation, but, in our view, there are far wider considerations involved in this legislation than local economic policy alone. In our opinion, they have an important bearing upon the Empire as a whole. The proposed measures are not, in our view, in accordance with those principles which bind the Empire together in community of sentiment and we hope that this aspect of the proposals may yet commend itself to South African opinion. Even on the narrower issue of economic necessity, we believe, from the information now received by us, that the situation may be capable of adjustment in other ways.

He repeated his dissatisfaction at what he considered the poor response that Indian politicians had made to his and the Secretary of State's "appeals" for co-operation. These "appeals" were really veiled threats. If British statesmen or politicians expect all the leaders of all the political sections of a much injured people like the Indians to go down on their knees and cry ditto to whatever their rulers may say, they are expecting to have "the moon" in the hollow of their hands. That men who got returned to the legislative bodies by promising to their electors that their policy would be one of persistent and consistent obstruction have co-operated to the extent that they have done ought to have been utilized by British statesmen in order to comply with our wishes to some extent. But in their pride of power they have kept up an absolutely unbending attitude. "Co-operation", they think, is all to come from the Indian side.

Royal Commission on Agriculture

The Viceroy's speech contained the definite announcement that a Royal Commission on Agriculture had been decided upon, of which the purpose is,

Generally to examine and report on the present conditions of agriculture and rural economy in British India and to make recommendations for the improvement of agriculture and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population and in particular to investigate

(*a*) The measures now being taken for the promotion of agricultural and veterinary research, experiment, demonstration and education, for the compilation of agricultural statistics, for the introduction of new or better crops and for improvement in agricultural practice, dairy farming and the breeding of stock;

(*b*) The existing methods of transport and marketing of agricultural produce and stock;

(*c*) The methods by which agricultural operations are financed and credit afforded to agriculturists; and

(*d*) The main factors affecting rural prosperity and the welfare of the agricultural population and to make recommendations.

It will not be within the scope of the Commission's duties to examine the existing system of land ownership and tenancy or of the assessment of land revenue and irrigation charges or the existing division of functions between the Government of India and the local Governments, but the

Commission shall be at liberty to suggest means whereby the activities of the Government of India may best be co ordinated and to indicate the directions in which the Government of India may usefully supplement the activities of local Governments.

To the appointment of such a royal commission we have been all along opposed, and that for various reasons.

No royal commission appointed for India has yet done any good to India commensurate with the money (all Indian) spent and the noise made, and the one in question is not likely to be an exception.

Until Swaraj is attained, no Royal Commission can compel the Government of India to spend less for British Imperial purposes and more for the prosperity and progress of the people of India. Agricultural improvement world require a mint of money, which under the present system of government would not be forthcoming.

The personnel has not yet been determined but is likely to be predominantly British; but Britain is not among the countries of the world which have made the greatest efforts or progress in agriculture.

A pretentious Royal Commission serves to divert attention from two central facts of vital importance, namely, (1) that India's burning question at present is that of Swaraj or Indian initiative and control in all Indian matters internal and foreign, including agriculture: and (2) that agriculture alone, however developed and modernized, cannot make all classes of Indians prosperous. Old industries must be revived, with the help, where needed, of new and scientific methods, and new industries introduced Agriculture is, no doubt, as it ought to be, the leading industry in India. But in the pre-British period, India was also famous as a manufacturing country The concentration of attention on agriculture alone, to the exclusion of industries cannot solve the problem of India's poverty in general or even rural India's poverty in particular; because, until the disappearance or decay of the indigenous industries of India under British rule, rural India was devoted both to agriculture and manufacturing industries

The British rulers and exploiters of India will naturally misconstrue the educated Indians' criticisms of the agricultural commission as due to selfishness and indifference to the lot of the rural population, forgetting that all educated Indians are neither city-bred or city-dwellers, and those among them who are, are connected with the villages and villagers economically and by blood. But not minding the misconstructions of our opponents, let us state why even an agricultural commission appointed before the obtaining of Swaraj, even if it bears any fruit, is likely to be more advantageous to those foreign countries, principally British, which require our raw agricultural produce, than to ourselves. *The main object of any agricultural enquiry in India ought to be to study and investigate the nutritional situation and its agricultural basis. But a British-instituted and British-conducted enquiry is not likely to do that; it is more likely to lay disproportionate stress on those raw agricultural products which Britishers require for their own industrial and other purposes.* Those who wish to know what agricultural plants are of prime importance to India should study the German work reviewed in pp 37-38 of our last issue.

Another reason why we consider a royal commission on agriculture unnecessary is, as we have observed in some previous issues, that the principal causes of India's backwardness in agriculture are well known. The agricultural population of India is almost illiterate and, in proportion, ignorant The other main causes are unhealthiness of the rural parts, the absence of schools for agriculturists and their children, the inadequacy of funds for research *to be conducted by and for Indians*, the indebtedness of the peasantry and their difficulty in obtaining cheap credit, very inadequate means of communication and transport, the smallness of holdings, repeated and extortionate enhancements of rents at successive settlements, unfavourable tenancy laws, the absence of the means of irrigation over wide tracts, the decay or disappearance of such village industries as supplied the villagers with a subsidiary means of income, etc.

The other causes may be quite easily ascertained by the provincial agricultural departments, if they are worth their salt. In fact, it is these departments which ought, if necessary, to be empowered and authorised to hold separate enquiries in their respective provinces; because agricultural conditions differ widely in different regions, and a single body like a Royal Commission cannot hold any detailed enquiries unless its proceedings are very greatly protracted. If it be thought that in addition to what the provincial agricultural departments can do, something more

is required, a committee, not a pompous, pretentious and very expensive Royal Commission, ought to have been appointed.

The terms of reference show what the Commission will not have the power to do. But what is excluded is of vital importance. The problem of India's agricultural poverty cannot be solved without a radical reform in the existing systems of land revenue assessment, of land ownership and tenancy, irrigation charges, etc But it is these things which "it will not be within the scope of the Commission's duties to examine"

As pointed out by Pandit Motilal Nehru, the reference to the assistance and support which the Royal Commission is expected to give to the Ministers in charge of Agriculture in the administration of that department betrays the sinister intention to perpetuate the undesirable mongrel of dyarchy and "to put the agricultural population in such a condition of dependence upon the bureaucracy as to alienate them from the political class and deflect them from the pursuit of Swaraj to which they now pin their faith."

Thought-reading has always been a difficult job. But if the bureaucracy have any such intention as has been imputed to them by the Pandit, it is not at all a laudable purpose, and we are sure their object will in the long run be frustrated

It has been suspected in some quarters that the object of the Commission is to make our peasantry sufficiently well-to-do to be able to purchase British manufactures in ever-increasing quantities That is not a bad object. But whatever the object may be, if the labours of the Commission succeed in raising our peasantry from their present plight of abject indigence and indebtedness, we shall sincerely rejoice Because, we are of them and they are of us. we are all of the same bone and flesh. Moreover, assuming that we the intelligentsia are utterly selfish, we must even in that case rejoice at the prospect of a prosperous rural population. For the more money they have, the more will they spend in education, purchase of books and papers, house building, medical treatment, travelling, and even in litigation, if you please! So the literate classes (assuming that they are sharply divided from the cultivators, which is not true) will share in the prosperity of the peasantry And if a prosperous people be expected by the Lancashire mill-owners to purchase their goods, why, our own mill-owners and khaddar-producers are not likely to remain asleep!

It has also been suspected that the Royal Commission is intended "to distract attention from the political issue," as the *Bombay Chronicle* puts it. That is partly its object no doubt, but it will not be fully gained. As for the design to "divide the country," that also exists But supposing our peasantry become prosperous, they will be also literate in proportion, and furnish readers for our newspapers and hearers for our public speakers in increasing numbers. And as man does not live by bread alone, nor does he require only food and clothing and houses to be perfectly contented, we are confident the spark of divine discontent in the minds of our prosperous peasantry will be kept alive and even ultimately fanned into a flame of longing for freedom which will fuse all our different classes and sections into one undivided and indivisible nation.

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The Claims of Indian Architecture

Readers of this Review will perhaps remember the article on the Revival of Indian Architecture contributed to the January number last year by Mr Sris Chandra Chatterji and also our comments in that connexion Mr Chatterji all this while has been trying to rouse public consciousness from its ignorance and apathy into a sense of intelligent interest in this essential aspect of our communal and civic life, and we are glad to find that his endeavours are meeting with response Dr Abanindranath Tagore, who has done so much to revive our national art, has been one of the first to appreciate the work of Mr. Chatterji, and in a letter to him which is extremly *apropos*, and which has been reproduced in several papers, has indicated the prospects as well as the difficulties Mr Chatterji, in this national work, has received promise of support from a number of leading engineers and builders. Besides several P W. D officials of long experience, the officiating Chief Engineer of the Corporation of Calcutta, Mr. S C. Mitra, has given his approval, and he has made some definite proposals in a letter published in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* of December 5, 1925. Mr. Mitra's prosposals are—

(1) The teaching of the History of Indian Architecture in Indian Engineering Colleges with

special reference to its adaptability to present-day needs and conditions.

(2) The establishment of an Advisory Board for the revival of Indian Architecture

(3) Co-operation of the Builders and Engineers, and

(4) The training of the public to a sense of the importance of Indian Architecture as a piece of national heritage.

Apparently Mr Mitra recommends items (2), (3), and (4) of his programme to our municipalities, especially to the Calcutta Corporation. The first item can be put into practice only by the Government, as engineering colleges and schools are mostly government institutions all over India. We fully concur in those constructive proposals made by Mr Mitra, and we urge the government to introduce as quickly as possible Indian Architecture as a major branch of study in engineering colleges and schools. The universities should also move in this matter. For, unless we have Indian engineers and overseers possessing a knowledge and appreciation of the national styles, we cannot expect persons responsible for the working of municipalities, whether in cities or in the *mufassil*—and they are mostly laymen—to do anything in the way of construction in the Indian style. In the matter of advisory boards and co-operation and training, the public, the municipalities should certainly take the lead. Mr Mitra also believes, from the plans and specifications shown to him by Mr Chatterji, that "it would be quite possible to build in the Indian style at least as cheaply as in the ordinary 'styleless' way ; and, with a growing demand for it in the country, the cost would certainly be cheaper" Coming as it does from such a responsible authority as the chief engineer of Calcutta, and from similar highly placed engineers, the opinion should dispel the notion that to build a house with a distinctive *national* elevation would be prohibitively costly. A pioneer in this line, in seeking to revive our national architecture, has been Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose, whose science has not only unravelled the mystery of plant life but whose culture and whose national feeling has given Calcutta a beautiful building, the Bose Research Institute. Rabindranath Tagore's institution at Santiniketan also has utilised Indian *motifs* in some recent constructions; and we are glad to hear that Mr Chatterji's work in this line has also been fully appreciated there.

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Siam-Denmark Pact. A Lesson for India.

"Copenhagen. A treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, based on principles of reciprocity and the most-favoured nation, has been signed by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Siamese Minister here."

This news item speaks a great deal for the progress of Siam in the field of international relations of an Asiatic country, trying to assert its full sovereignty. Siam is a member of the League of Nations and maintains "Legations" in all important countries of the world, except India; because India internationally is "a mere geographical expression" and has no independent Foreign Relation of her own. Siam would have certainly established a "Legation" in India also, if India was free and independent. There are thousands of Indians residing in Siam, who are engaged in business and various occupations As things stand, the British Minister in Bangkok is expected to look after their interests We hope the day is not for off when Indian interests in all foreign lands would be entrusted to the hand of Indian Diplomatic Officers, properly trained and chosen on the basis of merit.

T. D.

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The International Society for Women's Suffrage

The International Society for Women's Suffrage founded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York will hold a congress in Paris, the first time on French soil, beginning May 30, 1926

The meeting will take place at the Sorbonne, with Mrs Corbett Ashby of London, president of the society, in the chair Delegates from 43 nations will attend.

We hope that representative Indian women from all parts of India will participate in this International Congress. There is ample time to arrange for India's participation. Let us hope that responsible women leaders of India will take proper steps so that progressive Indian womanhood may be fittingly represented. T. D.

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Hamburg Builds Giant Diesel

MOTOR OF 15 000 HORSE POWER EXPECTED TO BE WORLD'S LARGEST

Hamburg, the largest and most powerful Diesel motor in the world, is being built for the Hamburg Electricity Works.

It is a nine-cylinder motor with cylinders of approximately thirty-four inches bore and fifty-

nine inches stroke. The motor will deliver 15,000 horsepower, almost twice as much as the otherwise most powerful motor, now being constructed in England.

The above news item shows that Germany, although defeated in the battle-fields, is victorious in the field of scientific and industrial achievement and there is no power on earth that can keep a nation like Germany down eternally Indian nationalists can learn a great lesson from Germany's efforts to recover her lost position Political agitation on a world-scale is necessary for India to recover her complete national sovereignty, but ultimately the future of India fully depends upon regeneration of the nation through achievements in science, industry, art and literature T D

American Militarism and Navalism

Mr Leland Olds, in an article published in the Federated Press Bulletin, makes the following comment on military expenditure of various nations, particularly the United States of America

The Wall Street Journal in a statistical article shows that the United States spends a larger proportion of its budget on militarism than any of the leading countries of Europe The article apparently marks an attempt to break down the popular prejudice against treating the debts of France and Italy leniently.

"Actually," says the journal, the European nations "are all spending less than the United States for defense, and many of them proportionately so According to budgetestimates, the United States will spend this year for account of war and navy departments a total of $674,581,000 or about 21.7 per cent of total expenditures This is a notable increase over previous two years Military and naval costs in the 1924 fiscal year being 19 3 per cent and in 1923, 19 6 per cent"

In contrast with the United States, Great Britain is spending 13 1 per cent of her total expenditures for militarism and France 18 1 per cent The comparative military expenditures and the proportion of the total 1925-26 budgets of 7 countries are

Military exp.	Amount	Pct. budget
United States	$674,381 000	21 7
Great Britain	586,000 000	13.1
France.........	323,000,000	18 1
Italy	82,700,000	9 3
Holland.. ..	60,000,000	20 2
Belgium......	36,000,000	9 4
Switzerland...	15,500,000	16 9

Great Britain spends more per capita on militarism than any of the countries listed Her army and navy cost $13 50 per inhabitant The per capita cost of militarism in the other countries is France $7 86; *Italy $2.14 ; Belgium $4.68; Holland $8 10;* Switzerland $3 95; and the United States $6. But if the population of England's entire empire is taken, her expenditure per capita is materially reduced.

[But then the military expenditure of India and the other parts of the empire must also be taken into account. Ed, *M. R.*]

Germany and Austria have been practically disarmed so that their expenditures are negligible. *It is therefore probable that, taken as a whole, Europe is spending less for militarism both in proportion to total governmental costs and to population than the United States. The United States has the advantage of wide oceans as barriers.*

In the United States there is now going on systematic agitation to increase her military power, under the guise of perfecting national defense. American navalism is showing its true attitude in the naval demonstration in the Pacific, and the American politicians and Italismen are agitating to augment America's offensive power in the Pacific by increasing the fortifications and enlarging naval bases in the Hawaii

America is trying to become "*second to none*" in her militarism and navalism To-day the combined forces of the British and American navies surpass the strength of all other nations British and American statesmen frankly say that an Anglo-American co-operation in world affairs would mean Anglo-Saxon world supremacy America believes in co-operation with Great Britain; because it is to her advantage, particularly in relation to American-Japanese relations But America is not inclined to act as a junior partner in the scheme of Anglo-Saxon world domination; she wishes to increase her power to such an extent that she will direct the policy This cannot be done unless American military and naval strength be superior to that of Britain. America is going to do her best to increase her naval and military power Some American radicals and a few liberals may shout against this policy, but their opposition is bound to be ineffective, because to-day the American people as a whole, particularly the American masses, feel the urge of nationalism and imperialism The urge of nationalism and imperialism in a democracy always assumes much more vigorous aspects than it does in a country ruled autocratically. So the American militarism and navalism will make its influence felt increasingly across the oceans— the Pacific and the Atlantic.—

T. D.

[It may be observed incidentally that the alien British Government in India compels India to spend on an average *fifty per cent* of her revenues in fighting the British Empire's battles and preparations for such fighting *This percentage is more than double the highest percentage shown in the table quoted above;* and that high percentage is

incurred by the world's richest country, whereas India is the poorest civilised country in the world. Ed., *M. R.*]

Soviet Russia Gains in Chinese Trade

A recent Riga despatch discloses the fact that Soviet Russia is gaining politically as well as economically through its Chinese policy M Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador to Peking, stated during a discussion on the present situation in China that "the sympathy of Soviet Russia with China has already yielded tangible results in the shape of a considerable increase of trade, particularly with Canton Now the Kwantung province received naptha produce exclusively from Soviet Russia, and if present conditions continue Soviet Russia will permanently secure herself a new market"

No one can blame the Soviet leaders if they by their astute move of 'showing sympathy to China" can create a new market for Russian goods It is good diplomacy and a paying one It may be, the Indian statesmen will learn a lesson from the Soviet leaders' tactics Indian statesmen should denounce the British aggressive policy in China and demand that no Indian should serve as a mercenary to enslave the Chinese It may be suggested that India, under the present condition of her own political slavery, cannot effectively sympathise with China. This may by true, but the least Indian statesmen can do is to register Indian support to Chinese aspirations to rouse international public opinion in favor of China Mahatma Gandhi and others took an active part in "Khilafatism;" and they can, very well, through the All-India National Congress Committee adopt a resolution which will give expression to the Indian attitude and sympathy towards China. India and China have much in common in world politics and steps should be taken to cement Indo-Chinese understanding to promote mutual interests.

T. D.

Training British and Indian Statesmen

Sir William Pyrell, after more than thirty-five years' experience in the British foreign office and the diplomatic service, was recently promoted to be Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The training of British statesmen is a matter of no less importance than the training of Admirals and Generals in the British navy and army. In fact, the efficiency of British statesmen in international politics has possibly played a greater role in winning World Empire for Britain than any other factor. British statesmen are trained; they do not fall from heaven, nor do they grow like mushrooms over night They are trained from their very early youth; and the best example is Lord Balfour, who began his career as early as the days of the Congress of Berlin (1878) when he accompained the British delegation there, as one of the minor officials, and in 1920-1921, he acted as the dominating figure in the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments

In training British statesmen, India has played a part which has been as important as the exploitation of India's man power, raw materials, economic power and strategic position has been for the extension of the British Empire. During the days of the East India Company, the Board of Directors of this great corporation always played a dominating role, directly and indirectly, in the British cabinet and British Parliament, and today if we scan the list of British statesmen of any importance, we shall find that the names of some of them are associated with the India Office, Governorship of an Indian Province, Viceroyship of India, etc. Of course India pays for these men to be trained as efficient diplomats and statesmen

We hear much about India assuming the position of an equal partner in the Empire; but, at the some time, we notice the conspiracy of silence about training Indians to assume the responsibility of efficient statesmen to handle India's foreign affairs. Mere book-knowledge can never make a man or woman a real expert in international relations, as mere committing to memory a chemistry text-book cannot produce a real scientist. Practical experience plays as important a part in the field of training a statesman, as research work in a laboratory is necessary for a chemist

The crying need for India's successful self-assertion as a nation is to increase her national efficiency in every field of human activities. In the field of International diplomacy and statesmanship, India cannot play her part unless her children are given the opportunity to gain efficiency through study as well as experience. It may be said that the British authorities are not anxious to allow the Indians to secure efficiency in international relations. But to be fair, none

should accuse the British officials alone, though the largest share of the blame is theirs; because Indian leaders, so far, to the best of our knowledge, have not made any effective demand for equal opportunity for Indians to serve in the Indian diplomatic service. In this connection, it will not be out of place to point out that even the All-India National Congress has not taken any special interest in training men to take the responsibility of carrying out the work of nation-building To be sure, the Congress has spent lakhs for "Charka," but possibly not a rupee has been spent to train men or women to acquire international experience in politics. We howl against British despotism Indeed, any protest against wrong is a very good sign: but do we take the initiative in starting things of vital importance in the field of nation-building and assertion of national freedom? We often lack the vision and at other times dare not take a bold path of constructive statesmanship. Has not the time come when Indian statesmen should take steps towards training future statesmen of India, by making it possible forthem to acquire diplomatic education and experience? The first requisite for this is to have a clear understanding of "India's position in world politics" and also the realization of the fact that India can never have real freedom unless she controls her own foreign affairs It pains us immensely to see that most precious time of the Congress leaders, and much of the national funds are wasted on debating such schemes as "yarn franchise", "charka as the central point of village reconstruction", while questions of increasing national efficiency in international affairs are often opposed by reputed Indian nationalists.

We have much to learn from Great Britain; and one of the things is "training of statesmen"; and the sooner Indian statesmen recognize this fact and make demands for adequate opportunity, the easier will be the road to success.

T. D.

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An American Woman to as Act "Consul"

Washington. Miss Pattie H. Field of Colorado has won the distinction of being the first American woman to be named for a Consul's post when she was nominated as United States Consul at Amsterdam.

We welcome this piece of news as an index of further progress of "Equal Rights" between men and women in America. During the last ten years, the women in the western world have achieved considerable success in effecting emancipation in the field of politics and economics. This success has touched the imagination of the women of the East particularly in Japan (the Far East) and in Turkey (the Near East). The latest news from Turkey indicates that the Turkish people in general as well as the Turkish nationalist leaders have made up their mind to ignore all opposition to, and to aid the movement for, emancipation of women through spreading education and by removing all bars against professional life of women. In Angora, only the other day, three young Turkish ladies were given permission to learn "flying" in connection with the Turkish Air Service When we think of the progress of women in India, it makes us very sad and depressed. It is not the women of India who are opposed to progress; but the men of India themselves lack proper enlightenment and they often directly and indirectly hinder the cause of emancipation of Indian women

In this connection, we further wish to draw the attention of Indian leaders, that in the West, women are entrusted with diplomatic positions, whereas no Indian, however efficient he may be in the arts of diplomacy and well versed in the knowledge of international relations, can serve his country in any diplomatic capacity. We earnestly hope that in presenting any plan for extension of self-government in India, control of Foreign Affairs and National Defense of India by Indians must be provided in it.

T. I

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Retaliation against uth Africa

If Indians had some powerful nation t befriend them, the case of the Indians i South Africa would have been given a pla of equality with the Armenians who receiv bad treatment from the Turks some yea ago. The press of the powerful nation wou in that case have made the South Afric whites appear before outsiders as sinners the very first order. But neither the India themselves nor any of their friends are pow ful enough to make things appear ev unconstitutional. So what is the use of talk about its injustice, immorality or sinfulness

The South African whites are in pov

and they are trying to get rid of undesirable competitors in a time-honoured, though not praise-worthy, way. The Indians, of course, are rightful owners of whatever they own in South Africa. They have theoretically just as much right to be in South Africa as have the whites But unfortunately they are not strong and as such cannot expect to be treated as equals by their white rulers And we, their compatriots, we are just as badly off Had we been an independent and a military nation, we might have done all sorts of things to enable our brethren to assert their rights in South Africa But we are not so and therefore cannot hope to invade South Africa and bring the whites to their senses by bombardment and bayonets.

Then what can we do?

We wish we knew It would be just as difficult to answer that as it would be to find a sure short cut to Swaraj for ourselves

The Corporation of Calcutta have taken the humiliation in South Africa to heart and have resolved

'That all white persons born or domiciled in any of the countries forming part of the Union of South Africa shall be debarred from obtaining any employment under, or from entering into any contract with the Corporation of Calcutta, and

'That goods produced or manufactured anywhere within the said Union shall not be purchased or received for value by the Corporation of Calcutta"

'That every person seeking any employment under or offering to enter into any contract with the Corporation shall have to sign a declaration that he is neither born nor domiciled in any part of the Union of South Africa and the vendor of every goods supplied to the Corporation for value shall have to sign a declaration that it is neither produced nor manufactured with n the said Union"

"That Government be requested to take steps to amend the Municipal Act disfranchising the South Africans in Calcutta"

But will this have a retaliatory effect on South Africa? Are there any South African employees of the Calcutta Corporation? If there are any, then the straight course would be to discharge them at once. The resolutions have a ring in them which suggests that there are no such employees of the Corporation, nor are there probably any South Africans supplying goods to the same body So that, except in so far as they help create an anti-South African atmosphere India, these resolutions will serve no use- purpose

It has been suggested that we should put prohibitive duties on our imports from South Africa. It would not be a bad policy, but the South African whites would probably not mind this loss very much if they could get rid of the Indian tradesmen and landowners in South Africa who are every day getting a better hold upon the economic life of that country Still it is worth while discussing the possibilities of putting a heavy duty on South African goods Some of the leading imports from South Africa are as follows

Name of goods	Approx Value in 1922-23
	Rs
Coal, coke and patent fuel	88,00,000
Tanning material	87,000
Machinery & Millwork	50,000
Metal alloys	10,000
Metals	20,000
Provisions	26,000
Rubber	21,000
Sugar	(Large quantities in 1920-22)
Govt Stores of all sorts	14,00,000

So that practically coal and coke form the only item on which we can do anything worth doing in the way of retaliation. We can also bring pressure on the Government to stop buying anything at all from South Africa Altogether, prohibitive import duties do not promise much. Let us see if we can do anything better by **stopping export** to South Africa. India's largest exports to South Africa are of Jute. In 1922-23, we exported Jute to South Africa as follows.—

Province	Approx. Value
Cape of Good Hope	28,00,000
Natal	83,00,000
Transvaal	2,00,000

And Jute is a monopoly of India, so that it is well worth while discussing whether we can do anything to South Africa by putting a fairly heavy duty on Jute exports to South Africa. The money derived from this source may be used for helping repatriated Indians.

Besides Jute, we also export large quantities of wood and timber to South Africa; but we do not think we can do anything by putting a duty on the export of the same.

Then we can do another thing. There are certain Indian ports at which steamers from various countries call on their way to South African ports It may be useful to increase our harbour dues for such steamers as are going to or coming from South Africa.

There must be yet other ways of retaliation, but it requires experts to find them out. Let us hope that we shall not take our insult lying down and find out a way or ways to show the whites in South Africa the rough side of racialism.

A. C.

Abinash Chandra Mazumdar.

Of the late Mr Abinash Chandra Mazumdar of Lahore, whom we counted among our revered friends, *The People*, edited by Lala Lajput Rai, writes editorially —

Mr. A. C Mozumdar who passed away the other day, was a well-known missionary of the Panjab Brahmo Samaj Not more than a name to many among the present generation, he was very active in the eighties of the last and the early years of this century He was a pioneer journalist and an advocate of many noble causes When the temperance movement was inaugurated, Mr Mozumdar threw himself heart and soul into it and became an unsparing critic of those who tried to thwart it. He also made efforts to purge *Holi* of all scurrilities and set on foot a *Pavitra Holi*, which became a flow of wit and a feast of mirth. Mr. Mozumdar was a champion of purity, and exerted himself against evil, impurity, cant and hypocrisy. A vigorous worker, a fervent preacher, he will be missed in many places.



Abinash Chandra Mazumdar

The Tribune of Lahore reports that the citizens of Lahore assembled in large numbers in the hall of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj on 12th January last to pay their respects to the memory of Mr. Mazumdar.

The gathering was a representative one. Lala Harkishen Lal occupied the chair. He said that he had been associated with him for 30 or 35 years and worked with him in several institutions, and his impression was that he had never come across a man who was so good all through. Speaker after speaker bore testimony to the noble work that Mr Mazumdar had done and the intensely pious life that he lived Rai Bahadur Lala Moti Sagar said that he had realised what real self-sacrifice was when he worked under him in the Kangra Relief Work His company was elevating and one coming in contact with him felt that he was in the company of a true saint. Maulvi Mahbub Alam said that Lahore and the world had really become the poorer by the death of such a man The meeting very properly decided to perpetuate the memory of such a noble worker in a permanent from It was the earnest desire of the meeting that the memorial should take the form of some humanitarian work in which Mr Mazumdar took such a great delight and to which he devoted his life.

In its obituary of Mr. Mazumdar, *The Tribune* writes among other things.—

It is a great loss to the Punjab generally and the Brahmo Samaj in particular that so soon after the death of Rai Sahib Kashi Ram, his friend and co-worker, Babu Abinash Chandra should be called away. He was 71 at the time of his death, and his presence was an inspiration to social workers of all ranks Although a Bengali, he had made the Province his home By his loving ministration noble sacrifice and devoted service he endeared himself to all sections of the people. He was an honoured name in Indian circles. He spent many years in the service of the Railway and since his retirement he had consecrated himself to the service of God and Humanity. Even when he was engaged in his secular work, his spare moments he devoted to the service of his fellowmen. Wherever he had been, at Allahabad or at Rawalpindi or at Lahore people hold his memory in reverence. Among the sick and the famished, his was ever a familiar figure with his box of Homeopathic medicines, and food and garment It was with his efforts that the Sanatorium for the consumptives at Dharampur was built During the earthquake in the Kangra valley he led a relief party. Wherever there was a famine, either in the Punjab or in the United Provinces, he was among the foremost to organise relief for the distressed.

The Indian Social Reformer calls Mr Mazumdar "a great social worker, especially in the fields of temperance and purity," and his paper *The Purity Servant*, "an excellent little paper".

The Indian Messenger, the English organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which he became a missionary some years after retiring from Government service, says among other things:—

His zeal in the cause of purity and temperance led him to start *The Purity Servant*, a journal whose aims were clearly indicated by its name and to organise the *Pabitra Holi*, by which he sought to combat indulgence in immorality on the part of many Hindus during the *Holi* festival

the Punjab, reminding us of Savonarola's famous "bonfire of vanities" during the carnival in Florence. He was for many years General Secretary of the All-India Theistic Conference. He organised the Conference at Lahore, Allahabad and Benares, and presided over it at Madras in 1908 He initiated the relief operations carried on, largely with his assistance, by the Brahmo Samaj in the Kangra Valley after a disastrous earthquake. He was an active worker in the famine relief operations organised by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1907 It was by his efforts that the Sanatorium at Dharampur for consumptives was founded, a warm tribute being paid to him by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province for his exertions in connection with it He was appointed a Trustee of the Dyal Singh College by its founder, and he always took a keen interest in its affairs

He had made a special study of the Sikh scriptures His Bengali translation of *Japjee* was published some years ago, and that of *Sukhamani* has been appearing serially in a Bengali magazine

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Japanese Competition in the Cotton Industry

The reason why Japan with her 48 lakhs of spindles against India's 80 lakhs can manage to consume as much cotton as Indian mills do, is that the Japanese mills work 22 hours a day in two shifts, while Indian mills are by law confined to 60 hours in the week

In Geneva, Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee was able to draw the League's attention to the disadvantageous position in the industrial field which India occupies compared with that of Japan, because India is a member of the League of Nations.

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India and the League of Nations

The League of Nations has deputed Dr. Pillai, Indian member of the Secretariate at Geneva, on a three month's mission to India to enquire into what the Secretariate can do to make better known the work of the League in the past three years. He will confer with the Government of India and the leaders of responsible public opinion and also visit universities and explain to the students how Continental Universities are organising themselves to study the work of the League. He also proposes to start League of Nations Societies at universities and other centres and try to get into touch with the Press or Journalists' Associations in India, in order to get them to co-operate in ventilating the activities of the League.

As a member of the League, India has to contribute a large sum towards its expenses, for which she does not at present obtain any equivalent return. For this, of course, India's dependent position is to a great extent responsible. But situated even as she is, we could certainly derive much more benefit from it if we were determined to do so



Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee

It is true the League is not an ideal body, nor does it possess all the powers and all the means to give effect to its resolutions which it ought to possess. But it is idle to fret at what it is not or has not The more business-like and commonsense view is to take it as it is and make what use we can of it,—particularly as we have to pay so much for our connection with it.

It is not right to take a fatalistic view of things and remain fixed in the belief that no good can come out of what attempts we may make at Geneva to obtain redress for our grievances.

For instance, it ought not to be a foregone conclusion with us that the South African question cannot be brought before the members of the League

Of course, it is true that so long as India does not become self-ruling, we cannot elect our own delegates and bring before the League what we the people of India desire to. But there is no reason to suppose that so intelligent and capable a man as Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, who ought to have been governor of a province, does not love India and the Indians, does not feel for the humiliations and disqualifications to which his countrymen are subjected abroad, and does not desire that his country should occupy an equal position with other countries, simply because he is a delegate of the Government of India but not of the people of India On the contrary, we are sure that, in addition to his being an Indian, he feels morally bound to do all he can for India

But whatever direct advantage we may or may not derive from the League, we ought certainly to be able to acquire and exercise much influence in the international dealings of the League, and in this way attract the delegates of the independent countries of the world towards India. Informally at any rate, this ought to be possible, seeing that in addition to Sir Atul, such a world-figure as Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose would remain for some time at Geneva as member the of League Committee for Intellectual Co-operation

It would be a little easier for India to obtain self-rule, if the people of the world were on the side of India, even though the *governments* of the world might not for diplomatic reasons make common cause with India For this reason, it is necessary that the Indian delegates of (the Government of) India and all other Indians at Geneva should win for India, by their culture, capacity, character and friendliness towards mankind in general, the good opinion of the delegates of foreign countries and other foreigners residing there

It is a fact that Britishers at home feel the moral pressure of the opinion of the British Dominions and of the world at large. We should see to it that this opinion is favourable to India And to some extent we can try to make this opinion favourable, through the Indian officials and others who reside at Geneva in connection with the League's work or for other reasons.

There is much to support our view in the following extracts from the interim report of of the Indian delegation to the sixth session of the Assembly of the League of Nations :—

"Our experience of the work of the Assembly has led us to consider that the best service can be done for India by its representatives, if they approach the questions under discussion as far as possible from an impartial and international standpoint, and co-operate fully in the solution of them, rather than view them from a purely national aspect and refrain from the discussion of those which have no immediate interest to India.

"It must necessarily be the case that India's interests are little affected by many of the problems which the League has to solve, but India's representatives have everything to gain by familiarising themselves with the elements of these problems and taking part in the discussions upon them, while, at the same time, the League has much to learn from the store of legislative and administrative experience accumulated in the public life of the great country which they respect,

"Such participation will only be rendered possible by thorough preparatory study and by securing the assistance of a larger staff at Geneva We are convinced that the Indian delegation can do far more in this way to improve Indian's position in the League than by criticism from a purely national point of the comparatively few questions which directly affect India's interests, or by excessive insistence on the fact that India is not at present receiving an adequate return from the League for her large contribution towards its expenditure

"In the course of debates, we tried to turn the general activities of the League into ways of benefit to India. Our observations on the health organisation and the proposed international relief union work of the League in social matters, and our suggestion that a Bureau of Information should be established in India are instances of this endeavour

"It remains for us to add that we overselves have derived the utmost benefit from our intercourse with many prominent statesmen and experienced administrators who represented their countries at this Assembly Our relations with them in conference and in social intercourse have been most cordial."

We do not at all suggest that we should depend only or mainly on world opinion for raising India's status. Our main endeavour should of course be made here in India and by ourselves. But we should not despise or neglect to secure, any subsidiary help that may be obtained from others.

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Civil Disobedience and the Liberal Attitud

In previous numbers of this Review, w have more than once made it clear that w should not be opposed to, but would rath favour, a recourse to civil disobedience, *wer it feasible* and necessary, and in case other means of winning back our birthrigh

failed. And we should also be in favour of giving an ultimatum to Government, saying that unless our wishes were complied with civil disobedience would be resorted to, *if the country were ready for such a step at a moment's notice* But we are not in favour of such an ultimatum coupled with the declaration that in case Government adopted an unbending attitudes a movement would be inaugurated *for preparing the country for civil disobedience* For such a minatory gesture cannot but raise a smile in the British rulers' lips It there be a bone of contention between two nations, and if one of them gives an ultimatum to the other, it is not usual for the former to say that if the ultimatum did not receive favourable consideration, the claimant would *begin* to recruit soldiers and drill them and also grow a forest and work iron and other mines in order afterwards to build a navy and manufacture arms and ammunition so that war may be waged with the other nation If Johnnie and Dick have a wordy fight, Johnnie cannot expect to cow down Dick by holding out a threat that unless the said Dick complied with the aforesaid Johnnie's wishes, Johnnie would begin to take lessons in boxing and also swallow daily more food with more vitamin contents in order that afterwards he might deal Dick a knock-down blow No, the knock-down blow should be ready for delivery at a moment's notice,—nay, better still, if it be ready for delivery without any notice at all to the other party

For these reasons, while theoretically we are not at all against civil disobedience in certain circumstances, we have not been able to support either that part of Mrs Naidu's presidential address which delivers a sort of ultimatum to the Government or the main resolution of the Congress of similar import

Some persons appear to think that, as reason and the love of right and justice ought alone to guide men, individually and collectively, in their decisions and actions, there need not be any sanction behind a national demand ; or that, to be plain, the British Government and people need not be made to feel that unless India's popular demands were conceded, Britain stood to undergo some trouble or to lose some advantage We also would personally prefer that all men, including Britishers, were guided only by reason and love of right and justice. But if we look at history, including British history, we find that reforms have been generally obtained after much argumentation and representation, and disturbances and unrest and the giving of some trouble. No reasonable man likes disturbances and trouble-giving and unrest But it would be as untrue, historically, to say that argumentation and representation alone secured the reforms, as to say that the other things alone did the trick It would be impossible to apportion the credit for the achievements accurately, but some apportionment would be needed

We all know that love of virtue alone ought to keep men in the path of virtue But in all countries, is it only love of virtue which keep people from breaking the rules of morality and from violating the laws of the State? No, whilst some are so kept, more perhaps are restrained by Mrs Grundy, the police, the law-courts, the jail department, etc

Whilst some persons observe the laws of health naturally from habit or from love of a harmonious and beautiful physical and mental existence, there are others, perhaps the majority, whom the fear of disease prevents from violating hygienic rules So, in the universe as we find it, fear of consequences is a sanction Therefore, whilst we ought all to lay the greatest stress on idealism, on the effort to rise from the merely animal motive to the intellectual and spiritual motive, we cannot in practice in our dealings with men, individually and collectively, entirely give the go-by to the sanction of fear of consequences

The Liberals may not speak of resorting to civil disobedience, but they also want to create such a situation as would make the Government feel that it would be prudent for it to yield, or, in other words, they want Government to feel that unless it yielded something untoward would happen Is not that an appeal to fear of consequences? We quote below a passage from Sir Moropant Joshi's presidential address at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India in support of of what we have said

> As extreme measures nothing is ruled out for achieving political emancipation—not even revolutions, much less civil disobedience and obstruction But the Liberals firmly believe that without adequate preparation of the people, little pressure can be put on Government. As soon as we concentrate on the preparation of the electorate, a stage must arrive when the rulers must find it prudent to yield rather than risk civil disobedience and revolution Without adequate preparation of



Sir Moropant Joshi

the people, no compelling pressure upon Government is possible, and once they are prepared civil disobedience will be unnecessary Other parties have themselves realized this by now, and that is why the Liberals suggest unity and concentration of effort on the one common ground, viz., preparing the masses for the struggle to be free

Widow Marriages.

The honorary secretary to the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha of Lahore states that reports of 296 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of Vidhava Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Panjab) throughout India in the month of December, 1925 The total number of marriages held from 1st January, 1925 to the end of December, 1925 has reached 2663 as detailed below:—

i. According to Caste:—

Brahmin 447, Khatri 508, Arora 570, Aggarwal 180, Kaisth 76, Rajput 202, Sikh 251, Misc. 429, Total 2663.

ii *According to Provinces*:—

Panjab & N. W. F. P. 2057, Delhi 41 Sindh 38, U P. 356, Hyderabad Deccan 5, Assam 30, Bengal 73, Madras 23, Bombay 12, C. I 11, Rajputana 17, Total 2663.

iii. Voluntary donation received during the month is Rs. 84-14-0 and total during the year 1685-12-0

Bhai Kashi Ram

The People writes:—

By the death of Rai Sahib Kashi Ram of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj, the Province has lost a truly religious man Deeply religious in thought and practice, generous to a fault, straight in his dealings, honest in his convictions, charitable in his judgment of others, he possessed a serenity of mind and temper which was the envy of his friends He was always sweet, reasonable, affable and serene. Pure in his private life and regular in his habits, he lived a good and healthy life, reaching the mature age of 76 at the time of his death The first generation of English-educated Punjabees is passing away, one by one Very few are now left as reminders of old times and bygone ages The younger people have certainly more knowledge and greater scholarship to their credit, but whether they have the same respect for principles and the same spirit of sacrifice and service as the older generation showed in their lives, is not certain We hope Lala Kashi Ram's example and life will for long continue to inspire them with his noble ideals, his pure motives and clean manners.



Lala Kashi Ram

Lala Kashi Ram was a New Dispensationist. The following details of his life are taken from *The Tribune*:

He joined the Brahma Samaj shortly after its foundation at Lahore The devoted services of Pandit Nabinchandra Roy, Lala Shraddha Ram, Lala Gandu Mal, Lala Sobha Ram and Lala Ram Chand, who laid the foundation of the Brahma Samaj in this province, found a response in him and he joined them wholeheartedly in the noble work they had started Acceptance of the new faith caused his social ostracism He was outcasted for taking food with a Christian His own father cut off his connection. But the young Kashi Ram, true to his conviction, suffered all sorts of persecution bravely and heroically. He had honest differences with his friends, but never broke away from them His younger brother became an ardent member of the Arya Samaj, but Kashi Ram out of slender income used to maintain his family.

He employed his spare hours in the service of the public, and since his retirement from service in 1909, he became a Missionary of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj He was a Minister of the Punjab Brahmo Samaj and wrote a number a pamphlets to spread the cause of Theism He edited a paper called *Theist* for several years.

The Himalayan Brahmo Samaj owes a great deal to him

The All-India Social Conference

The All-India Social Conference, arranged by the National Liberal Federation, met in the Calcutta Albert Hall on the last day of 1925 It was well and influentially attended A lady, Srimati Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, was in the chair Many other ladies were present, several taking active part in the proceedings. These are welcome signs of progress In her presidential address Srimati Sarala Devi laid great stress upon the emancipation of women and the need of a "socially compact" India. She also laid emphasis on the need of educating the "selfish, narrow-minded and unenlightened priesthood" and the "ignorant, superstitious and small-visioned womanhood," who are obstacles in the way of social reform in India. She fervently appealed for the social reconstruction of India, observing, "social reconstruction goes to the very root of nation-building in India. Social solidarity is the progenitor of political privileges A renovated social India, a socially compact Hindustan, could alone stand shoulder to shoulder with the modern mighty countries of the world."

The resolutions passed urged the acceleration of the progress of female education, further rise in the age of marriage, abolition of the purdah, abolition of the dowry system, re-marriage of widows and amelioration of their condition, relaxation of the caste system, removal of untouchability, admission to society of women and girls who have been innocent victims of crime, political enfranchisement of women, total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks and intoxicating drugs except for medicinal purposes, strong supervision over cinemas and theatres, discouragement of gambling at races, establishment of rescue-homes and enactment of legislation for protection of children in provinces wanting such legislation, better administration of religious trusts and endowments in the country, and maintenance of cordial relations between Hindus and Mahommedans

Great prominence was given to the resolution on untouchability, the speeches on which roused the hearts of the hearers Two ladies made strong speeches in support of the resolutions on the abolition of the purdah system and the dowry curse.

Help to South African Indian Deputation

The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has made a very good use of the funds at its disposal by sanctioning a grant of Rs 50,000 to the South African Indian Deputation for its work both in India and South Africa.

A Moslem Lady's Victory

The secretary of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference refused admission to ladies at the last session of the conference. But Atiya Begum of Bombay insisted on being heard and succeeded in her efforts. She was followed by Mrs. Sakhawat Hossain of Bengal

Neglect of Indian Art and Architecture in India

It was Havell who said more than a decade ago,

"Of all branches of art, that of architecture is the one which gives occasion for the exercise of the highest constructive powers, and in the revival of Indian domestic architecture there is a magnificent field open for the energy of the Swadeshi reformer, and the very best opportunity for giving a great stimulus to Indian arts and crafts Nowhere is it more true than in India that architecture is the mother of all the arts, and the neglect of Indian architectural traditions by Indian leaders of public opinion has been one of the principal causes of the deterioration of Indian art."

He might have well added "deterioration of the Indian mind and the degeneration of Indian life." In India, one finds among the so-called leaders of public opinion an appealling absence of well-defined ideas regarding the hundred and one things that make a nation truly great and the quality of national life excellent. As a matter of fact, on account of this ignorance of the essential elements of a sound national life, public opinion in India has practically nothing to say on most things of importance. All the sordidness and misery in our national life are usually accounted for in the simplest of ways by our "leaders", speeches are made, leading articles flash magnificently on the pages of party organs and the credulous are convinced of the infallibility of the diagnosis. Very few of our "leaders" have any but the haziest notions of what nation-building means, and in this haze one can easily discern the looming form of institutions and ideals which have reduced life in the West to a terrible orderliness, which savours strongly of conscription, mass production, barrack life and of the pathology of constant activity with no pleasant end in view. The Government of India by foreigners has caused a whole lot of exotic things to be heaped upon our life, but in that we can only see the foreigner's attempt at keeping us under and rendering us eternally incapable of taking the initiative anywhere. They want us to lose our individual character and embellish the face of the earth, so long as we are on it, only as a market. Our progress, to them, is progress as a market, our moral condition is our unhesitatingness or otherwise in market transactions. We do not blame the foreigners for holding such views, for they must be true to their national character and idealism. But in what way are we ourselves superior to them? Whatever we might have been in the past, to-day the whole of India is as badly attacked by what has been rightly or wrongly called Western materialism, as the West itself. And to add to our shame, we have adopted the disease from the West due to our stupendous ignorance of all values and to our slavish imitativeness. We want a renaissance, if not of our classical super-intellectuality, at least of our commonsense and of the urge to make life a thing of beauty, before we can expect to be truly a free nation.

In this renaissance the revival of our arts and crafts must play the most important part. The painful impression created by our present-day Burra Bazaar architecture, German mechanical toys, Japanese enamel tumblers, cups and dishes and the horror of seeing the Puja-bazaar flooded with Italian art "silk" fabrics may be symptoms of this re-birth, but what hopes? However, to proceed with our argument, there seems to be a growing realisation everywhere in India of the extreme urgency of helping Indian arts and crafts to their feet again.

If the life of man is measured by his activities, the building art should get a prominent place in human life. All men live in some sort of houses and judging by the amount of time and energy mankind spends in building huts, houses and palaces, one can safely assign to this industry a place which is second to only a few other industries. And apart from its importance as an industry, building has always been a vehicle of aesthetic expression in every country and age. As such, the value of architecture and its place in national life have been everywhere great and important. In the words of Havell,

"...National architecture is built out of the national life: its forms and style are moulded by the character of the people to whom it belongs."

So also is the character of the people influenced by the architectural environment they create for themselves. So that damage done to the art and architecture of a country is damage done to the life of its people. In our case, as Havell says,

"it is not merely a question of taste that is involved in the preservation of Indian art, but a question of intellectual and moral character. The surrender of all their artistic traditions, which so many educated Indians have been content to make, is an intellectual and moral loss for which all European science and literature cannot compensate them; nor will the fullest measure of political liberty, as it is understood by western nations, restore to them what they lose by that surrender. India with Indian art completely denationalised by western commercialism and western materialism will still remain in a state of intellectual and moral servitude, even if all the dreams of Swaraj in which the extremists indulge were realised."

And Havell is quite right. Supposing we had been taught so much English that we could not express our thoughts except in the English language and in the English way, would it take much thinking to decide that we would have then lost much of our national independence? Certainly not. For if it is slavery to look to the English for our laws, it is certainly more so to look to them for our language. In the case of art

and architecture, and specially the latter, we have lost our own "language" of architectural and artistic expression and we have been attempting these several decades to express ourselves through western technique. *And that not of the highest order.* We have, as a matter of fact, adopted the worst in western architecture and mixed it up with a lot of bastard forms from everywhere in the world We are, so to speak, talking pidgin English in the domain of artistic expression Mr. S. C. Chatterjee's article in this number of the *Modern Review* ought to receive every attention from all who feel that there is a need for the purification of our architecture. Without the active support of public bodies and wealthy people, there is no hope for our architecture, nor for our arts and crafts in general. It is a welcome sign that some of the Municipalities are waking up and trying to do their bit towards the revival of our lost arts. We hope for more The policy of the P. W. D. in this respect has been a scandal in the past and we hardly see anything to hold better views regarding the future But among ourselves we can do much, and it is here that our hopes lie.

A. C.

Calcutta University's Plight

When Prof. Jadunath Sarkar suggested in in our July, 1925 Number some proposals for the reform of the Calcutta University, and drew public attention to its mercenary lowering of standards with the consequence of the failure of Calcutta graduates in all-India tests, a temporary junior lecturer of the Calcutta Post-graduate Department was put up to deny Prof. Sarkar's facts and glorify the Calcutta University's present policy and achievements And now no member of any rival University, no writer from some outside Province, but the highest officer of this very Calcutta University, the Vice-Chancellor Sir Ewart Greaves, has publicly announced the ame conclusions and suggested the same line reform as Prof. Sarkar. Our readers will e that Prof Sarkar's vindication has come om the highest quarter.

Sir Ewart Greaves said at the Serampur College vocation: "No one, I think, can contemplate with animity the present educational system of the vince. The very necessary reforms recommended the Calcutta University Commission have been yed by financial stringency and by *other culties* to which I need not refer in detail, and a matter of grave concern to those responsible the education of the province that Bengali candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and other All-India Services are not occupying in those examinations the places to which their intellectual aptitude entitles them.

"Please do not think that I desire to reflect in any way upon the great work that has been done on behalf of education by many men in various positions in the province, but I only say this to emphasize the need at the present time for the educationists of the province to take stock of the position, in order that the necessary improvements in standards and in teaching may be carried out.

"The multiplication of schools and colleges alone is not sufficient unless we can see that the teaching therein imparted is efficient and tends to the development of character and intelligence, and not to the mere passing of examinations."

He said more in the same vein , but what we have quoted above will suffice

Another supporter of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's reform proposals is Dr. Bridge, the learned and responsible Oxford Scholar who presides over the St Paul's College, Calcutta This eminent authority has publicly declared

"Educational reform in India is in danger of *stultifying itself by paying too much attention to the head,* forgetting the deplorable conditions of the feet and the unsatisfactory state of the trunk The success of the Post-graduate Department depends very largely on the material supplied by the colleges, as the results of the latter are conditioned by the preparation which the schools impart to their alumni.

"It seems to me that a new spirit of *closer intercourse,* a new articulation of the relationship *between the Post-Graduate Department and the Calcutta colleges is needed.*"

Release of Political Prisoners and Return of Political Exiles

Last month Maulvi Mohamed Shafi moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly regarding the release of political prisoners and the granting of permission to all Indian exiles in foreign countries to return to their homes, to which Mr T. C. Goswami moved the following amendment, which was carried by 53 votes to 45·—

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council ; (a) forthwith to secure the immediate release of all political prisoners detained without trial ; (b) to take steps to remove all difficulties in the way of the return to India of all Indian exiles in foreign countries who may be, or may have been suspected of being concerned in any revolutionary or other activities regarded by the Government as prejudicial to the interests of India ; (c) to bring to trial under the ordinary law of the land such persons against whom the Government think that they have sufficient evidence to go to court."

Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member, stated the position of the Government in the following words.—

"We are prepared to inquire into individual cases if they are brought to our notice. We desire to limit our actions, to limit restraints, to the very minimum of what is essential to preserve our position. We do not desire to do more than that. We cannot in order to serve a political movement or to secure temporary support, we cannot compromise the interests of the ordinary citizen which are the interests of law and order. I have tried to meet the resolution in a friendly spirit, and I feel that I have given a satisfactory answer."

It is quite fair to demand that either suspects should be freed or brought to trial in the ordinary way.

—

Nationalism versus Communalism at Aligarh

On the 28th of December, 1925, a resolution was moved in the Aligarh Muslim University Union embodying the view of the Union that the solution of the Indian problem lies in the immediate supersession of communal programmes by a national one. It was carried by the Union in the face of the opposition to it of such influential Moslem leaders as Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sir Mohamed Shafi and Sir Ali Imam. This is a very hopeful sign of the times.

—

The late Lord Carmichael

The news of the death of Lord Carmichael, a former Governor of Bengal, has been received in this country with regret. We do not mean to say that other Governors and Viceroys have not been or are not gentlemen, but we cannot better sum up our opinion of Lord Carmichael than by saying that in his personality the private gentleman was not overpowered or thrust into the background by the ruler and the bureaucrat.

We had it from one of the founders of Carmichael Medical College at Belgachia that, but for his lordship, that institution could not have become what it is.

—

Mysore's Lead in University Education

Writing about the many new degrees and diplomas instituted by the Mysore University, *New India* observes —

The scheme, we are aware, has been criticised on the ground that it is too ambitious to be introduced immediately. That is understandable, for with the plans for the improvement of the study of Oriental subjects, Kannada and Indology, these additional activities will tax the energies of the University to the utmost. But we do not think that that is a reason to justify any curtailment of these excellent and very necessary plans. Let the Mysore University give a lead to other Universities in the matter of the organisation of the scientific and industrial side of higher education.

We would exhort the authorities of the Mysore University not to be discouraged by any criticism of their plans as too widespread to be practicable. But it is also necessary that they should remember that the mere drafting of courses and institution of degrees is not enough. In the words of the Calcutta University Commission:

"There is real danger in the idea that, if an examination is provided and a degree course defined, all that is necessary is done."

This danger Mysore, with its resources, ought to be able to avoid.

In future issues we intend to give some idea of the "excellent and very necessary plans" of the Mysore University "in the matter of the organisation of the scientific and industrial side of higher education."

—

The late Maharaja of Natore

A notable member of the aristocracy of Bengal has prematurely passed away in the person of Maharaja Jagadindranath Ray of Natore. He was a lineal descendant of Rani Bhavani of pious memory. He was a cultured man, possessed of much independence of spirit. He delivered an outspoken address as chairman of the reception committee of the Indian National Congress in 1901, when it met in Calcutta. He also presided over a session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Murshidabad. He made a spirited public protest against the partition of Bengal in the Calcutta Town Hall. He was a good writer of Bengali prose and verse, and one of the editors of *Manasi O Marmabani*, a leading Bengali magazine. He was a lover of music and himself a talented musician. A cricket team was maintained by him, and he was himself a keen sportsman. He was a patron of the Rani Bhavani school in Calcutta and took much interest in its welfare, frequently working as an honorary teacher in its classes. Suavity of manners was one of the marked traits in his character.

—

The Jubilee of the Maharaja Gaekwad

Though in recent years the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda has receded somewhat into the background in the public life of India, he will be undoubtedly remembered as a most prominent figure

in the history of public life in India in the last quarter of the 19th and the first of the 20th century. He has certainly been one of our nation-builders. His public refutation of the theory of the racial inferiority of Indians in one of his addresses marked him out as a pronounced and right-minded patriot. He took particular pleasure in participating in such all-India movements as had anything to do with the education and uplift of women, reform of caste, including removal of untouchability, encouragement of travel in foreign countries, etc.

In his own State, he was a path-breaker in many important directions, which made Baroda at one time the most progressive State in India He was the first to legislate against infant marriage in India, as also to introduce universal, free and compulsory education and to separate the judicial and executive functions Another matter in which Baroda has been the pioneer is its library system, including the institution of travelling libraries The Maharaja has also done much practically for the education and uplift of the "untouchables and other depressed classes In the fields of technical and industrial education and the starting of new industries, he has done much He has given encouragement to the cause of education and learning outside his State too

It is to be regretted, however, that even in education and some other respects, Baroda has been of late outdistanced by Mysore and Travancore And it does not give us any pleasure to state that *The Servant of India* is right in observing.—

> Sir Sayajirao, with all his desire to model his State on western lines, has never been known to favour popular government, and though perhaps Baroda was among the first to admit its people into consultation on legislative and administrative bodies, these are still in the same rudimentary condition in which they were at the start, while some other States, coming into the race at a later period, have long overtaken it Mysore and Travancore are, in respect of popular government, a generation in advance of Baroda It was hoped that His Highness would be pleased to announce a substantial instalment of constitutional reforms on the occasion of the Jubilee celebrations, but these hopes have been sadly disappointed.

This is not to say that his Jubilee boons to his subjects are not real boons; but more things and of a different character were expected To fulfil these expectations, may the Maharaja Gaekwad have a long and prosperous life, during which it need not be necessary for him to travel abroad so frequently and for such long periods as in the past, as he has acquired sufficient experience of foreign countries for the benefit of his subjects and as India possesses a plentiful supply of salubrious spots to suit men, including princes, suffering from all sorts of ailments.

—

The Solar Eclipse and Bathing at Allahabad

Every year during the Indian month of Magh, there is held a bathing festival at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges at Allahabad, when several hundreds of thousands of people assemble and bathe there. This is known as the *Magh Mela* or fair. Every twelfth year, this Mela becomes the Kumbha Mela, when, sometimes, so many as three millions of people or more have been known to bathe at the confluence

This year, as the solar eclipse marked the commencement of the Magh Mela, the crowd was very much larger than it is during an ordinary Magh Mela It has been estimated that some twenty-five to thirty lakhs of people had their cere-



Prayag Ghat Station (O. R. Ry.), Daraganj
Photograph by Dr Lalit Mohan Basu M B

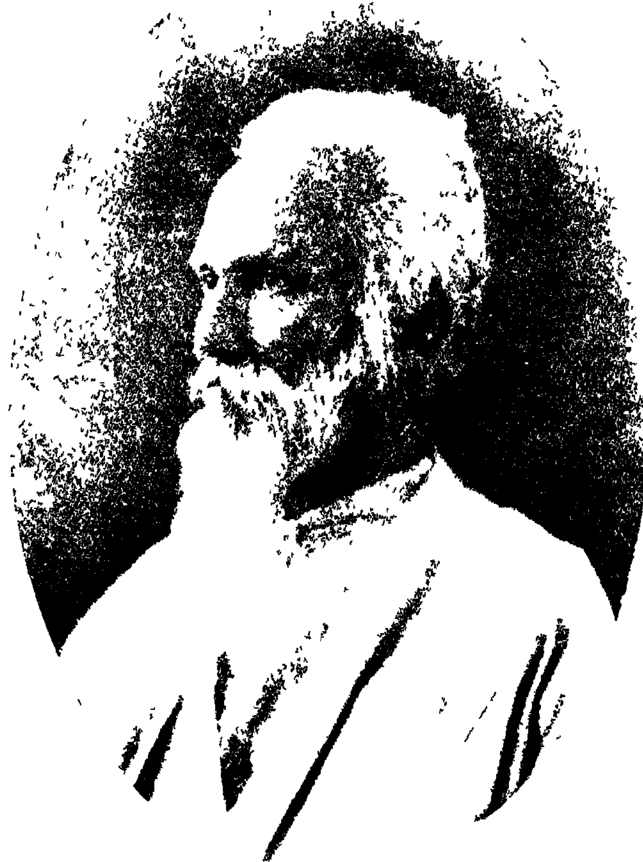


Izat Bridge Station (B. N W Ry) from Bandh (Beni-ghat)
Photograph by Dr Lalit Mohan Basu, M B



Daraganj Ghat. View from Jhansi
Photograph by Dr Lalit Mohan Basu, M B.

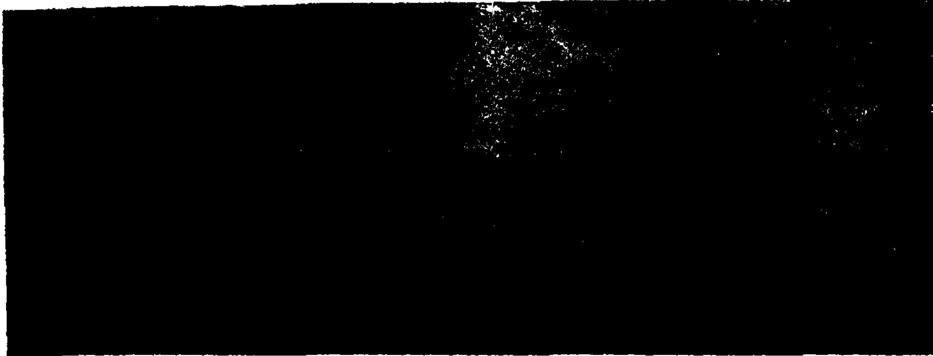
monial bath at the confluence. The principal day of bathing was the 14th January, but people bathed both on the 13th and the 15th. The crowd was not standing or stagnant, *but was a constantly moving, constantly renewed gathering, like the waters of a river.* And the area over which they moved, rested or assembled was some five square miles in extent. Hence the photographs which Dr L. M. Basu was good enough to take specially for us *do not give even an approximate idea of the vastness of the gathering.* Moreover, some



Dwijendranath Tagore

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Pontoon Bridge, Grand Trunk Road

Photograph by Dr Lalit Mohan Basu M B



Interior of Mela near Sweetmeat Shop (Beni-ghat)

Photograph by Dr. Lalit Mohan Basu, M B



Interior of Mela. Another View

Photograph by Dr Lalit Mohan Basu, M B.

of the most promising exposures yielded no good results owing to the haze created by the suffocating dust.

The devout looks, not of all, but of large numbers of the pilgrims, particularly of the women, were remarkable and elevating. The hardiness and indifference to comfortable living of those thousands of them who spent the whole night on the bare sands under the starry canopy of the sky, with only insufficient cotton clothing to cover their bodies and without any bedding, could not but extort the respect and admiration of those who beheld them. In aggressiveness, the Hindus are neither unequalled nor unsurpassed; indeed, they are, comparatively speaking, a mild people. But in patient endurance and in the simplicity of their lives, they are unsurpassed by any other civilized people. What cannot such a people, well taught, guided and led, achieve?

Many were the thoughts that passed through our minds when we became one with the crowd and waded to that part of the stream where the pilgrims were bathing, and also when, in the previous evening, we found numbers of them cooking their simple meals on the sands. Let us by all means, we thought, get rid of whatever superstitions we, Indian men and women, may have, let us be prosperous and educated, but let us keep unimpaired and undiminished the simplicity, the hardiness, the patient endurance, the devotional fervour and the spirit of service characteristic of our land.

The sanitary arrangements of the Mela were good. The arrangements of the Seva Samiti and other bodies for restoring to their guardians strayed children and women and for other similar service to the pilgrims were adequate and effective.



Dwijendranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Satish Chandra Das Gupta at Santiniketan

Dwijendranath Tagore

Though Dwijendranath Tagore, eldest son of the *Maharshi* Debendranath Tagore, has left this world at the advanced age of eighty-seven, his death will be keenly felt as a loss not only by lovers of the higher life of contemplation, but by those men of action and affairs also who are sincere lovers of the motherland and of the good, the true and the beautiful.

It is comparatively easy to give some idea of the life and personality of men of action and affairs and even of those who are, above all, men of letters. For, one has only to describe what they have done and what books they have written on what subjects and that may give some idea of the kind of men they were. But though Dwijendranath Tagore had taken some slight part in public life and had written some excellent works also, he lived mainly in the realm of thoughts and ideas, and was greater and nobler far than what he had done and written.

In his address on the philosophy of our people, read before the Indian Philosophical Congress in Calcutta, Rabindranath Tagore observed that "in India all the *vidyas*—poesy as well as philosophy—live in a joint family. They never have the jealous sense of individualism, maintaining the punitive regulations against trespass that seem to be so rife in the West." He went on to add:

"Plato as a philosopher decreed the banishment of poets from his ideal Republic. But in India, philosophy ever sought alliance with poetry



Dwijendranath Tagore sketched after his death by Sj Kanu Desai, Student, Kalabhavan, Santiniketan

... its mission was to occupy the people's ...nd not merely the learned seclusion of scholar... According to our people, poetry naturally ... within the scope of a philosopher, when his ...on is illumined into a vision."

No better exemplification of these obser...tion can be found than in the personal... of Dwijendranath Tagore For he was ...n a poet and a philosopher Of his ...losophical writings the first was *Tattva-...*, with its English version named *Onto-...* Other philosophical works are *Gita-...*, *Haramanu Anveshan*, etc, all in ...ngali Of his poetical works, the longest ...d most notable was *Svapna-Prayan* or ... *Dream Journey* He also wrote a book ... Bengali short-hand called *Rekhakshar ...nmala* Being a fastidious critic of his ... work, he was not satisfied with the ...st edition of *Rekhakshar.* He prepared a ...cond in an improved form, which was in the ...ess at the time of his death. Literally to the ...t day of his life he was devoted both to ...try and philosophy His last two poems, ...luding one which was revised by him on ... very day of his death, will be published the next issue of *Prabasi* From these it is ...sy to discern that before leaving this world he had come into possession of the peace and the bliss that pass understanding Though for more than a year before his death he had totally lost his eye-sight, he continued either himself to write or to dictate to an amanuensis.

Several passages in Rabindranath Tagore's *Reminiscences* refer to his eldest brother's *Dream Journey* Some of these are transcribed below

"My eldest brother was then busy with his masterpiece *The Dream Journey*, his cushion seat placed in the south verandah, a low desk before him Cousin Gunendra would come and sit there for a time every morning His immense capacity for enjoyment, like the breezes of spring, helped poetry to sprout. My eldest brother would go on alternately writing and reading out what he had written, his boisterous mirth at his own conceits making the verandah tremble. My brother wrote a great deal more than he finally used in his finished work, so fertile was his poetic inspiration Like the superabounding mango flowerets which carpet the shade of the mango topes in spring, the rejected pages of his *Dream Journey* were to be found scattered all over the house. Had any one preserved them, they would have been today a basketful of flowers adorning our Bengali literature.

"Eavesdropping at doors and peeping round cor-

ners, we used to get our full share of this feast of poetry, so plentiful was it, with so much to spare. My eldest brother was then at the height of his wonderful powers, and from his pen surged, in untiring wave after wave, a tidal flood of poetic fancy, rhyme and expression, filling and overflowing its banks with an exuberantly joyful paean of triumph. Did we quite understand *The Dream Journey*? But then did we need absolutely to understand in order to enjoy it? We might not have got at the wealth in the ocean depths—what could we have done with it if we had?—but we revelled in the delights of the waves on the shore, and how gaily at their buffetings, did our life-blood course through every vein and artery?"

In another passage, Rabindranath writes —

"My sister-in-law was a great lover of literature. She did not read simply to kill time, but the *Bengali* books which she read filled her whole mind. I was a partner in her literary enterprises. She was a devoted admirer of *The Dream Journey*. So was I, the more particularly as, having been brought up in the atmosphere of its creation, its beauties had become intertwined with every fibre of my heart. Fortunately, it was entirely beyond my powers of imitation, so it never occurred to me to attempt anything like it.

"*The Dream Journey* may be likened to a superb palace of Allegory, with innumerable halls, chambers, passages, corners and niches full of statuary and pictures, of wonderful design and workmanship, and, in the grounds around, gardens, bowers fountains and shady nooks in profusion. Not only do poetic thought and fancy abound, but the richness and variety of language and expression are also marvellous. It is not a small thing, this creative power which can bring into being so magnificent a structure complete in all its artistic detail, and that is perhaps why the idea of attempting an imitation never occurred to me."

Dwijendranath had the gift of humour in abundant measure. It found expression in his Homeric laughter, and in such poems as his *Gumpha-Haran* or *The Rape of the Mustache*.

Fortune had placed him above want. So it was not necessary for him to study or to write in order to keep the domestic pot boiling. But such was his love of knowledge and thought and such the overmastering urge of self-expression that not only did he live laborious *days* but would, not rarely, carry on his work of study and composition by lamp-light till the small hours of the morning.

He was not a *sannyasin* who had killed all emotion. His heart was full of the milk of human kindness. He was blest with the full capacity for pure and refined enjoyment. He lived in the world but was not of it. All his brothers except Rabindranath and most of his sisters, his eldest son, his daughters, and many of his other near relatives had predeceased him. He certainly felt their loss, but remained calm in the midst of all bereavements.

The retreat in Santiniketan where he lived reminded one of the *tapovanas* described in ancient Sanskrit works, such was the atmosphere of peace pervading it and such the *Maitri* or friendliness to all living creatures manifested by its master. The birds and squirrels, etc., which would perch on his head or shoulders or run up his sleeves, and and take food from his table or his hands, were not domesticated pets, but lived their natural lives of wild freedom.

We have never seen a more ardent lover of India than Dwijendranath Tagore. His love embraced in its wide sweep the motherland's storied past, its living present and its dreamt-of future. But his patriotism was not narrow and exclusive, as his wide culture and the circle of his friends and admirers both of the East and of the West show. He deeply loved and highly respected Mahatma Gandhi and looked upon the principles of Non-cooperation as India's gospel of political salvation. He also fully believed in the cult of the charkha and khaddar.

Reception in China of Rabindranath Tagore's Message

In the Foreign Periodicals section in the present issue, there is an extract from *The International Review of Missions* relating to the reception of Rabindranath Tagore's message in China which conveys quite a wrong impression. The true facts were stated long ago in some issues of this Review in 1924. *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* wrote that before Tagore left China, "he received expressions of regret from some who had opposed him." *The Treasure Chest* wrote, "As his audiences in one city after another listened to him ... they felt an instant and instinctive response to his challenge to keep at all costs, their ancient spiritual culture

ERRATA

Page 137, col. 1, last line, for "or" *read* "of."

Page 154, col. 2, line 9 from the top, for "Americans enjoy" *read* "America enjoys."

Page 154, col. 2, line 10, for "they" *read* "it."

Page 217, col. 2, for "The Ex-Shall of Persia" *read* "The Ex-Shah of Persia."

Page 184, col. 1, line 13 from the bottom should *read* "ambassador of Good will and understanding between".

Page 184, col. 1, line 3 from bottom for "books" *read* "book".

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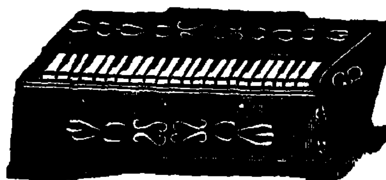
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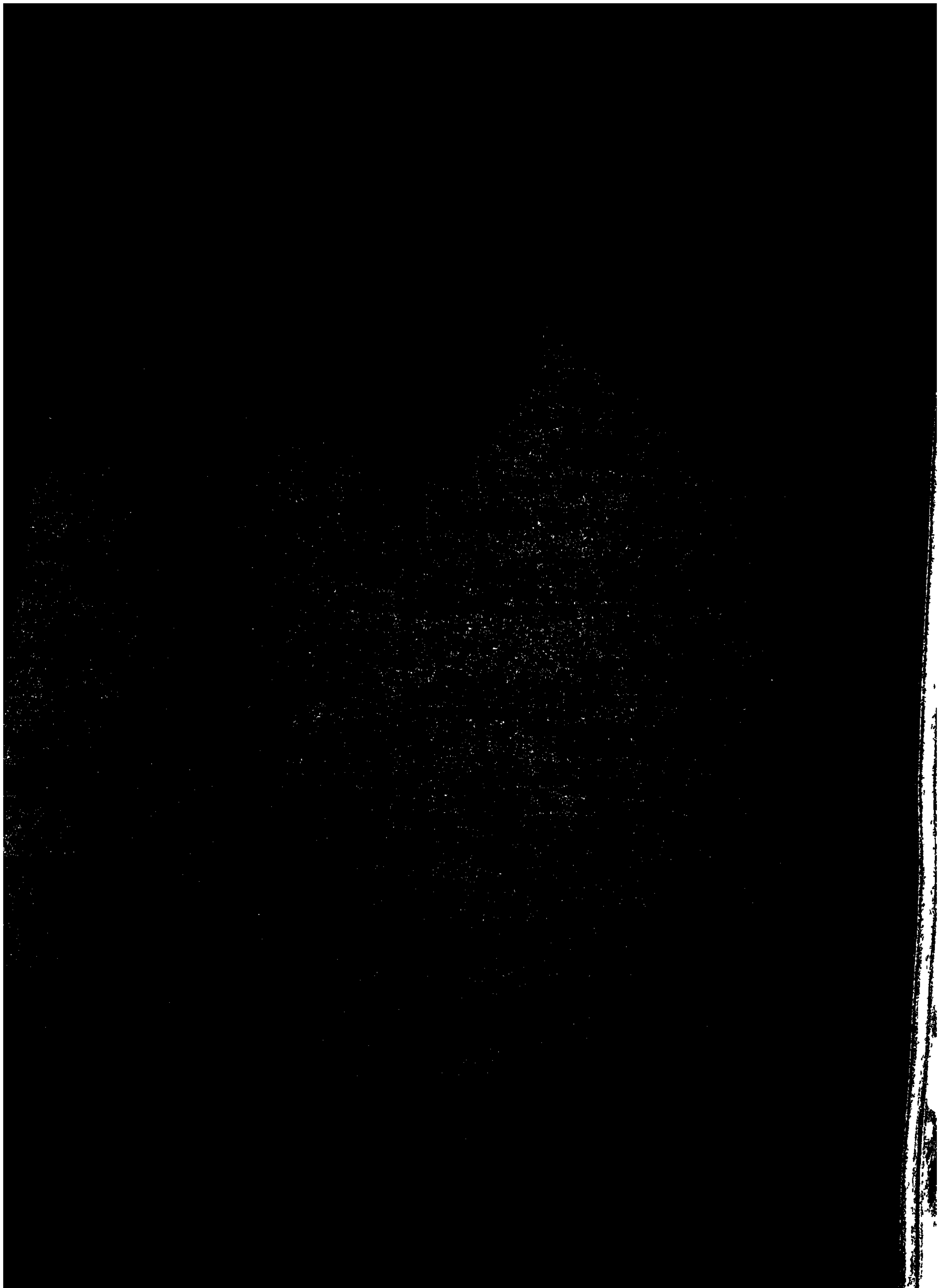
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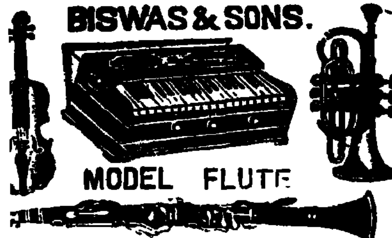
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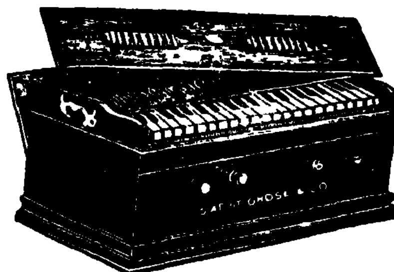
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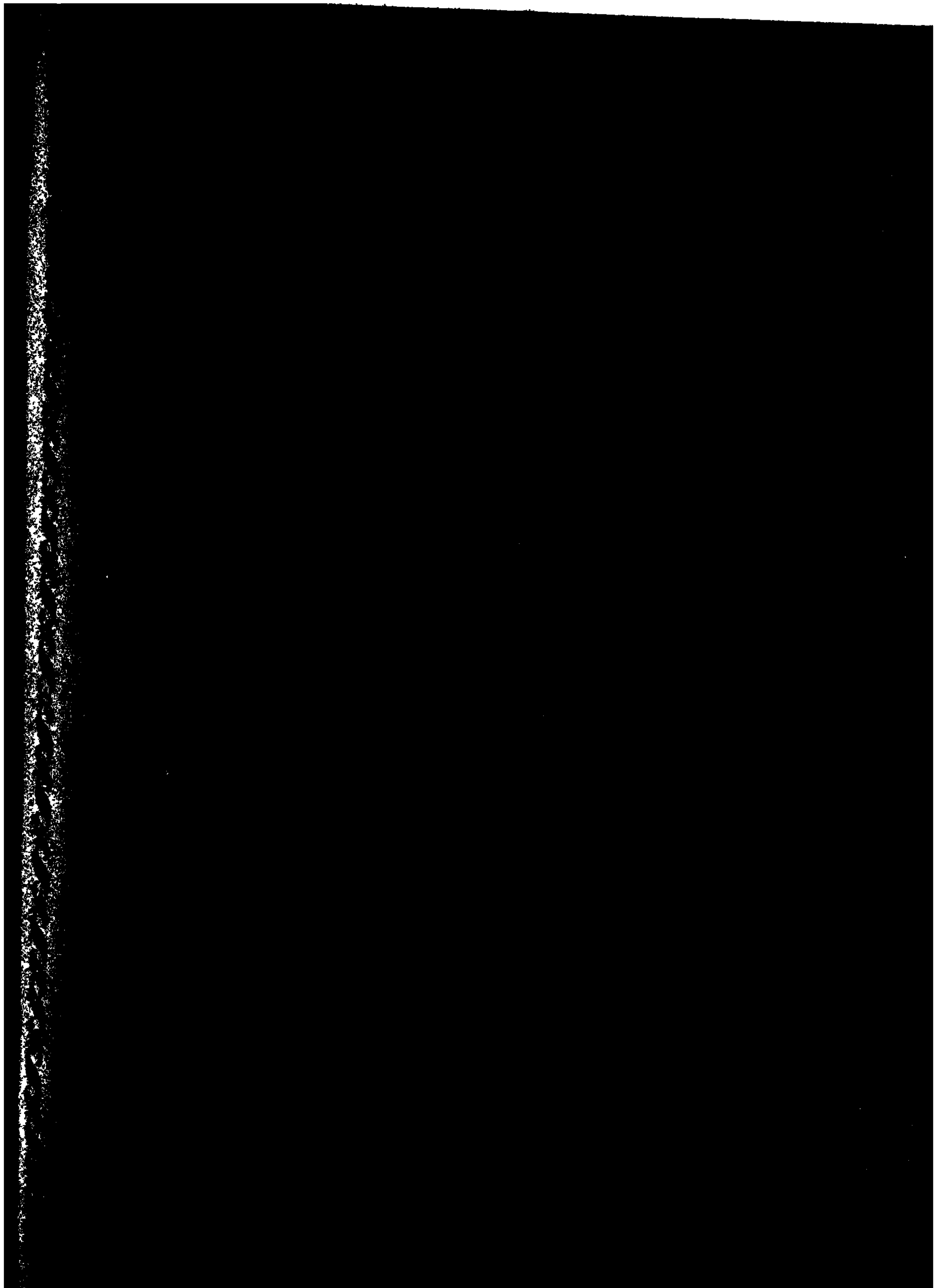
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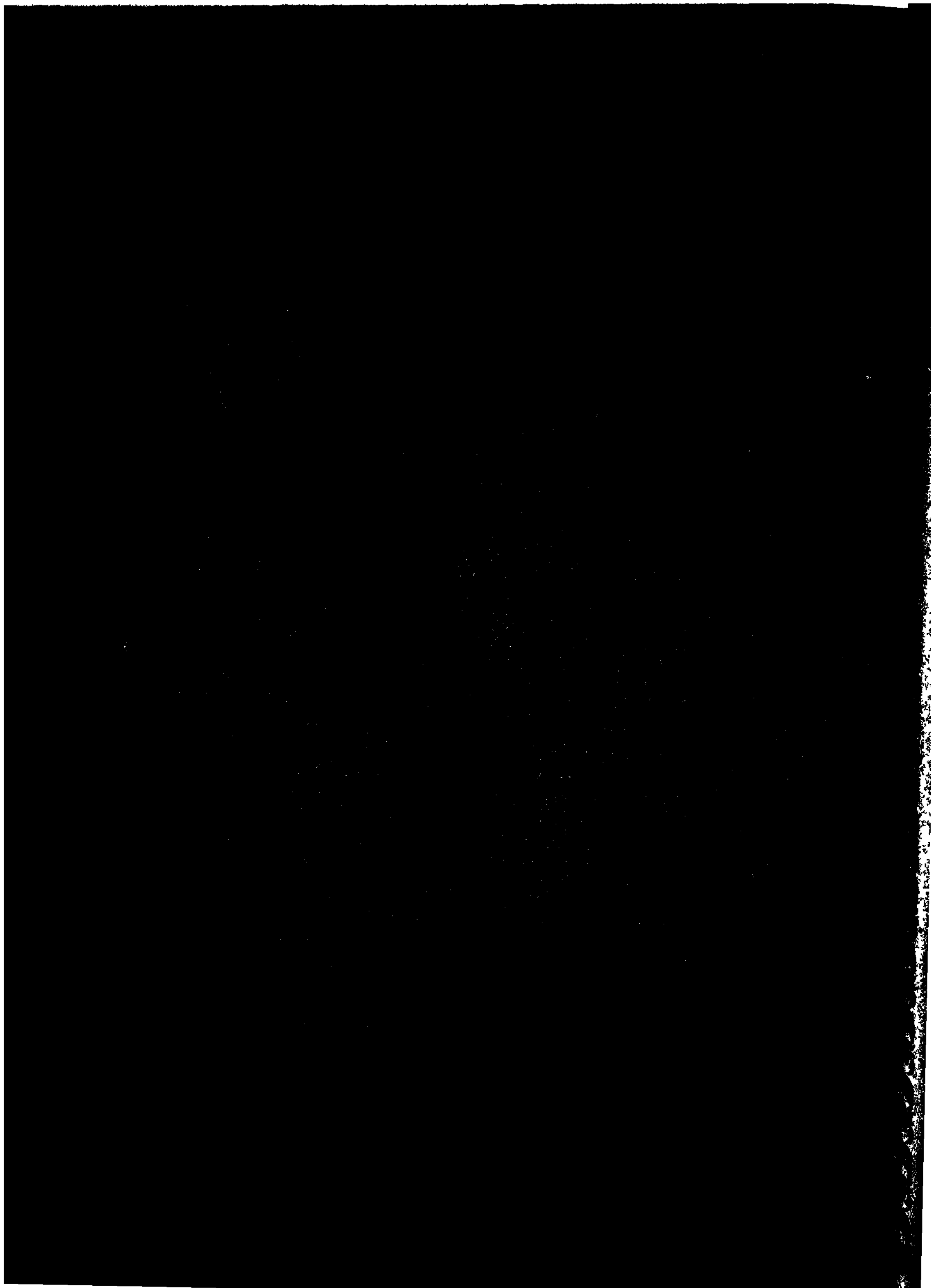
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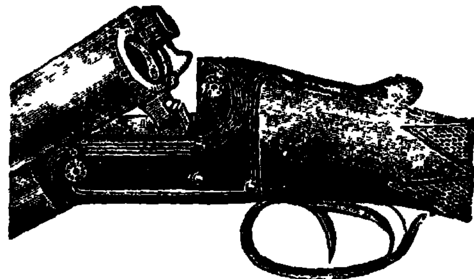
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ON THE SLOPES OF THE DESOLATE RIVER

By Roopkrishna

THE MODERN REVIEW

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KHADDAR

By Mrs NORAH RICHARDS

Strange and hard that paradox true I give,
Objects gross and the unseen soul are one.
—WALT WHITMAN.

The Sage wears coarse garments, but carries a jewel in his bosom.
—LAO TZU.

THERE is a certain kind of embroidery that is worked upon khaddar. Many examples of it are to be found in the Kangra Valley and in adjacent places, particularly in Chamba. The silken thread used is raw but varied in colour. The motifs of the design are broad in form and the stitchery long and straight, presenting the same effect on both sides This embroidery, therefore, is reversible. I know of none that is so simple and yet so rich in effect. The richness is enhanced by juxtaposition to the coarse texture of the khaddar upon which it is worked. The texture of the material embroidered is of the utmost importance. How often exquisite stitchery goes for nothing by being worked upon rich material. There is no contrast and one gets a surfeit of richness. Rich material is in itself a medium of 'embroidery' on a larger scale, used in spectacular ways either as house furnishings (by curtains or by the garments of its inhabitants) in drama, or in pageants. For this large scale decoration intricate work often is lavished foolishly where broad masses of colour are all that is required. Embroidery is precious and should be applied with reticence On clothing, the merest touch satisfies aesthetic demands; overmuch, even of a beautiful thing, so soon becomes vulgar and ostentatious. It is not richness that is desired in decoration but beauty. Small objects and accessories to costume may legitimately be heavily embroidered—Chamba rumals, bags, purses, caps and so on These are some fine examples of the Chamba rumal in the Central Museum at Lahore, embroidery of the kind that I have attempted to describe, worked upon khaddar.

A famous oratress has said that khaddar means any Indian homespun, whether of silk, cotton or wool, thereby making of it an economic symbol for homespun. The same lady has said that the decree for the wearing of khaddar by Congress members is merely sartorial. Khaddar clothing is to be the official wear for Swarajists. Both these ideas ignore the value of khaddar itself. Moreover, if khaddar stands for any homespun, why is there not more insistence upon homespun as homespun? Our national economists would be on firmer ground if they dropped the word khaddar in this connection and used the word homespun, thereby including materials made of silk and wool for the wear of patriotic people. As official wear for politicians, khaddar is questionable. It depends entirely on what shade is the politics of the wearer. If he is out for power, his khaddar garment will not become him. No one should wear khaddar but of his own accord, only thus can it be worn with conviction.

To my thinking, khaddar is a symbol of texture. Being made by hand, it is imperfect, but in this imperfection lies its æsthetic value. The hand aims at perfection but does not achieve it. It is only the machine that achieves the perfection of regularity—a

regularity that lacks the human touch. Nor should we expect a mechanical perfection *from human beings. It is the humanity of man that endears. We do not love him for his minor perfections but rather in spite of them. We love him because he is humanly fallible. Were he quite perfect, he would be a machine and however much we might admire him, how could we love him? To demand unhuman perfection from man is to foster hypocrisy. Pedestals require play-acting to be lived up to, for no true man is a god* Lao Tzu in one of his immortal paradoxes says, "Extreme straightness is as bad as crookedness" The man who is too rigid lacks the faculty of bending, and if he lacks the faculty of bending, he will lack the faculty of human contact, hence of human sympathy, and hence of love, which is spiritual power A Saviour might well be a sinner in disguise

But to return to khaddar The hand, not being a machine but a living human organism, cannot be mechanically regular in its work. The Machine, however, has imitated hand-work and produces material of homespun texture, blemishes and all Long before the wave of enthusiasm for khaddar arose, leading to counterfeit mechanically made khaddar, the machine in the West was profiting by the widespread development of taste for coarser texture in materials and was counterfeiting handspun. In house furnishings also, this taste for the less refined was showing itself The canvas texture of hessian and its restful colour appealed to many artistic folk who used it for domestic purposes, among others to line their walls, giving it a coating of size or some other inconspicuous surface to make it dustproof. The Machine promptly produced wall paper designed to imitate the coarse canvas texture and people devoid of artistic conscience as promptly lined their walls with it. Some years ago there was in England a vigorous Simple Life movement inspired largely by the influence of Walt Whitman, Henry David Thoreau, and Edward Carpenter. This led to a certain fashion in simplicity and a famous furniture emporium in London stocked 'simple' things of unpolished wood at fabulous prices. A certain department of the emporium where the 'cottage' furnishings were on show was described by a wit as 'Simple Life for Millionaires."

It is easy to scoff at this sort of thing, but it shows conclusively that the popular trend was towards simplification and that *plain things were being recognised* as m[ore] beautiful than ornate things. The textur[e of] life in those days was being khaddari[sed]. *Like khaddar, its texture was anything [but] perfect, but there was a tolerant huma[n spirit] abroad that accepted equally the failings [and] triumphs, the despairs and ecstasies, [the] sorrows and joys that weave the fascinat[ing] texture of life. Life is not perfect and the[re]in lies its value to us as struggling aspiri[ng] mortals, for by its discipline we grow stro[ng] in spirit to attain our manhood* Perfectio[n] in life must be our constant endeavou[r] though it cannot be achieved. Life itsel[f] therefore, of which we are an integral pa[rt] is very much like the imperfect texture o[f] khaddar We ourselves, each one of us, a[re] part of its warp and woof We, regular an[d] irregular human threads, are woven into it texture. None need despair because the tex ture of their own particular character ha[s] many human blemishes, many faults and fail ings, many frailties This imperfect textur[e] is ready and waiting to be embroidered with work and deeds. Our very frailties shou[ld] spur us on to great endeavour in expia[ti]on It has been said and truly said "Th[e] greater the sinner, the greater the sai[nt].

The texture of life is of great importance for it is the background of the expression of our individualities Just as the coarse an[d] simple texture of khaddar enhances the ric[h]ness of silken embroidery, so the texture of simple life is a good background for deed and achievements. Genuinely to apprecia[te] the texture of khaddar is a step toward appreciating the texture of a simple lif[e] Life should not be too heavily embroidere[d] the texture should predominate, for *t[o] be* is better than *to do* The whole i[s] greater than the part It is the trend o[f] lives that count, the warp and woof o[f] them, rather than occasional showy deed and achievements. When lives are over crowded with 'embroidery', there is littl[e] stability; for the background is almost non existent and the whole lacks quality. Ma[n] cannot truly live if he is perpetually in th[e] limelight. Before he can give, he mus[t] receive, and he can only receive when he i[s] receptive, that is, when he is still and no[t] asserting himself "All comes by concen tration," said a Sage of the West, "let u[s] therefore sit at home with the cause" I quote from memory, but in some such words Emerson expressed a great truth and enunciated an infallible method of achievement—*to sit at home with the cause.* Home

implies peace—withdrawal from the outside. Everyone should be safe from intrusion in his home, a place that should approximate to a temple of silence. We should beware of too much talk in our lives and of too much self-assertion. If we are too vocal, we leave off steam that should be conserved for action. Spiritual economy in life is a necessity and this economy can best be acquired by sitting at home with the cause.

I have hinted that the texture of khaddar is suggestive of the texture of the Simple Life, and we may with advantage ask What is the Simple Life? To begin with, it is not primitive life, though it may in a measure approximate to it on the surface, but on the surface only. We may with a certain amount of accuracy call it primitive life on a higher spiral It is life in contact with realities We handle without shame domestic implements and vessels and we do not hide them out of sight Rather we display them with pride as household ornaments We allow a serviceable black kettle, for instance, to find elegant repose upon the hob of our living-room fire-place, ever ready—when a fire is burning to minister to the wants of its co-inhabitants Even when a fire is not burning, a kettle is a finer finish to an empty grate than a bunch of dried grasses, a living plant, or even a screen. An axe and a hoe reposing in a quiet corner of the kitchen are almost human in their eagerness to get out and work! They prefer to remain, when out of use, in a cheerful busy room, rather than shut up in a dark and musty tool-house Arrived at this point of contact with realities, we dispense with extraneous ornament as ornament. Works of art find their place in our dwellings but mostly in the form of things to be used. This naturally leads to the demand for utensils and implements of good workmanship. Vessels of earthenware, brass, copper and iron would reappear, for we could not expose tin or white enamelled ware in our living-rooms, and every room in our dwelling is to be a living-room—even the kitchen In our simplification of labour, the kitchen would also be the refectory and as such offers great possibilities of development—a subject that requires an article to itself. Food eaten in common in a temple of labour—for such is the kitchen—would be the very height of ecstatic communion, where no single human being is refused either because he is a labourer, a stranger, or an outcaste. Life itself is the work of art that we would create.

All that we have learnt of the principles of design in applied ornament we apply to the creation of beautiful interiors The simplest and most obvious principle of design in decoration is that of symmetry. This requires no thought, no sense of balance It is mere repetition. It is in fact a primitive method of decoration It has been with us for long I have seen not only mantel-pieces so arranged but whole rooms with their furniture placed in monotonous symmetry Let us not scoff at the lack of imagination that produces this result, for it is a step in the direction of applying the principles of design to the arrangement of a room

The highest principle of design is that of equal distribution in which nothing is repeated but all is balanced Masses are well placed and may be balanced by other masses or by space Space plays a very important part in the principle of equal distribution and herein is a parable for the Simple Life. It is supposed by many that the Simple Life means hard work and strenuousness This is a mistake We simplify life in its material aspect that we may enrich it in its spiritual aspect and for this we need leisure space Not only our rooms should conform to this principle of designed space, but the hours of our day We may call space silence, if we will Most assuredly without silence is no cultural growth, no spiritual experience. To simplify life that we may achieve freedom and leisure is to triumph over the clogging weight that pulls us down and enchains us to things. Henry David Thoreau, one of the Concord 'transcendentalists', a pioneer of the Simple Life, had a stone specimen which he displayed in his room, but when he found that it needed dusting, he pitched it out of the window with the reflection that it was waste of time to dust furniture while the furniture of his mind was undusted Those who embark on the simplification of life find themselves asking what things are worth dusting, what things are worth while The answer is: Very few The simplifying process follows. Let it not be imagined that the process is easy At the start one gets landed into all kinds of perplexities and hard work, and life is anything but simple! To ignore the accumulations of matter that pen us in is infinitely easier than to tackle them that we may escape. It is not until we shake the bars of our prison that we realize how unyielding they are. We had no idea we were so bound to mere things until we tried to detach ourselves from them We find

numberless excuses for keeping this thing or that, but the day comes when victory has been won and we metaphorically pitch our precious lumber out of the window. This is a stage in our spiritual development, a stage each one of us must pass through ; it is a sign that we are approaching the Path of Return, disentangling ourselves from matter

On the path of Pursuit, material things are necessary to our development, and, as we proceed upon that path, the things we pursue have to be choice. This leads to discrimination between the beautiful and ugly ; the useful and useless, the appropriate and inappropriate, in fact, between the worth while and the not worth while It is an irony of fate that the realization of choice possessions is closely followed by renunciation of these same possessions as we set our feet upon the Return There is comfort in the thought that renunciation of material things heralds the dawn of the advent of things of the spirit, of which we are to be not the possessors but the possessed The exclusive use of khaddar implies asceticism, and therein lies its danger as propaganda to a people needing guidance upon the Path of Pursuit India is in need of materialization for her spiritual good, however paradoxical it may sound In the mass, she does not appear to be upon the Path of Return, though it is probable that souls on that path will seek rebirth on her soil, India being a land of extremes---a land of heat and cold, mountain and plain, palace and hovel, famine and plenty, drought and flood. According to the law of correspondences of which the saying, "As below, so above" is an indication, and according to observation, this country is a meeting ground for young and ancient souls They need one another for their mutual evolution. The path of returning soul grows steeper and steeper as the summit of realization appears, and where is there a land needing greater endeavour ? The problems of India cannot be solved by callow souls, however numerous. Her problems—economic, political, social, and religious—call for supermen. I have wandered from the Simple Life which does not stand for asceticism—far from it. It is not a poor morsel in material things that will content us. It is not less that we seek, it is more, but the more is in quality. It is in quantity that we diminish. Our clothes are to be fewer in number but more durable and more intrinsically beautiful Our food less stimulating but more nourishing. Our [illegible] houses smaller but more compact We ne[illegible] however, more fresh air, more space, mo[illegible] leisure, more freedom, more philosoph[illegible] more art. We need an ampler atmosphere [illegible] life, an atmosphere in which the spirit [illegible] man can unfold which it cannot when [illegible] every hand it is hampered with the acqui[illegible]ing, the possession, and the burden of mater[illegible]al things. The Simple Life is volunta[illegible] poverty, implying experience of riches. [illegible] is a passing beyond them The gospel of t[illegible] Simple Life is not meant for those who ha[illegible] no life to simplify. Among the poor, l[illegible] is but a sordid grind to eke out me[illegible] existence. It is not until we have a surplus [illegible] the good things of life that simplificati[illegible] can have deep meaning. True cultural l[illegible] cannot exist in an atmosphere choked wi[illegible] material pre-occupations It may strugg[illegible] to exist but will be no more than a supe[illegible]ficial thing Culture should be as much pa[illegible] and parcel of life as the warp and woof [illegible] khaddar is part and parcel of its textur[illegible] True culture is not a thing separate fro[illegible] life that we call art, literature, philosoph[illegible] science—it is life itself, in which beaut[illegible] imagination, thought and truth are implicit [illegible] implicit in our food, clothing. shelter, amuse[illegible]ments, occupations, and conversations [illegible] silences How little silence there is in co[illegible]ventional worldly life ! It is so imperfectl[illegible] understood as a cultural element that w[illegible] are inclined to think we are not cultur[illegible] unless we are talking about it How coul[illegible] the seed germinate if it were vocal ? Silenc[illegible] is a cultural process with it

Domestic service there must be wherev[illegible] there is a group of persons or whereve[illegible] a single person follows an occupation [illegible] calling that necessitates a sense of leisur[illegible] Dostoievsky says in one of his novels— The Brothers Karamazov, I think—that ther[illegible] must be servants in life but we should estab[illegible]lish such a relationship with them as t[illegible] make them forget they are servants. (Th[illegible] requires co-operation on the part of servants For harmonious domestic life, servants shoul[illegible] be, as it were, members of the family o[illegible] group. An intimacy should exist that woul[illegible] make them forget their servitude. This in[illegible]timacy can be established only by tho[illegible] leading a simple life in which all may shar[illegible] without incongruity. It is unthinkable i[illegible] conventional life where barriers abound be[illegible]tween the server and the served. Life mus[illegible] be of khaddar texture before servants ca[illegible] be freed from their servitude.

Disciples of the Simple Life would re[illegible]

organize their days on a basis in which toil is banished that pleasant work and leisure may appear. More leisure for the worker but more work for the leisured. The Simple Life, however, does not only mean readjustment of labour and leisure resulting in a kind of spiritual economy, it leads also to spiritual alchemy in material things embodying the idea of that profound and disturbing paradox of Walt Whitmen that, *Objects gross and the unseen soul are one*. The things with which we surround ourselves should be a reflection of our inner and higher selves. Matter must be spiritualized. This is Walt Whitman's message for our materialistic age. Though *maya* is *maya*, it is yet our greatest reality, for it is through *maya* that spirit manifests itself. We are spirit materialized and it is for us in our turn to spiritualize matter. Only thus can we liberate ourselves from its bondage. Liberation can come in no other way—a casting off of outer coverings and husks to get to the very kernel of life which is both material and immaterial. In ordinary complex life, spirit and matter are divorced and so we flock to our churches and temples seeking things of the spirit when all the time they are locked up in our selves and in material existence, awaiting deliverance. When we find them, it will be hard to say whether they are spirit or matter, for both will be one. Spirit and matter are the warp and woof of life and as in the leisure and labour of khaddarized lives, it is merely a matter of readjustment of these elements that will lead towards the perfect whole. Like the embroidery already referred to, life must be reversible, spirit and matter harmonized on both planes, until there is no right side or wrong side, no spirit or matter, for both will be one.

BRITISH EXPANSION IN TIBET

Chapter II

By TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

Lord Curzon's Forward Policy towards Tibet before the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

In 1895, the British Government made a settlement of the border disputes between India and Tibet through the co-operation of China. During the period and the year 1899, when Lord Curzon came to India as the Viceroy, many momentous things happened in the field of world politics in all parts of the world, and particularly in the Far East. The supposedly enormous power of China was proved to be a mere myth when Japan crushingly defeated the former in the Sino-Japanese War. This gave conclusive evidence of Chinese helplessness, and the scramble for partitioning China into spheres of influence by the powers began. It was at this time that Russia, France and Germany, co-operating amongst themselves, humiliated Japan and forced her to give up the continental gains conceeded to her by the first treaty of Somonoseki. This concerted action on the part of Russia, France and Germany threatened British influence in Pekin. This was also the time when Great Britain had to give up her idea of having an alliance with China against Russia; [1] because Li Hung Chang, the great Chinese statesman, was dealing with Russia to establish an offensive and defensive alliance.[2] Great Britain was feeling the pressure of insecurity to such an extent that she was considering an alliance with Germany and Japan. [3] It was about this time the South African situation was leading to a tension. Thus England felt the imperative necessity of strengthening her influence in China at all costs.

Lord Curzon, the Govenor-General of India, sent a despatch to the India Office, London, outlining the policy of direct negotiation with Tibet and disregarding Chinese Sovereignty. This policy was later approved by the Foreign Office. This Curzon despatch dated the 30th of March, 1899, shows the impatience of the British authorities in India. The despatch in part reads:—

"..... We do not desire to conceal from your Lordship our opinion that negotiations with the Chinese Resident [regarding the access of Indian Traders to Phari and the question of boundary marking]—although they have the sanction of long usage, and although the attempts that have so far been made to open direct communications with

the Tibetan authorities have resulted in failure—are not likely to be productive of any serious result We seem, in fact, in respect of our policy towards Tibet, to be moving in a vicious circle. If we apply to Tibet, we either receive no reply, or are referred to the Chinese Resident. If we apply to the latter, he excuses his failure by his inability to put any pressure on Tibet. As a policy, this appears to us to be unproductive and *inglorious* We shall be grateful for your Lordship's opinion as to the advisability of any modification of it in the near future.[4]"

The instruction of the British Foreign Office, to the India Office, sent on May 19, reads in part as follows —

"With reference to Lord George Hamilton's inquiry as to whether diplomatic pressure could be exercised at Peking to secure a binding pledge from the Chinese Government, with regard to free access to Phari, and freedom of trade there in the event of rectification of frontier being conceded, I am to observe that during recent years, Chinese authority in Tibet has been little more than nominal The enclosures in the Despatch which you forwarded from the Government of India would even seem to show that it is at present practically non-existent

"In these circumstances, Lord Salisbury considers it very improbable that any representations at Peking on the subject would lead to a good result, but he will take an opportunity of consulting Sir Claude MacDonald, who is expected to arrive in England towards the end of this month.

"It would certainly be Preferable to open direct communication with the Government of India and the Tibetan authorities, although the Viceroy states in his despatch that *the attempts* which have so far been made in this direction have resulted in failure

"As, however, the Tibetans have attempted to repudiate the convention as regards the frontier on the ground that the Chinese have no authority to act for them, it is reasonable to suppose that they might be induced to enter into negotiations, especially as the Government of India are prepared to allow them to remain in possession of the territory surrendered under the boundary agreement "[5]

The Secretary of State for India, in conformity with the policy of the British Foreign Office, authorized the Governor-General of India, Lord Curzon, on the 8th of December, 1899, to carry on direct negotiations with Tibet. The despatch in part reads.—

"Her Majesty's Government approves the course of action adopted by your Government in regard to the establishment of direct correspondence with the Tibetans, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has instructed Her Majesty's Minister at Peking by telegram to endeavour to obtain assistance of the Chinese Government in securing for native traders from India access to and freedom for trade in Phari."

This really marks the beginning of the elimination of the Chinese factor in the Tibetan controversy. It will be later on seen that the British Government would sign a trea with Tibet bringing Tibet within its virtu control. From now on, the third factor—t Russian attitude in Tibet—will begin to pl an important part. However, it is interesti to see that the British Indian Governme wanted to send a mission to Tibet throu Nepal and also through Yunan. Both missio failed and as a last resort a letter to t Dalai Lama was sent through Ugyen Ka who as an agent of the Dalai Lama came India to buy two elephants for him

The following extract from the lett from the Government of India in the Forei Department, to the Right Honorable Lo George F Hamilton, His Majesty's Secreta of State for India, dated Simla, the 25th July, 1904, reads in part:—

"...... Enquiries were accordingly instituted a the possibility of despatching a suitable emissa to the Tibetan capital either through Yunan through Nepal, or by way of Ladakh Our Reside in Nepal, who was verbally consulted, advis against any attempt being made to reach Lha via Nepal, except with the knowledge and cons of the Nepalese Durbar, to whom we were n prepared to refer The Agent whom we sugges to the Government of Burma as a possible emissa for the mission through Yunan, was reported to unsuitable. The proposal to communicate throu Ladakh, however, seemed to offer some prosp of success ......This prospect having failed, determined to make one more effort to procure t delivery of a letter to the Dalai Lama throu Ugyen Kazi ...... As to the exact form which altered policy should assume, we shall, if necessa address your Lordship at a later date. But may add, that before long, steps may be requir to be taken for the adequate safeguarding British interests upon a part of the frontier wh they have never hitherto been impugned. ... "[6]

This expression of altered policy an intimation of taking steps to protect Briti interests later on developed into Col. Youn husband's expedition to Tibet The Sout African War and also the Boxer Outbrea made it imperative for Britain to be cautio in the forward march to Lhassa.

Russo-Tibetan Negotiations

While the Anglo-Tibetan relations wer coming to a head because of the altere policy approved by the British Foreig Office, Russo-Tibetan negotiations were goin on with great rapidity It was becaus Russia began to take active interest in Tibeta matters that the British Foreign Office an the India Office in London agreed to th forward policy of Lord Curzon. Mr, Percva Landon, in his "Opening of Tibet", gives vivid description of this phase of Tibeta affairs and says:—

"...... I do not wish to suggest that Russia in attempting to gain influence in Lhassa, was guilty of anything which reflects the least discredit upon her statesmen. On the other hand, it was farsighted and, from many points of view, an entirely laudable attempt to consolidate the Central Asian Empire which she believes to be her rightful heritage The only reason the British found it necessary to intervene was that the equally justifiable policy which they had themselves deliberately adopted, and their own vastly greater interests in Tibet, clashed all along the line with those of the Muscovites We happen to have been the better placed to achieve our end. .. .. .."[7]

Regarding the mission of Dorjieff from Lhassa to St Petersburg (1898) and his later actions at Lhassa, the same author remarks :—

Precisely what took place in Russia has not been made public .. All that is known is that when he returned to Tibet, Ghomang Lobzang (Tibetan name of Dorjieff, who was born in Siberia and Mongolian Buriat, and Buddhist by religion and belonged to the Monastic order Debung Monastery) found himself in the unofficial position of Russian agent in Lhassa. He brought with him a large number of exceedingly valuable presents, and he lost no time in trying to persuade the Lhassan heirarchy that it was to their interest to secure the informal protection of the Tzar of Russia. Briefly stated, his arguments were these, You have no strength in the country to resist invaders, your natural protector and suzerain, China, is a broken reed, even at this moment she is entirely under the domination of the British. If you remain any longer trusting to her support, you will find that she throws you as a sop to the Indian Government The English are a rapacious and heretical nation, they will not respect your religion, they will bring you into servitude, and the ancient and honorable rule of the priests in this country will surely be put an end to. On the other hand, if you will ask the aid of Russia, you will secure the most powerful protector in the world. You will have gained on your side the only military power that is able to crush the English nation. More than that, you may be able to induce the great Church of that nation to embrace your faith. Another Emperor, as great as he, has in past years been converted to our great faith, and if we can convince Nicholas, whose sympathies with Buddhism are universally admitted, it will not be long before the whole Russian race are obedient servants and loyal disciples of your Holiness.

Such, in rough outline, was Dorjieff's policy. It produced an almost immediate effect upon the Dalai Lama himself. Impetuously, without consulting his national council, he accepted the suggestion, and even proposed to visit St. Petersburg in person But the Dalai Lama had reckoned too early the Tsong-du had still to be consulted, and here the Dalai Lama received a check. The Tsong-du replied diplomatically that it was very kind of the Russian Emperor, but that they required no protection, that the Dalai Lama had exceeded his authority in committing the country to a consideration of Dorjieff's offer. The grand Lama did all in his power to induce them to accept his scheme, but without avail, and the next year another ruse was adopted by Dorjieff to further the interests of his patrons

"He went again to St Petersburg, and there was received in audience by the Emperor himself, he returned after a short stay, the bearer of two interesting things. One was a letter, asking that the Dalai Lama should despatch an Envoy to Russia to discuss the matter fully. The other was a complete set of vestments appertaining to a Bishop of the Russian Church. In spite of the recent declarations of the Tsong-du, the Dalai Lama on his own responsibility, sent in response Tsan-nyid, an Abbott of high rank, to accompany Dorjieff, who a month after his arrival at Lhassa, was again on the road to Europe. Upon their arrival in Russia, they were received with the highest consideration, and a second audience with the Tzar was granted them Ultimately they set off on their return journey and reached Lhassa in December 1901 They there laid before the Dalai Lama a proposal from the Russian Government, that a Prince of the Royal house should take up residence in Lhassa for the purpose of promoting friendly relations The other document which the returning Abbott laid before his Master was the hotly discussed agreement between Russia and Tibet"[8]

The British authorities in Russia were keeping close watch on these missions, and the British Foreign office was kept informed about the visit paid to the Emperor, and the two following extracts from the "Journal de Saint Petersburg," verifies certain phrases of the Russo-Tibetan transaction :

"Sa Majeste L' Empereur a recu le Samdi, 30, Septembre au Palais de Livadia, Aharamba-Agvan Dorjiew, premier tsanit-hamba pres le Dalai-Lama du Thibet "[9] Great Britain, papers relating to Tibet (1899-1904) page 113

"Extract from the "Messenger Official" June 25th (July 8) 1907.

"Sa Majeste L'Empereur a recu le Samdi, 23 Juni, au grand Palais de Peterhof, les Envoyes Extraordinaries du Dalai-Lama du Thibet, Hambo Akhvan Dorgiew et Kaitthhock Hambo Donir, .

"Apres la reception des Envoyes, a eu l'honoeur d'etre presente a Sa Majeste L' Empereur le Secretairie de la Mission Djantsan Zombon Taitong Puntack, Chef de l' Arrondissment du Thibet.

"En meme temps a eu l'honeur d'etre presente a Sa Majeste L' Empereur le Capitaine en second Oulanov, du ler Regiment de Cosaqhes du Don, attache a, la Mission Thibetaine comme interpretre.

"Le meme jour, la Mission Thibetaine a ete' recu par Sa Majeste L' Emperatrice Marie Fedorovna."[10]

Free translation of the above :—

On Saturday, the 30th September, His Majesty, the Emperor, received Aharamba-Agvan Dorjiew who is second to the Dalai Lama of Tibet, in the Palace of Livadia.

On Saturday, June 23, His Majesty the Emperor received Hambo Akhvan Dorjiew and Kaitthhock Hambo Donir, the Envoy Extraordinary of the Dalai Lama, at the grand palace of Peterhof.

After the reception of the Envoys they had the honor of being presented to His Majesty the Emperor's Secretary of the Mission, Djantsan

Zombon Taitong Puntack, Chief of the Department of Tibet. At the same time, they had the honor to be presented to His Majesty the Emperor's First Lt. Oulanov of the Regiment of Don Cossack, who was attached to the Tibetan Mission as interpreter.

At the same day the Tibetan Mission was received by Her Majesty the Empress Marie Feodorovna.

Sir G Scott, British Ambassador at St Petersburg, inquired about the character of the Tibetan Mission from Count Lamsdorff, who assured him that "although the Tibetan visitors had been described as Envoys Extraordinary of Dalai-Lama, their mission could not be regarded as having any political or diplomatic character [11] But this assurance was not regarded sufficient by the Indian Foreign Office and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the Marquess of Lansdowne in a despatch to Sir G Scott, dated, Foreign Office, August 16, 1901, while expressing satisfaction at the announcement that the Tibetan Mission did not have any political character, recorded that 'His Majesty's Government could not regard with indifference any proceedings that might have a tendency to alter or disturb the existing status of Tibet'"[12]

Writing in 1900, Sir Archibald Colquhoun gives a picture of the then existing Anglo-Russian rivalry from the British point of view :—

"The expansion of the Northern Collosus—more Oriental than European, whose heart of Empire lies in Central Asia into China and towards the natural zone of influence of Europe, her determination to control commerce, religion and communication, are grave dangers for all other nations, more especially the Anglo-Saxon peoples Unchecked, they would lead to the subjugation of Europe by Asia The danger is clear to any one who will take up the map. Russia is already becoming a paramount Power in Northern China, Russia with a port on the Persian Gulf or Indian Ocean treated as a right beyond question, Russia connecting Central Asia with the Persian Gulf by railways, from Askabad southwards, and from Tiflis by Kars and the Turko-Persian frontier, thus making herself independent of the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, and cutting into the direct Indo-European line of the overland communication A conflict between East and West for the domination of the old world is imminent Slav and Saxon must contend for supremacy, even for equality, and upon the skill and determination of the two opponents hangs the future of Asia, and not only of Asia but of Europe" [13]

It is generally held that Russia intrigued against Britain in Tibet, and it is due to the bribing of the Tibetan statesmen that Russia secured such a stronghold there. There may be some truth about the bribing of the so-called Tibetan statesmen. But one must not forget that the rise of Russian influence in Tibet was due to the weakening of the Chinese influence in Tibet, also due to the *Tibetan dread of the British, who conquered India through means well known to the world* as well as the Tibetans.

"China's loss of prestige in Tibet since the Japanese-Chinese war, owing to her inability to assert her power over the vassal state, has much to do with this pro-Russian leaning Previous to that war, and before China's internal incompetence had been laid bare by Japan, relations like those between master and vassal existed between Tibet and China The latter interfered with the internal affairs of Tibet and meted out punishment freely to Tibetan dignitaries and even to the Grand Lama. Now she is entirely helpless. They know that their former Suzerain has fallen and is therefore no longer to be depended upon. They are prejudiced against England on account of the subjugation of India, and so they naturally concluded that they should establish friendly relations with Russia, which they knew was England's better foe.

"It is evident that the Dalai-Lama himself favors this view, and it may be safely presumed that unless he was favorably disposed towards Russia he would never have accepted the Bishop's garment from the Tzar He is too intelligent a man to accept any present from a foreign Sovereign as a mere compliment. The Dalai-Lama's friendly inclination was clearly established when in December, 1900, he sent to Russia his Grand Chamberlain as Envoy with three followers The party was received with warm welcome by that court, to which it offered presents brought from Tibet It is said that on that occasion a secret understanding was reached between the two Governments" [14]

Mr Kawaguchi points out that the British intrigue under the guidance of Sarat Chandra Das, who entered Tibet as a Sikkimese priest and which led to trouble at the frontier, created a revulsion of feeling of the Tibetans towards Indians and other foreigners Tibetans were suspicious of the motive of the British when they started to build a fort at the frontier between Tibet and Sikkim, and this gave an excuse for the British to construe that the Tibetans were intriguing with the Russians, and the British Indian Government started its forward policy [15]

The British method created fear in the minds of the Tibetans. Mr. Oscar T. Crosby in his valuable study on Tibet and Turkestan, says: "Remove the fear of you in Tibetan hearts, and you thus remove the fear of Russia in yours"[16]

According to the despatch sent by Sir E. Satow, to the Marquis of Lansdowne on August 5, 1902. from Peking, it was intimated that there was some rumour that a secret agreement between China and Russia had been agreed upon regarding Tibet, China

renouncing the sovereignty over Tibet, to Russia to secure the alliance.[17] This was hotly denied by the Chinese Foreign Office. But the continued Russian occupation of Manchuria after the Boxer trouble and the persistent refusal of the Tibetans to treat with the British officials regarding the treaty of 1890, which was, according to the British contention, violated by the Tibetans, led the Indian Government to send an expedition to Lhassa. A few weeks earlier the British Indian Government had ordered Mr. White to proceed with a band of escort to the Tibetan frontier. On August 30, 1902, the Chinese Government asked the British Government through Sir E. Satow

> "That the Officer commanding the troops may be instructed to refrain from taking any action pending the arrival of the Chinese Officer, when matters can be amicably discussed. He fears that proceedings of the British Resident are likely to be misunderstood by the Tibetans."[18].

Of course, the Russian Government took notice of the British forward movement towards Tibet and intimated to the British Foreign Office, that "in the present state of unrest and excitement, measures of this kind were dangerous and might produce a renewal of the Boxer Agitation"[19]

This aggressive policy of England in Tibet was followed by the Russo-Chinese Commercial Agreement regarding Tibet in 1902 The principal articles of which are as follows —

> "Article 1 Tibet being a country situated between Central Asia and Western Siberia, Russia and China are mutually obliged to care for the maintenance of peace in that country. In case trouble should arise in Tibet, China, in order to preserve this district, and Russia, in order to protect her frontiers, shall despatch thither military forces on mutual notification
>
> Article 2. In case of a third power's contriving directly or indirectly, troubles in Tibet, Russia and China oblige themselves to concur in taking such measures as may seem advisable for repressing such troubles.
>
> Article 3. Entire liberty in what concerns Russian orthodox as well as Lamaist worship will be introduced in Tibet, but all other religions will be absolutely prohibited.
>
> Article 4. Tibet shall be made gradually a country with an independent inner administration. In order to accomplish this task, Russia and China are to be sharers of the work. Russia takes upon herself the reorganisation of the Tibetan military forces on the European model and obliges herself to carry into effect this reform in good spirit and without incurring blame from the native population. China, for her part, is to take care of the development of the economic situation in Tibet, and her progress abroad."[20]

This treaty makes it clear that China and Russia were apprehensive of Great Britain's designs in Tibet and pledged for joint action. Article 3 shows the possibility of Russia using the Russian Church and Lamaist faith in her favor. Article 4 foreshadows Russian preponderance in Tibet. Not only that, although it is mentioned that China will have the final control over the industrial development of Tibet, the fact that China was in no position to carry on any project of industrial development of Tibet would mean that China would eventually ask Russia to co-operate with her to exploit Tibetan mineral resources.

In fact, there is evidence that a commercial agreement was made between China and Russia for that purpose.[21]

Great Britain wanted to test the strength of the agreement, by sending an expedition to Tibetan soil at an opportune moment. Failure of Russia, the British Foreign Office thought, to act according to the agreement, would destroy the Russian prestige among the Tibetan and Chinese politicians, which would be a great success for British diplomacy. She waited for a decisive move till the Anglo-Japanese alliance was concluded.

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5. Ibid, pp. 100-101.

6 Ibid, pp 118-119.

7. Landon, Percival . Opening of Tibet, p. 21.

8 Ibid. pp 22-24.

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13 Colquhoun, Sir Archibald ; Russia against India. New York, Harpers Brothers. 1900, pp. 229-230.

14. Kawaguchi, Ekai ; Three Years in Tibet. (London Theosophical Publishing Society) 1909, pp. 504-505.

15. Ibid., page 516.

16. Crosby, Oscar T. Tibet and Turkestan. (G. P. Putnam, etc.) 1905, p. 253.

17. "In April, 1899, the Chinese Amban was rash enough to hint to our (British) political officer that the Tibetans might appeal to Russia if we pressed for our rights too strictly"
—The Bottom Rock of the Tibetan Question, by E. H. Parker. Fortnightly Review, July, 1904, pp. 124-134.

18. British Parliamentary Papers re Tibet, 1895-1904, p. 141.

19. Ibid., p. 146.

20. Tibet, Russia and England On The International Chess Board, by Prof Edwin Maxey. *The Arena* (Boston, July 1904), pages 28-31.

21 "No other Power can intervene between Russia and China in this matter, nor can any of these stipulations be modified owing to the interference of other Powers The Russo-Chinese Bank will defray all the expenses of prospecting for mines in Tibet. A royalty of ten per cent. shall be paid to China upon all coal and metal extracted Mining proprietors, whether Chinese or Russia must not extract in any year to a greater valu than 200,000 taels. All recently discovered vein must be clearly marked out and defined, so as t avoid future disputes. All imports of machiner and tools, if they come *via* Russia, shall be fre of duty Unauthorised understandings, whethe by Chinese or Russians, to be severely dealt wit Mines opened by Russians to be reported to th Russian Minister at Peking, for the information of th Chinese Foreign Office, if there be no objectio the Foreign Office will then instruct the assista Resident in Tibet to take action accordingly. Parker's article on "The Bottom-Rock of th Tibetan Question"

The treaty, if true, does throw some light o the possibility of economic penetration of Tibet b Russia But when we compare it with the prese British economic control of Tibet, we find it to b favourable to China and her sovereign rights i Tibet

MILITARISM AND EMPIRE

By K M PANIKKAR

THE intimate relation and the interdependence of Militarism and Empire have been recognised by all students of history. The Empire is necessary for military power and glory, and military power is necessary to keep up the Empire Thus, Great Britian cannot reduce her armaments because India and the other parts of the Empire have to be defended Again, for the maintenance of a great military force the man power of India and the devolution of expenditure so as not to make it fall entirely on England are essential. The same is the case with France whose colonial army has become a chief factor in her defence system The heavy military expenditure of Japan has to be borne by the Japanese alone, unless the Koreans could be found to share it ; but that, in turn, necessitates a larger army in order to maintain peace and order in Korea and to hold it against aggressors.

Besides, the overseas possessions provide the army with ample area for continuous operations which would help to keep the army in an efficient state. During peace time, Indian frontier provides for Great Britain the training ground for her armies, which are given an opportunity to see constant field service in the operations against the tribes By periodical change o regiments, the war-spirit in the whole arm is kept up and the field *morale* of the sodier is tested This costs the British Excheque nothing as the whole expense of this polic has got to be borne by India The Eshe Report gives a frank statement of polic and the Indian army which is supposed t be for the Defence of India is recognised t be an imperial force on which Great Britai could depend upon any time for its offensiv and defensive warfare India and th tropical colonies offer Great Britain a opportunity for successfully perfecting he military arm without arousing the suspicio of the public in England, which by a curiou tradition resents military display.

The same is the case with France. He military glories are won and martial spir kept up in times of peace in the colonie In her African colonies also, the sam policy of veiled military government i followed and the whole African policy c France is dictated by this consideration

Benedetto Croce, the Italian philosophe mentions that during the Tripolitan wa it was seriously suggested by a writer th the 'great victories' of Italy in this predator expedition should be celebrated in a Lat

history. The spirit of Zabernism which imperial tradition generates is even in normal minds such that a nation which once embarks on a career of conquest and exploitation is bound increasingly to become militarist in ideas. In fact, even in countries which glory in civilian tradition as England, the spirit of military dictatorship for those outside the white race has come to be accepted as a principle. In India, the British soldier and officers are as much privileged individuals as in imperial Germany. The rules and regulations in cantonment areas are sufficient indications of this and the incidents that are daily reported in the press of outrageous actions on the part of soldiers towards civilians which go off unpunished are sufficient proof of this mentality. A recent case which attracted some attention may be mentioned here A well-known public worker of Karachi fell in with a number of soldiers in a railway train He was kicked out of his compartment and very roughly handled, but the soldiers who were responsible for the crime were acquitted by a court-martial. The outcry that was raised against Lord Curzon for daring to inflict punishment on a regiment which refused to name a soldier who had committed outrage on an Indian woman shows how strong the feeling of militarism is in Anglo-India. In fact, to breathe a word against the imperial militarists is as much a high crime in England as it was in Germany, and any one, however high his position, who fights for civilian authority over the military as Lord Curzon did in his struggle against Kitchener is bound to go down

The complete subordination of political and civil policy to military and naval interests in Japan, which country exemplifies the imperialist spirit almost as well as Great Britain is well known. The elder statesman who from behind control the Mikados government pursue with single-minded determination the policy of perfecting the army and the navy with a view to further aggrandisement and greater position as an imperial nation.

The cynical way in which the principal signatories of the Washington Conference tried to overreach each other after drawing up an agreement for the limitation of armaments is indicative of the policy of force that underlies imperialism. Japan refused to accept the 5-5-3 ratio in relation to auxiliary craft and though she scrapped a number of battleships, the total tonnage of her building programme after the conference was even greater that what she had laid out for herself before 1921. The hurry with which the fortification of Bonin was completed also showed that Japan was not going to risk the defence of her pacific empire to the decision of the diplomatists that were gathered at Washington. The decision that Great Britain took almost immediately to build a first-class naval base at Singapore, and the stormy protests which the champions of the Blue Water school raised against the decision of the Labour Government to abandon it give some explanation of the motives that lie behind Britain's Naval policy. The whole policy of naval bases and coaling stations is based on the question of Empire defence. The Navy unlike the army cannot unfortunately march on its stomach and even the most pewerful Armada is limited in its operations by its steaming radius If it is to operate in distant seas, it must have dockyards, coaling stations, and supply centres. It is this fact which has compelled Britain to lay her hands on all possible strategic centres. It is the same principle which drives Japan to annex Yapp Islands. For the same reason, the United States is forced into a forward policy in the pacific as the defence of the Philippines against a maritime attack would be impossible without bases, dockyards and coaling stations for the American navy in the long distance it has to traverse from San Francisco to Manila.

The development of aerial warfare has strengthened again the relation between armament and Empire. Aerial connections between the various parts of the Empire are of the utmost importance to the future of defence. Britain, France, Japan are making serious efforts in that direction. The Imperial Defence Committee of Great Britain has long been seriously engaged on airways and a comprehensive scheme, by which the different parts of the Empire will be knit up aerially, is under consideration. France has already made great progress in this direction, says a special corespondent of *The Times*:—"French aeronautical policy is more immediately directed to the maintenance of the influence of France as a Mediterranean Power and to the exploitation of the rich resources of her African Empire. Regular air services have long been established between the southern coast of France and Morocco and Algeria, and for these the Compagnie Generale d'Entreprise Aeronautique is responsible." Every morning at 7 o'clock aeroplanes leave Toulouse and Marseilles for Casablanca and cover in 13

hours in the air a distance which can only be covered in five days by train and steamer.

Casablanca is connected *by a bi-weekly air* service with Oran. From Oran an aeroplane leaves for Alicante, on the east coast of Spain, four *times a week, crossing* of the Mediterranean in three hours. The Compagnie *Aero-Navale dispatches three aeroplanes a week from Antibes, near Nice, to Ajaccio.* They accomplish in *two* hours a steamer journey of 23 hours As soon as an agree*ment has been reached with Italy for an* intermediary landing place in Sardinia, this Antibes-Ajaccio route will be extended—next *year, it is hoped, to Tunis and Philippeville. The technical difficulties of a direct service from Marseilles to Algiers have not yet been overcome, but credits appear in the Budget of 1925 for a Marseilles-Algiers service via Barcelona and Palma Finally, the plans of an air service from Marseilles towards Syria, via Italy and Greece which will from the* prolongation of the London-Paris-Marseilles route, are being actively prepared by the Compagnie des Messageries Transaeriennes.

The effect of militarism which is thus the direct result of Imperialist ambitions on the European nations need not be discussed here Its dehumanising, brutalizing effects are well known, and need no illustration. Thus, by *strange irony, Imperialist domination* which is injurious to the subject people is, in its turn, having reactions on the psychological life and *historical traditions of European* nations themselves, which are slowly undermining the basis of their greatness. It is making them more callous, and the noble *elements of the life of a people on which alone can the greatness of nations depend are being slowly borne down by the weight of a new set of traditions developed in regions where, for the ruling classes, the ten commandments have no validity and the spirit of the swashbuckler is in the ascendant*

MY REMINISCENCES OF RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR

By MAJOR B D BASU, I. M. S. (*Retired*)

THE first time I visited Poona was in March 1893, when Mr Tookaram Tatya favoured me with a letter of introduction to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar The day following my arrival at Poona I called on him and delivered to him the letter of Mr. Tookaram Tatya. Dr. Bhandarkar had built a palatial house at the confluence of the rivers Mula and Mootha, and hence he named it Sangam Ashram. He received me very cordially, but as he was then going out on some urgent private business, he could not converse with me long, but said that he would come to see me at the *hotel where I was then staying* so he did the next day. Seeing a Bengali book on the table, he took it up and began to read it fluently but with an accent. I asked him if he had ever been to Bengal. His answer was in the negative He told me that he had learnt Bengali from books and with the occasional aid of a few Bengali gentlemen who now and then visited Bombay and Poona Our conversation passed on to other subjects He had been to Europe and narrated his impressions of Germany and England and especially of the Sanskrit scholars of those countries

He then asked me to attend the Prarthana Samaj meeting the following Sunday, which I did. He conducted the divine service and delivered a sermon. On the breaking up of the meeting, taking me in his tonga, he drove through the town of Poona, showing me the important places On coming to the Peishwa's Wada *or palace, then in ruins, he said* "Do you know why the Maratha empire came to grief ?—one word—intrigue." Then he heaved a heavy sigh.

At his invitation, I went to the Deccan College the next day, which was Monday, at 2 P. M, when he had no more classes to take. He showed me round the college building.

different classes and then taking me to library showed me the collection of ıskrit MSS. mostly made by him.

My visit to Poona in March, 1893, was a ırt one, but in September of that year, I was ted on duty in that capital of the Deccan, ich I reached on Monday, the 25th instant. er washing and dressing, taking my *chota ri* in the hotel where I was staying, the first tleman whom I went to see that morning Dr Bhandarkar. Mr. Justice Kashinath mbak Telang had then died and Dr. andarkar was nominated in his place as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University talked about Telang's death, deplored the mature death of educated Indians, and ributed it to their pernicious social customs, ecially child-marriage, want of proper urishing food, neglect of sanitary condins and of care of health.

The death anniversary of Raja Ram ohan Roy was to take place on the follow- Wednesday, the 27th instant and he ked me to attend it, which I did

My stay in Poona was for a couple of onths only, from where I was transferred to hmednagar in the last week of November couple of days previous to my departure om Poona, Mr. A. O. Hume visited it and grand reception was given to him in the nabag, where I went expecting to meet r Bhandarkar. He had retired from overnment service and so he was at liberty take part in political movements I did not ow at that time that Dr. Bhandarkar chewed politics I was very sorry to leave oona without being able to bid him good-ye

In January, 1895, the regiment to which was posted, marched to Poona to take part the military manoeuvres there. As medical ficer of the regiment, I accompanied it After e manoeuvres were over, I called one after-on on Dr Bhandarkar. Lord Harris, the vernor of Bombay, was then about to retire. hat noble lord was not a very brilliant or ccessful governor. He was anything but pular with the educated classes of the esidency. He always took the part of the olourless' foreign bureaucracy, and was not little responsible for widening the gulf tween the Europeans and the Indians, thus anding in great contrast to his predecessor, ord Reay, who tried to bridge the gulf tween the two communities.

Dr Bahadurjee was the first man from the ombay Presidency to pass the M. D. examination of the London University. He was a capable physician and an impressive speaker and lecturer. Lord Reay appointed him Honorary physician to Sir Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital and Clinical Lecturer in Medicine, Grant Medical College, Bombay A better selection could not have been made But in those days, all the professorships and hospital appointments were reserved for service men. Bahadurjee not being one of them was looked upon as an interloper and poacher, as it were He told me, for I had several occasions to see him, with what scant courtesy his professional brethren, the service people, treated him. The matter came to such a climax that the appointments which he held in the college and the hospital were abolished by Lord Harris, in order to get rid of Dr. Bahadurjee from the college and the hospital This was done on the recommendation of one Dr P S. Turnbull, who was the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay at that time Dr. Turnbull was a native of Scotland and had taken the degree of M D. from the University of Glasgow in the early sixties when, according to Dr Caird, the M. D. degree was awarded after one day's examination in all subjects ranging from Botany and Chemistry to Medicine and Surgery. After entering the Bombay Medical Service, he spent most of his time in clerical and office works and thus had very little opportunity to practise his profession or keep in touch with the progress daily made in it. His knowledge of medicine would not have done credit to the veriest tyro in that profession in the nineties. He was also a mean man and very bitterly hated the natives of this country. In any quarrel between the Britishers and the Indians he took the part of the former, whether it was just to do so or not.

As Governor of the Presidency, Lord Harris should have tried to be impartial and not acted on the recommendation of a compatriot of that notorious "prince of civilian bribe-takers," Mr. Crawford, whose trial and dismissal made Lord Reay very unpopular with the natives of the country hailing from the north of the Clyde, without himself, thoroughly enquiring whether all that was said against Dr. Bahadurjee was true and whether those who said such things were not swayed by interested and selfish motives.

The Bombay University, on the initiative of its Vice-Chancellor, Dr Bhandarkar,

proposed to give a farewell address to Lord Harris. On the day I saw him, he told me that he was afraid Dr Bahadurjee would oppose it I told him that the Parsee doctor did not seem to have been fairly treated by the retiring Governor. Dr. Bhandarkar as a champion of Lord Harris did not agree with what I said.

It may be here mentioned that his championship of Lord Harris made him so unpopular that on the occasion of the convocation of the Bombay University in February, 1895, he was hissed and hooted when he was entering the University Hall

I had no occasion to meet Dr Bhandarkar till 1899, when I was posted in Poona Late in 1898, the Central Hindu College was established in Benares My brother Mr Sris Chandra Basu was greatly interested in it and wrote to me to do something for it One early morning in February, 1899, I went to Dr. Bhandarkar, and told him that he would prove a tower of strength to the Hindu College movement, if he joined it As a social reformer, he did not like the sayings and doings of Mrs Besant. He did not see his way to join it, because it would in his opinion encourage orthodoxy and was thus a reactionary movement.

Dr. Bhandarkar was greatly interested in Philology and his Wilson Philological Lectures, revised and published a few years back, is an important work on Indian Philology. In his splendid library, now the property of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, were collected most of the published works on the grammar and dictionary of the Indian Vernaculars One morning, while he was in his library, I happened to visit him I took out a book from one of the shelves of his library, which was Trump's Pushto Grammar Dr. Bhandarkar asked me if I knew Pushto. On answering him in the affirmative, he asked me to read a passage and explain every word of it to him. He did not know Pushto. I complied with his request. He traced the origin of most of the words from Sanskrit. There was one word, *Yak-tanuha*, which meant "single" or "alone." He had no difficulty in tracing it to Sanskrit एकतनु (Eka-tanu).

From September, 1897 to January, 1899, I was on active field service on the Panjab frontier and was with the Malakand field force, and also with the Buner field force. I utilized my stay on the frontier by excavating certain mounds in the Yusufzai and Swat valleys, collecting Gandhara sculptures as well as Indo-Scythian coins. There wa[s] a seal in my possession with an inscri[p]tion on it. When the Anagarika Dharma[-]pala was the guest of my brother in Benare[s] in March, 1899, I showed it to him and aske[d] him, if he could read it. He could not do s[o] but took an estampage of it and said, he woul[d] get it read when he returned to Calcutta However, I took this seal to Poona and showe[d] it to Dr. Bhandarkar, who took an estampag[e] of it and after some days wrote to me [a] letter in which he gave the transcription o[f] the seal. According to him, the writing wa[s] of the 3rd century A D. In the monsoo[n] of 1899, Mirza (now Sir) Abbas Ali Be[g] came to share the same bungalow wit[h] me As Oriental Translator to the Bomba[y] Government, it was his duty to introduce Indian gentlemen to His Excellency the Governor at all official functions. There wa[s] a garden party at the Government House Ganesh Khind, to which Mirza Beg persuaded me to accompany him. He introduced me to the Governor, Lord Sandhurs[t] Dr Bhandarkar was also present there With all his learning and world-wide reputation as a scholar, he was in many respects like a child As regards his dress and foot gear, he did not care for the remarks [o]f fastidious critics

When the Boer War broke out in October 1899, Dr Bhandarkar was much perturbed t[o] hear of the reverses of the British in th[e] first few months of that campaign

I had no occasion to see Dr. Bhandarkar till April, 1903, in Satara, where I was then serving He was invited there to the anniversary of the Prarthana Samaj. His widowed daughter, whom he had remarried, was ther[e] living with her husband in Satara, and Bhandarkar stayed with them. Early in April, 1903 Satara was visited by Mr. R C. Dutt A few days after his departure came Dr. Bhandarkar Mr. Khareghat was the District and Sessions Judge there at the time. Rao Bahadur Joshi the head master of the district school, had studied Indian economics and statistics so well that he was considered a great authority on those subjects So Satara was not a dull place to live in in those days. I considered it my good fortune to be there At the request of some of the citizens of Satara, Dr. Bhandarkar delivered a lecture in the high school, arranged by Rai Bahadur Joshi and presided over by Mr Khareghat. It was a very interesting and instructive lecture and lasted for over an hour. The day was a hot and sultry one. The strain of the lecture

on Dr Bhandarkar, a man of 66, was so great, that he fainted. I attended to him on the spot. Dr. Bhandarkar was always thankful to me for the little service I rendered to him on that occasion.

It was during his stay in Satara that, in the course of a conversation with him, I defended the caste-system of the Hindus, (which I do not do now), saying that it had prevented them from adopting others' creeds and preserved Hindu culture This expression of my opinion enraged him so much that he said —

"You, an England-returned man, defend caste! It has done India no good On the contrary it has done much harm There were other causes which preserved the Hindu culture, and people do not easily give up their religious faiths and beliefs unless they are forced to do so by economic distress or other worldly considerations "

I referred to the humanitarian side of Hinduism He said that Brahminism was anything but humanitarian Animal sacrifice was the religion of the Vedas, and of the Vedic period It was the heterodox creeds like Buddhism and Jainism which put a stop to animal sacrifice and made Hindus humanitarian I always looked upon Dr. Bhandarkar as a field-marshal of Indian scholars, to whose dicta, as a private in the ranks, I had to bow down

As said above, Dr Bhandarkar's daughter was living in Satara She was not in good health and Dr Bhandarkar wrote to me from Poona to attend to her. She was under my treatment for the few months that I stayed in Satara She was afterwards removed from Satara, but I learnt with great regret that no medical skill did her any good and she succumbed to her disease Her death was a great blow to Dr. Bhandarkar She, as said before, was a widow whom he had the moral courage to marry to a gentleman who was a widower himself He faced social ostracism for the step he took One day, when I spoke to him of his great moral courage in remarrying his widowed daughter, he said that no credit was due to him for doing what he considered his duty As a parent, he could not suffer to see the life-long misery of his widowed daughter. Noble soul! How many Hindu fathers have the heart to feel for the miseries of their widowed daughters, and possess moral courage to do their duty to them as did Dr Bhandarkar, not minding the social persecution staring them in the face?

The last time I went to the Sangam Ashram was on the 30th September, 1904, on my way to Allahabad on one year's furlough. He took me to his library and we had some talk about Indian history Referring to the advent of the British in the Maharashtra, he said there were then no statesmen in the Deccan to see through the designs of the British I interrupted him, saying that the British corrupted the ministers and other high officers by means of "saint-seducing" gold. He was furious and told me, why could not the Maratha ministers and others adopt the same means against the English? He told me to try to tempt British ministers and other British officers to betray the interests of their country by "saint-seducing" gold. What he obviously meant was that, whereas Indians could be bribed to betray their country, Englishmen could not be so bribed;—there lay the weakness of the Indians and the strength of the English.

Bhandarkar possessed a duplicate set of the several volumes of Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports. I asked him, if I could have these for my use He most gladly presented these to me and on the fly-leaf of one of the volumes, he wrote:—

"To Dr B D Basu,
as a mark of R G Bhandarkar's appreciation of his kind nature and taste for literary and historical inquiries.
Poona,
The 30th September, 1904."

I have always treasured these volumes as a memento of the veteran scholar and ardent social reformer.

The last occasion I met Dr. Bhandarkar was in Allahabad In March, 1908, the Calcutta University celebrated its Jubilee with great pomp Dr. Bhandarkar was invited to receive the honorary degree of LL.D On his way back, he broke his journey at Allahabad and stayed with Mr. Balak Ram, I.C.S., Assistant Accountant-General. He knew my brother by reputation and wanted to see him Pandit Sundarlal, who went to see Bhandarkar, told him that Sris Chandra was a Sub-Judge and was serving at Ghazipur. That well-known lawyer also informed him that I was then in Allahabad on furlough, preparatory to retirement. On his expressing a desire to see me, they drove to my house, but unfortunately I was not then at home. He was greatly disappointed in not finding me at home and left word with one of my nephews that he was leaving Allahabad that

very day by the Bombay Mail. On my return home, I drove to the Railway Station and met him there. Fortunately for me, the train was late and so I had the opportunity to talk with him for about an hour. He was returning from Calcutta and had seen there the agitation that was going on against the partition of Bengal. He said that the division of the Bengali-speaking people was a very wrong thing to do He said, it was not the policy of Government to have provinces of homogeneous people speaking one and the same language He was in Calcutta when Curzon got Berar from the Nizam He was a member of the Imperial Council and had some talk with Curzon about Berar He suggested to the Viceroy to amalgamate Berar with the Bombay Presidency, for the language of Berar was Marathi and thus the people there were more akin to those of the Deccan than to those of the Hindi-speaking people of the Central Provinces. But that would be increasing the numerical strength of the Marathi-speaking people in the Bombay Presidency, and it did not seem to be the policy of Government to do so.

He knew I had a collection of Gandhara sculptures, which before his visit to Calcutta he had not seen. When he came to my house, I intended to show them to him, and he jocularly said he would take away such of them as he might take a fancy to I told him that he was quite welcome to have them He said when he next visited Allahabad he would do so He extorted a promise from me that if I ever visited Poona, I would be his guest Alas! meeting him again on this earth was not to be!

THE ZOO

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

To-day I saw the azure skies
Reflected in a monkey's eyes
And also in a fleckless dove's,
And in a peacock's and a deer's
For all these myriad eyes are Love's
Which sparkle through the dark of years.

To-day I thought I saw God start
Flame-like within a tiger's heart
And saw His old celestial smile
In the grey-hearted crocodile,
And saw Him like a splendour wake
In the brown wriggle of a snake,
And for their feet, I saw Him span
A gold bridge in the heart of man.

REPAIRING THE RAVAGE WROUGHT BY WAR

By ST NIHAL SINGH

Illustrated with photographs specially taken by the Author.

I

LEON! Leon!! Come! Come!! Your dinner is getting cold Leave Monsieur the photographer alone."

But Leon—a Belgian boy of eleven or ...velve—was too intent upon appearing in ...e photographs which I was taking in his ...ative village of Houthulst, in northern Belgium, to heed his mother's call With ... agility of a panther he picked out the ...ject which I was desirous of photographing— ... massive structure which the Germans had ...uilt in the heart of a graveyard at the ...ge of that little Flemish settlement Before I had set down my stand, he had clambered ... top of the monument and taken his stand ...ht in the middle of it His companions, ... much the same age, followed his exam... and clustered round him Some smaller ...s not finding themselves equal to the ...mb took their stand at the base of the ...onument A girl, a little older than the ..., selected, with rare judgment, a position ...d one of the German graves which ...ld enable her to stand out in splendid ...tion in the picture

...he structure had been built partly to ... as an observation post and partly as ...onument to the German's who had fallen ...side facing the lens bore the text

Wir Wissen Das Denen Die
Gott Lieben alle Dinge
Zum Besten Dienen

A friend of mine who happened to be at ...side and who knew a little German told ... that the text meant

All things happen for good to those who ... the Lord."

Round about the monument were graves ...en who had fallen in the course of a ...ict unprecedented in the annals of man... alike for magnitude of operations and malignity displayed by the combatants— ... by the politicians whom those combatants ...bly served as instruments Native and foreigner lay interred in the ground But even in death the barriers created by race—by nationality—stood, just as they had done when that clay was instinct with life, and that life derived its motive power from greed lust and hatred



Young Belgium Standing on Monument erected by the Germans during their occupation of Belgium, in memory of their dead Soldiers

The crosses erected over the graves of unidentified invaders bore a legend which, translated, meant "A German Hero". The British marked the last resting place of their dead whose identity had been lost with the inscription "A Soldier of the Great War. Known Unto God." The Belgians contented

themselves with the mere word "*Inconnu*"—unknown

The contrast presented by those legend-lines leapt to the eye. The only people who had managed to restrain themselves from swaggering—who refused to couple God with fighting—were those who had been dragged into the war because their neighbours on the east were determined to rent their neighbours on the west. As I beheld those graves, an Indian proverb rose before my eyes. "When buffaloes fight," some wise forefather of ours declared, some hundreds, possibly thousands, of years ago, "the bushes get trampled."



Village of Staden rebuilt from the foundations up

The spirit bred in the Belgians by the suffering inflicted by the contending Powers found expression everywhere in the graveyard. The sod which covered the remains of the German fighters, marked by black crosses, looked unkempt. The graves wherein reposed all that was mortal of Belgians and their Allies were, on the other hand, carefully attended to.

As the eye shifted from the earth to the monument which, despite tremendous hammering from Allied batteries and aircraft, still appeared remarkably solid, it turned from the dead to the living. Over the German "heroes" towered young Belgium. Where was the pride of the men who "goose-stepped" to the tune set by their masters, boastful of their determination to make their will prevail?

Some of the children who looked down from that height upon their interred bones must have been conceived and born while Armageddon raged. Their nervous system will probably carry upon it the impress of war so long as that system lasts. The economic and financial complications created by the conflict will continue to cheat them of a goodly portion of the fruits of their enterprise, industry, patience, perseverance and frugality—qualities in which fortunately the Belgians are rich—as long as they live.

Some two or three hundred yards away from this monument, across the street from the graveyard, stood the school from which those youngsters had poured out just as my motor car had drawn up in front of it. The sun shining upon its red-tiled roof and red brick walls emphasised the fact that it had just left the builders' hands. Subsequent examination showed that good material, unstinted labour and great thought had been put into its construction. Generous provision had been made for admitting light and air into the class rooms.

Between the school and the graveyard stood all that the gunners of the contending armies had left of the sacred structure round which, in pre-war days, had centred the religious life of the little Flemish community. Only the base of the belfry remained, a trifle higher than myself and sadly battered. The litter of destruction surrounding it rendered it an eyesore.

Monsieur Rene Daled, son of the Keeper of the *Musee Communal* of Bruges, who combines great linguistic talent with an intimate knowledge of the country, and who was acting as my guide, philosopher and friend, explained to me that that side was being purposely preserved to serve as a memento of the war. "It is," he said, "as it was left at the end of the war."

"And that spot," continued my Belgian friend, "gives you some idea of what the place looked like at the time the Armistice was signed, and our people marched into the place. Every single building had been razed to the ground. Nothing had escaped ruin, not even the meanest hut occupied by the poorest of the poor. The whole town was wiped out of existence—brick and stone converted

up every street and lane—huge gashes cut in all manner of places by shells and filled with water from the sky and from the gutters. It was an awful sight to behold.

"That was the state in which Houthulst was left. And not only Houthulst. Wait till I take you further into the interior. Every village and town was similarly wiped out of existence and has had to be rebuilt from the foundations up."

II

It was the rebuilding that interested me, and even more so the pluck, industry and perseverance behind that rebuilding. A few yards away from that ugly ruin of the old church rose the bell-tower over the new church. It had been fashioned in imitation of the building which it replaced. "Perhaps it is a bit better—more solidly built," my Belgian companion admitted.

At the time of my first visit the structure had been completed. The yard surrounding it was still littered with building materials. Now it has been tidied.

All around the school and church were newly built houses, erected along streets which had been freshly paved or were waiting their turn to be paved. Everywhere bustle and activity reigned—carts laden with building materials arriving, carts filled with [illegible] departing—families moving out of the temporary buildings hastily thrown together at the close of the hostilities out of the materials used in military hutments, into the homes which have been constructed by Government to take the place of those razed to the ground or rendered uninhabitable.

In view of the completeness of destruction, it has been no easy matter to locate the position of streets and sites of property. To make confusion worse confounded, the records—ancient and modern alike—of all kinds perished.

In this circumstance, it was difficult for officials to decide the claims preferred in respect of property. Endless patience combined with infinite resourcefulness enabled them to piece together scraps of information. By degrees plans were evolved. Every street and alley was traced out, and every building, whether pretentious or humble, was identified and marked in its proper place.

Every property-owner got his old site. The man who had owned a house on the corner of a street got his old corner back again. The man who had a house in the middle of a terrace was given a house at the same point in the reconstructed terrace. Only by deciding to recreate a village exactly as it had existed before the war was it possible to satisfy anyone, and obviate jealousy and heart-burning.



Reconstructing Roads in Belgium

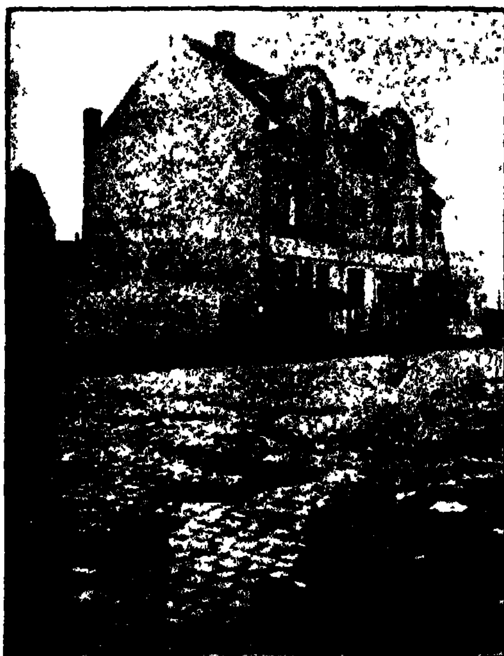
III

What I saw in Houthulst I saw also in the village next to it, and in every other village through which I passed for miles round it. And not only in villages. The same was true of towns and even cities. Everywhere a new place had risen from the ashes of the old or was in the act of rising.

During the seven or eight months that I have been going up and down this re-built region, I have sometimes found it difficult to believe that I was travelling through an ancient land, and not through a new undeveloped country which pioneers filled with the spirit of adventure were subduing. Only in the American or Cana-

dian prairies had I theretofore seen anything like the spectacle spread out before me—the spectacle of a town springing up from the foundations in an astonishingly short time. But for the characteristic Flemish style of architecture, the *sabots* (wooden shoes) worn by the children, the bits of desolated sites preserved recalling the struggle, and the memorials put up to the men who had fallen in the fray, the illusion would have been complete.

As one goes about the devastated territory, one hears the whine of saw-mills in which power-driven saws work over-



Inn of the *Innondateur* (inundator), Nieuport

time, their sharp teeth tearing through the trunks of trees, turning them into lumber to be used for the thousands upon thousands of houses which are going up everywhere. Almost at every turn one comes upon brick-yards manufacturing bricks by the million to be used for the same purpose. They are kept stored in long, low sheds with corrugated iron roofs, or are covered over with thatch or gunny cloth to protect them from the weather. They are stacked up in piles as tall as high buildings. Truck-loads of them are always standing ready to be hauled away to some centre of reconstruction.

IV.

Belgian reconstruction can best be studied at a few central points in the devastated areas. Nieuport, about a mile inland from the North Sea, for one, furnishes an excellent opportunity for such an object.

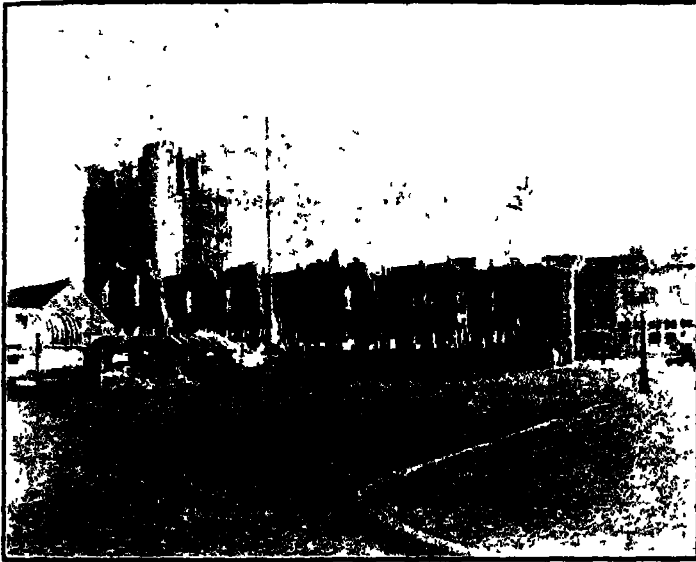
Situated on the river Yser, commanding the locks and sluice gates of an extensive system of canals branching out in various directions, Nieuport was, in itself, no mean prize to win. Had the enemy managed to keep the hold that he had secured over it in October, 1914, he would have been able to push into France and to plant guns on the north coast which would have menaced Dover and the country surrounding it. The Germans were kept at bay at this point by the flooding of hundreds of square miles of land. The operations connected with the piercing of the dykes and the opening of sluices which let in the tide-water had to be carried on under heavy German fire.

Early last summer, when I first visited Nieuport and made a tour of the country in the vicinity of that place, I found that almost all signs of destruction had been removed. The land which had been flooded had been thoroughly drained and brought once more under cultivation. Villages and towns which had been utterly demolished by gun-fire had been rebuilt, and life flowed in them in much the same channels as it did before the region was inundated for strategic purposes.

Nieuport, which the Germans had virtually wiped out of existence, had risen better and brighter than before. The *Hotel de Ville* (Town Hall), the *Halles* (covered market-place), the church, schools and other institutions, had been built on new foundations after the original plans, but, if anything, more solidly. Flemish men and women stood behind the counters in the shops lining the reconstructed streets, serving customers, and nearly every house that had been put up was occupied.

Only when I crossed the tracks on which runs the light railway known as the *Chemin de fer Vicinaux*, did I come upon an extensive collection of hutments in which dwelt the people whose homes had not yet been replaced by the Government. The temporary accommodation looked dingy, and cramped. But not a word of complaint did I hear from anyone. The men and women I met seemed determined to make the best of

a bad job The children played about in front of their homes, blissfully ignorant of the terrible travail through which their people had passed.



Ruins of the Cloth Hall, Ypres

On the other side of the river, in front of the locks commanding the net-work of canals, lay the "Redan," where, at one time, there had existed fortifications of some importance The Belgians had created a net work of deep trenches, and fortified them with impregnable-looking dug-outs whose walls were lined with sand-bags

As I examined the place I found a stream running through its heart—in fact, almost surrounding the main lines of trenches Above ground, all was desolation. A few blackened and blasted tree trunks, bare of leaf or green twig, stood like silent sentinels. A few wisps of tough marsh grass was the only sign of vegetation to be seen in this locality, which, for a goodly part of the war, was the constant scene of fighting in the effort to hold or to capture a point of vantage.

Rain beating against the lens of my camera while I was trying to photograph this famous fortification drove me to take shelter in an inn across the bridge spanning the Yser river As I approached it, I noticed a stone bust in a niche above the front door, with an inscription which, owing to the sharp shower, I was unable to read As I walked through the hall, I passed a strongly built Belgian who seeing that my clothes were soaked through to the skin felt moved to remark "*Mauvais temps, Monsieur*" (bad weather sir) It turned out, on pursuing the conversation, that he was an engineer by profession and had served with the Royal Engineers throughout the war, and had been present in Nieuport at the time of the inundation He described to me exactly what had happened, pointing out various places of interest which otherwise would have escaped me. I learned from this ex-officer, for instance, that the very inn in which I was sitting, drinking a steaming cup of coffee had been the home of Lieutenant-General Dossin, and that the bust over the front door was an effigy of that great man. The original building, destroyed during the fighting, had been replaced by a new struc-



The "Essex Farm" Cemetery near Yepres

ture, in which I was sipping coffee, waiting for the rain to stop General Dossin had died a short time before my visit to Nieuport, and the house had been sold to settle the estate, and was being used as an inn, which appropriately had been named *Hotel de Lanon dem*

V

Twenty miles to the south of Nieuport was Dixmude, to which point the flood let loose by General Dossin in November, 1914, extended That town had also been one of the key-positions during the war

On the banks of the Yser Canal, just beyond the bridge spanning it at Dixmude, there used to be a flour-mill, standing on a slight ridge or elevation, on a platform consisting of a huge cube of cement Rumour had it that the Germans had erected that solid platform in peace time in anticipation of war, so that they could mount their guns upon it without any loss of time From that point it was possible for the side which held it to command the Flanders plain for many miles and to sweep it with long-range artillery.

The corn-mill was captured by the Germans early in the war, and from thence forward was utilised by them to hold the bridge-head, and also as an observation post It was the scene of fierce fighting throughout the conflict, but every effort to dislodge them proved of no avail, until towards the close of the war, when the great retreat began

As was to be expected, the town of Dixmude was left a mass of charred and blackened ruins after four years of almost incessant firing It had to be rebuilt from the ground up

I had climbed to the top of a high dug-out disregarding the warning of the guide, who feared that the roof might fall in under my weight, carrying me down with it His prognostication did not come true, and I had a fine view of the rebuilt town and the rich agricultural land which spread out to the north, west and south



Monument erected in memory of the 'Moroccs' killed in the first gas attack at Boesinghe

As I was getting ready to come down, my gaze fell upon a Belgian who, in the very shadow of the dug-out and among the huge pieces of concrete torn from the massive structures built by the Germans by the guns of the Allies and strewn about the vicinity, was hoeing the little patch of greens which he had sown on that blood-soaked soil He did not take the least notice of me, or of the other persons who were visiting the ruined mill at the time, nor did he appear to be conscious of the surroundings in which he was working, or of the harrowing scenes which they must have witnessed His only thought was to grow a little food to eat so that he might have the strength to produce a little more food and so on to the end of his days

The town which stretched out at the back of that tireless worker had been fashioned by Flemings as plucky and persevering as the peasant So high a spire had been put on the solidly built church standing beside the magnificent *Hotel de Ville*, that I found it difficult to photograph the edifice Had the newly-paved square in front of the building not been exceedingly spacious, enabling me to get back a considerable distance, I would indeed have failed in my purpose

VI

Even a fiercer storm raged at Ypres, some fourteen miles to the south of Dixmude, than at Dixmude itself, and, therefore, the destruction, if anything, was more complete Belgian enterprise and industry have already rebuilt practically all the town with the exception of the core of the place where had stood the famous Cloth Hall, containing priceless specimens of the handiwork of master-weavers, lace-makers and embroiderers, which, in the pre-war era, attracted to Ypres students of art and tourists by the thousand every year Back of it rose the high spire of the Catholic Church of St Martin, which the natives loved to dignify by the name of "Cathedral," though Ypres was not actually the seat of a Bishop—that honour belonging to Bruges, its neighbour and rival in all those arts, and even more so in buildings of high artistic and historic value

I found the church site a busy hive of industry Masons and their helpers, working under the instructions of architects and archaeologists, had put in supports the precious bits which had survived the cannonading and were strong enough to warrant their preservation Round such nuclei were being built, stone by stone, brick by brick, the structure in faithful likeness of the one which shell and shot and aerial torpedo had practically wiped off the face of the earth The huge scaffolding girt round the frame of the spire looked to me for all the world like a giant's broken arm put in splints by a skilful surgeon

The Cloth Hall, it seems, is not to be restored It has been cleared of debris. Stones torn from the walls by shot and shell adorned with sculpture which even in a demolished state looks exquisitely beautiful, have been gathered up and lie in huge piles beside the shell of the structure

No more powerful monument to the folly of war-makers could have been devised Unfortunately, however, either side of the combatants blames the other for causing the struggle instead of placing some of the blame upon its own "statesmen" It, therefore, happens that this impressive ruin merely serves to intensify these passions and hatreds rather than teach a lesson to all who behold Far better would it have been if the Belgian Government had decided to recreate that institution as hundreds of others have been rebuilt or are in process of being built

VII

Some 250,000 combatants of various nationalities lie buried round about Ypres A few minutes' walk outside the town in almost any direction brings a person to one or another of the scores of cemeteries in the neighbourhood

The "Essex Farm" Cemetery is perhaps the best-known among them. It lies in the shadow of the high bank of the Ysor Canal, upon which a tall marble monument has been raised by the British whose dead lie buried there Rows upon rows of white marble slabs rise above the carefully clipped carpet of grass which has been spread between the tombs At the time of my first visit, early in the summer, the roses were in full bloom and splashed the white stones with a wealth of colour Ex-British soldiers have been detailed to keep the place in order, and too high praise cannot be given to the loving care which they bestow upon the graves of their fallen comrades

Many of the slabs have only a cross carved on them, instead of the emblem of the regiment to which the occupant of the grave belonged, and underneath it the pitiful inscription "A Soldier of the Great War, Known Unto God" Near the graves of unknown soldiers stands a large rectangular stone promising the sleepers in this, their last resting place that "Their Name Shall Live For Evermore"

As I stood at the edge of the cemetery on a bright autumn afternoon, my mind pondering this incongruity, a cart came clattering past me Above the rattle of the wheels rose a voice – the voice of a woman who had not quite left her girlhood behind She sat on a heap of straw in the bottom of of the cart and sang a mirthful lilting tune—like the song of a bird which has found its mate She sang in a tongue which was foreign to me, and yet her Flemish words were so close to English that I felt piqued at my inability to understand them She had found her mate, the sturdy Fleming, who with his face half-turned towards her, was driving the cart, leaving the steering to the level-headed horse between the shafves It seemed to me that they must have been only recently married The look of ecstasy upon the man's face and the woman's merry song shouted out for all the world to hear "Behold, we are happily married"

The cart passed on, and I, my reverie broken, walked away In less than five minutes

. . .

I came to a field of clover with tall, succulent stems and vivid green leaves The cart which had jostled my thoughts away from the dead to passion-pulsing life stood just at the edge of the field The woman was bending over the clover which her man had cut with a sickle and was tying it into bundles with wisps of straw which she braided as required and threw them into the cart Her lithe, willowy body moved rhythmically, keeping time with the liquid notes which bubbled from her lips as she worked

In all the fields surrounding the war-cemeteries, Belgian men and women full of the joy of life, with their eyes turned to the future and their backs turned to the past, work from dawn till dusk doing everything in their power to rehabilitate their country They sing, as they toil, songs full of promise of good fortune to come As one gazes over the fields green with the waving plumes of beet-root and high-growing clover, one could weep at the thought that a peaceful land like this should have been so wantonly ravished In the shadow of the cemeteries and of the blackened, blasted trees, cows and calves, and horses and colts graze peacefully, as unafraid as their masters and mistresses of the grey ghosts of war all about them, unmindful of the silent dead

VIII

About a mile and a half to the north of the "Essex Farm" Cemetery is situated the village of Boesinghe, where I was told, a monument had been erected to the memory of the "Morocs" as the men are called who came from France's possessions in northern Africa, and who were the first among the Allied troops to suffer the tortures of poison gas, the first gas attack having taken place at that point which they were defending at the time I journeyed up to it one day to see Christendom's tribute to its heathen defenders

Set up in a land soaked with blood of hundreds of thousands of combatants, the monument reflects the grim mood of its fashioners On top of what appears to be a bit of a building belonging to past days which escaped utter destruction, and over which merciful Nature has not yet thrown a a mantle of green, has been set an old cannon so small as to look almost like a toy perched on a hillock

All around the monument stand solidly built red-brick houses, with overhanging red-tiled roofs, built to take the place of those which were demolished during the war The grass sown in the front yards has had time to mat together into the semblance of lawns In the season, beds of gay-coloured flowers blossom in the gardens, like pretty bouquets laid at the foot of the monument as a tribute to the brave "Morocs" in whose honour it was reared.

As I have already remarked, all these monuments, whether planned on a handsome scale or otherwise, only serve to keep up the spirit of strife, while Europe's great need is to bury race and religious hatred and go on with the work of reconstruction.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ANIMAL WORLD

By S C VERMA, M SC LL B

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"More ancient than competition is combination. The little feeble fluttering folk of God, the spinning insects, the little mice in the meadow the rat in the cellar, the crane in the marshes or the booming bittern; all these have learnt that God's greatest word is together, and not alone He who is striving to make God's blessing and bounty possible to most is stepping in line with nature The selfish man is the isolated man."

MAN is not the only social animal, [illegible] the only animal species whose indiv[illegible] duals live in mutually advantag[illegible] relations with each other, and with individ[illegible] of other animal kinds. Indeed the comm[illegible] life of some insects is developed along [illegible] communistic lines far more specialised [illegible]

he communism shown by man. Parallel to the evolution of the present highly specialised human society from a primitive living together, we can find a long series of gradatory conditions of social life from mere gregariousness to the extremely specialised interdependent and unified community of ants. But before taking up the series of stages in true social or communal development among lower animals, we may as well give some attention to conditions of animal associations not approaching a real community.

Strange Partnerships

Animals often live together in strange partnerships. The beef-eater birds (Buphagus) perch on cattle and extract grubs from the skin. But a very interesting case is that of the Egyptian plover (Pluvianus aegyptius)



Crocodile-Birds.

... endly agreement appears to exist between the birds and ... crocodiles. On the sand-banks of the Nile the birds are seen ... ectos and fragments of food from the mouth of the ...

...nd the crocodile. These birds are often seen ...ly associating with crocodiles when they ... out of the water basking in the sun. One ... often find a plover inside the gaping ... of the reptile comfortably moving about ... picking up crumbs of the monster's last ...d that may still be sticking to the buccal ...y instead of "picking his teeth" as ...totle alleged. It is a wonder that the ...odile does not even attempt to kill these ...s even when he is entirely within his ...th but it has on the contrary, learnt to ... them so that they may clean his mouth ...probably also remove leeches and other ...sites from his body. In the nests of some ... are met with other insects, such as a ...smid or an Atemeles, living in harmonious ...tionship. The Lepismids are tolerated as ...although they act as real free-booters wresting the food when it is being passed by one ant to another, but the Atemeles serve the ants by eating away refuse, dead ants etc, present in the nest, and are fed by the ants from their food in case of need. They have aptly been called "the beggars" of the colony. The marine animals furnish many associations of this type. It is not an uncommon sight to see at times a Swan-mussel attached to a small marine fish (Bitterling) by means of a beautiful red cord. During the breeding season of this fish, its oviduct gets considerably elongated, and is projected out of its body as a red tube which attracts the swan mussels. These molluscs manage to get hold of the fish oviduct by means of their mantle flaps. As soon as this connection is established, the fish becomes aware of it, and begins to lay its eggs in the gills of the mussel where they undergo their development for about a month. But while Mrs Bitterling is thus busy laying her eggs in a safe place, Mrs Anodonta is not idle, she also lets her larvae escape and ascend the tube up into the skin of the fish where they grow until they are able to lead a freelife. Another example is that of the large floating coelenterate, Physalia (man-of war) and the small fishes, Nomeous gronovii, which always accompany the former seeking shelter from their enemies, apparently knowing the protecting value of the stinging cells of the tentacles of the coelenterate.

Commensalism

But when we find a little fish living contentedly inside a large sea-anemone, or the little pea-crab (Pinnotheres) within the horse-mussel, it is clear that the fish and the crab are not only sheltered by their hosts but share their food also. They illustrate the biological relationship known as "Commensalism", which means 'eating at the same table. A better illustration of this is furnished by the association between crabs and sea-anemones. The hermit crab (Eupagurus) has its borrowed shell always enveloped by a sea-anemone (Adamsia), and some crabs (Melia of the Indian Ocean) carry an anemone attached to each claw. The use of the sea-anemone, with its batteries of stinging cells, as a mask to the crab and also as an aid in attack and defence is obvious; on the other hand, the sea-anemone gets the benefit of being carried about by the crab and may also derive food from the crumbs of its bearer's repast. It is not improbable that in some cases the crab

deliberately chooses its ally, and plants it on its shell or claw, and that it does not leave it behind at the time of shell changing Deprived of their polyp companions the crabs



Hermit Crabs

have been seen to be restlessly ill at ease until they obtained others of the same kind

Co-operation and Division of Labour

Let us for a time wander from these chance companionships or permanent associations as moss-mates to another kind of animal associations confined to the members of the same species or group, that is, to aggregates of individuals or colonies These aggregates are formed by budding the resulting individuals being physically united—and in some cases afford striking illustrations of "division of labour", the idea of which has for a long time been familiar to men, but the biological importance of which was first clearly recognised by Milne Edward in 1837 Many masses of corals are animal colonies, but among the members or "persons" as they are technically called, division of labour is rare, and during the growth of the colony the younger individuals often smother the older. But in colonial zoophytes there is sometimes marked division of labour For example in the colony of Hydractinia polyps, which is usually met with growing on the shells tenanted by the hermit-crabs, there are about one hundred individuals, all in organic connection Among the individuals of each colony are distinguishable three or four castes. Many are nutritive in form like the little fresh water hydra, tubular animals with an extensile body and with a terminal mouth wreathed round by mobile tentacles On these depends the nutrition of the whole colony Besides these there are reproductive "persons" which have no mouths and hence are unable to feed, but secure the continuance of the species by producing embryos which start new colonies Then there occur long, lank, sensitive members also mouthless that serve as the sense organs of the colony in detecting food or danger When danger threatens the polyps cower down and there are left projecting small hard spines which are regarded as starved abortive members like the thorns on the hawthorn hedge Their life as individuals, is practically nil, and they may well be said to illustrate the seamy side of division of labour

Gregarious Life and Combined Action

Quite different from the colonial types is the case of those animals in which the individuals though organically separate from one another, choose to live together in large numbers Many birds, such as rooks and swallows, nest together and the sociality is often advantageous The Weaver-birds of South Africa are well known for their huge tent-like collective nests covering entire trees Of the cranes, Kropatkin notes that they are extremely "sociable and live in friendly relations, not only with their congeners, but also with most aquatic birds" Some of them (more specially the Mediterranea flamingos) have been described to post sentries, send scouts, and have many friends and no enemies So it is also with parrots the members of each band remain faithfully attached to each other, and share in common good or bad luck, finding pleasure and protection in combination Of the mammals there are many that are in some degree gregarious The solitary kinds are in a distinct minority Deer, antelopes, goats, and elephants live in herds, which are not mere crowds but organised bands with definite conventions, possessing a power of resistance which often enables them to withstand the attacks of carnivores. Monkeys generally show a very successful gregarious life. Individually most of them are comparatively defenceless, and usually avoid coming to close quarters with their adversaries; yet in a body

they are formidable and often help one another out of difficulties Each band is guided by a veteran leader whose wisdom, experience, and probably also superior strength is always at the disposal of the rest

On the other hand some of the most successful carnivores such as wolves, hunt in packs, and not a few birds of prey (eagles, vultures and kites) unite in destroying their quarry Combination for defence has its counterpart in combination for offence, but peculiarly interesting are those cases in which the relatively weak combine to attack the strong Thus a few kites will rob an eagle and wagtails will persecute a sparrow hawk In addition to combining for defence or attack, many animals also co-operate in labour Brehm relates that the baboons and other monkeys act in thorough concert in plundering expeditions, sending scouts, posting sentinels and even forming long chains for the transport of the spoil When the Brazilian kite seizes a prey too large for it to carry, it summons its friends Pelicans fish together in great companies, forming a wide half circle along the shore and catching the fish thus enclosed But of all cases of combined activity, the migration of birds is at once the most familiar and the most beautiful—the gathering together, the excitement before starting, the trial flights, the reliance placed on leaders Migration is usually social, and probably sometimes facilitated by social tradition



A BEAVER'S DAM

For sufficiency of water around their lodge the Beavers construct a dam across some stream

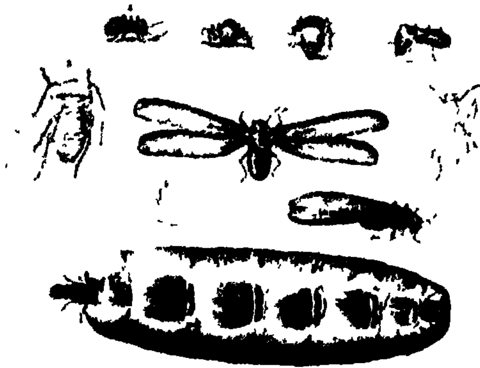
Beginning of Real Communalism

Let us now turn to a still better form of association indicating real communalism though of a very simple kind The prairie-dogs (Cynomys) differ from the gregarious animals in that each pair constructs an underground abode, a large number of which are situated close together forming what are known as "cities" or "villages" These villages, at times, cover vast areas, and whenever migration takes place for want of food or other natural causes the entire population of the city joins in it A still better illustration is furnished by the beavers In these rodents, belonging to a somewhat stupid race, a family of about six members inhabits one house, and in suitable localities, secluded and rich in water and trees, many families congregate in a village community The young leave the parental roof in the summer of their third year, find mates for themselves, and establish new homesteads If the community becomes overcrowded, migrations take place up and down stream, the old lodges being left to the young couples It is said that lazy or otherwise objectionable members may be expelled from the society and condemned to live alone Under propitious conditions their achievements are marvellous The burrow may rise into a constructed home of pieces of wood removed from neighbouring trees and fixed to trunks slightly above the water level Members of many families may combine in log-rolling or wood-cutting, and build large dams across rivers, or even dig canals Lewis Morgan says that some of the beaver dams are adapted against the rush of floods that the canals are sometimes hundred of feet in length, and that there occur, at places short-cut waterways across loops of the river, and also "locks" where continuous canals are, from the nature of the ground impossible The Indians were so much struck by the sagacity and the engineering skill of this animal as to invest it with immortality, but it is enough for us to recognise that it is the cleverest of its kind because the most socialised.

Insect Communities

Passing onwards in our scale of social

animals, we now come to those dominant invertebrates that from time immemorial have retained a like interest for man, namely certain insects, such as termites, social bees, wasps, and ants. Among those, what appeals so forcibly to the imagination is not the structure or the activities of the individuals as such but the extraordinary instincts which compel them to live permanently in intimate consociations. In this case, our interest is aroused by an undeniable resemblance to our own condition. Reflection shows that this resemblance cannot be superficial but must depend on a high degree of adaptability and plasticity common to man and social insects; for, in order to live in permanent commonwealths, an organism must not only be remarkably adaptive to changes in its external environment, but also have an intense feeling of co-operation, forbearance, and affection towards the other members of the community.



WHITE ANTS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

1. Male of *Termes* [illegible] 9. Nymph, 10. Queen

TERMITES

The termites or "white ants", though not so supremely interesting as the true ants, perhaps because of their inferior intelligence, have nevertheless the advantage of greater antiquity and all the interest which attaches to an old established society. In suitable localities they build huge mounds of earth known as "ant-hills" for their dwelling, which contain intricate galleries or tunnels, chambers, nurseries etc., of an entire colony. As early as 1781, Smeathman gave some account of their economy. He noted that in every species there were three 'castes': first the workers or labourers, next, the fighting ones or 'soldiers' (both these being wingless forms), and lastly, the winged ones or perfect insects, which are male and female, and capable of propagation. The workers are only about a fifth of an inch long and often blind, still they perform all the work of foregoing and mining, attending the royal pair and nursing the young. The soldiers which do no kind of labour, are much larger than the workers, but there are relatively only a few of them in each hill. Prof. Drummond says:

> "They stand or promenade about as sentries at the mouths of the tunnels. When danger threatens in the shape of true ants, the soldier termite advances to the fight and with a few sweeps of its scythe-like jaws it clears the ground."

At home, in the ant-hill imprisoned in a central chamber whose door admits workers but is much too small for the tenants to pass out if they would, lies the royal pair. The male is in some species larger than the soldier, and is in many ways different though by no means extraordinary. The queen mother however, is a very strange organism. She measures two to six inches and like her mate she sees and also had wings like his, but they have dropped off. The hind part of the body consisting of the abdomen proper, is enormously distended with eggs, the head and thorax constitute but a small proportion of the comparatively huge bag-like body. In her passivity and phenomenal corpulence "she is a sort of reductio ad absurdum of femaleness, a large cylindrical package, in shape like a sausage and as white as a bolster. But is she not a most wonderful egg layer? She produces 60 eggs per minute, about 80,000 in a day, and continues reproducing for months. As she lays, she is assiduously fed by the workers, while the eggs are carried off to the nurseries. At the breeding season, numerous winged males and females leave the hill and its workers in swarms, most of them simply to die, others to meet with individuals from other hills and to begin to form new colonies. When the flying termites come to earth, they cast off their wings, and, though not of mature age, come together in pairs. A male and a female walk off together to found a nest. The reproductive pairing takes place long afterwards.

The story becomes still more intricate

we remember Fritz Muller's observations

...sides the winged males and females which ...roduced in vast numbers, and which, leav... the territory in large swarms may intercross ...hose produced in other communities, there are ...ne if not all of the species) wingless males ...males—a sort of reserve of reproductive mem... which never leave the territory where they ...rn, and which replace the winged males or ...s whenever a community does not find, in ...m, a true king or queen

...ese complementary kings or viceroys ... before winter, their mates live on, ...ved but still maternal, till at least the next ...er



Termite Nests or Mounds

Bees

...ny centuries have passed since men ...istened to the humming of honey bees, ...found in the hive a symbol of strength ...ty From Aristotle's time till now na... ...ts have been studying the life of bees ...it exhausting either its facts or its sug... ...s The society is very large and com... ...t very stable and successful The ... life gives one the impression of an old-...shed business in which all contingen-...ave been so often experienced that they ... to cause hesitation or friction There ...ed much mortality, some apparent ... and the constant recurring adven-...f migration, but though hive may war ... hive, intercivic competition has prac-...ceased and the life proceeds smoothly ... the harmony and effectiveness of a perfected organisation The mother-bee or queen by her prolific egg laying (sometimes 2,000 to 3000 eggs a day) increases or restores the community, but she is in no sense the ruler of the hive, being the least intelligent and the most subordinate member of the whole community The sustained life of the hive is in the hands of the worker-bees, who in brains, in activity, and general equipment are greatly superior to their queen It is they who, when the old hive becomes too populous, decide that a greater part of its inhabitants should leave and set up house keeping for themselves, they select those who should join the migrating party, and give the signal for the departure of the swarm and command the old queen to accompany it, leaving her ancient realm to the charge of a younger and more vigorous successor The drones, or males, though numerous, are ordinarily very sluggish, and only one of them, fleet and vigorous beyond his fellows, will pair with a queen in the nuptial flight, himself to die soon after,—saved at least from the expulsion and massacre which await the residue of the sex when supplies run short in autumn Thus, though wise laws are made, ingenious devices originated and complex works carried through triumphantly in the face of unforeseen difficulties, there is no central guiding intelligence at all in the hive-life

The combs are wonderful structures According to Mr Cheshire, they consist of

"Rows of rooms unsurpassably suitable for feeding and nurturing the larvae, for giving safety and seclusion during the mystic sleep of pupahood, for encouraging the weary worker seeking rest, and for safely warehousing the provisions, ever needed by the numerous family and by all during the winter's siege Corridors run between giving sufficient space for the more extensive quarters of the prospective mother, and affording every facility to the busy throng walking on the ladders the edges of their apartments supply while the exactions of modern hygiene are fully met by air in its native purity sweeping past the doorway of every inhabitant (20 000 to 30,000 individuals and 10 000 grubs) of the insect city

Not only is fresh air continually provided for the bees, young and old, but a fairly brisk air-current is always maintained through the honey-combs to carry off the heavy vapour given off by the maturing honey In addition to this, both young brood and maturing honey require a high and equable temperature for their development, so that the air must be warmed before it reaches the nurseries and brewing quarters of the hive

During the winter months, the natural motive power of the warm air given off by the clustering bees is sufficient to create the gentle air-circulation then alone needful But in warm weather, mechanical ventilation is needed , to effect this, gangs of bees are stationed at the hive entrance, both inside and out, whose duty it is to fan the air in different directions according to the position taken up The combined result of this fanning system is to draw in air at one side and to expel it on the other, after it has made the whole circuit of the interior of the hive The bees forming the squads are constantly being changed



A QUEEN CELL HANGING ON THE EDGE OF THE HIVE

As soon as a swarm is decided upon important preparations engage the attention of the workers in order to provide a successor for the old queen which is to be sent away with the swarm Queen cells are made of generous size at places on the edge of the comb so as to ensure abundant space and fresh air and in the centre of each cell is laid a small egg from which after three days emerges a grub This grub is immediately deluged by the workers with a thick glistening, jelly-like substance upon which it feeds and grows at an amazing rate At the end of five days the richly-fed grub grows to the size of, and largely exceeds in weight, a fully developed queen The superfeeding is now stopped, and the large cell sealed over The grub changes to a chrysalis, and becomes a fully developed Queen-bee in about a fortnight's time, ready to take up the important duties that lie before her

If the swarm has issued, the young queen is allowed to emerge from the cell, but if on account of unfavourable weather the issue of the swarm is delayed, a check is placed upon the ardour of the young princess by the directing powers of the colony From the moment the preparations for her success or become an accomplished fact, the old Mother bee grows daily more restless and suspicious Left to herself, she would long have torn down the queen-cell and destroyed its occupant But the vigilance of the guard at this time is redoubled , all hostile approaches of the old queen are sedulously foiled, and at the same time, the attempts of the young one to break from her prison are frustrated A hole is bored in the side of the cell through which she is fed , but she is retained a captive until the swarm is gone To guard against the new queen meeting with death or some mishap during her development, the invariable policy of rearing more than one queen is adopted , but only one Mother-bee is allowed to exist in a normal hive As soon, therefore, as the workers of the colony find themselves possessed of a new queen capable of attending to all duties of a queen they withdraw the guards placed around the surplus queen-cells, and allow the new ruler to work her natural will upon them This she does with fierce alacrity, breaking down the cell-walls, and putting her royal sisters at once to the sword



A LIVING CHAIN
Bees forming themselves into a cluster for wax-generat[ing]

Over the broad combs the queen now incessantly wanders about laying eggs in empty

Sometimes she lays eggs in the small ...ker cells, and sometimes in the large ...ne cells; the former develop into Worker-... and the latter into Drones Therefore, ... Mother-bee, in addition to the power of producing an enormous number of fertile ... for years in succession, has also this ...ther astonishing faculty,—that she can ... three totally different kinds of eggs at ... changing from one variety to the other ... when and where it pleases her There ... doubt of the marvel of this, nor of the ...stery and even when we arrive at an ...derstanding of how it all comes about, ...ugh the seemingly miraculous side of the ...tter disappears, we find ourselves face to ... with a greater marvel than ever

Wasps

Among the wasps, the male rarely lives ... many hours after his wedding or nuptial ...ght which usually happens about the com-...mencement of the winter season The queen ... alighting to the ground appears to feel ... and finding a suitable place, such as ... crevice in the bark of a tree or a split ... the wooden work of some building or its ... goes to sleep for about five months ... she remains dormant throughout winter ... wakes up about the middle of April, ... a little dazed and stiff, and coming ... her hiding place, she warms herself ... about an hour in the sun This appears ...vate her, for she soon becomes active, ... her jaws, brushes her legs and ... and starts on her motherly duties of ... a thriving city with perhaps as ... as fifty thousand inhabitants—all her ...

... flies about visiting old and broken ... until she discovers suitable building ... for the city which she has to esta-... As soon as she is able to locate such ... she flies again and decides ... spot where she is to construct her ... the selected place requires any ... she immediately proceeds to do it; ... easily observe her doing this duty ... now and then she comes out of ... carrying each time something in ...uth—a scrap of dried nutshell, a bit ...or seed, and not infrequently a ...which she drops outside.

... the cleaning is done, she quickly ... her toilet (which is always an im-...matter with a wasp) and proceeds to ... building material bit by bit This is turned by mastication into a pulp and first used to form a stout little 'papier-mache' pillar attached to a projecting portion in the roof of the chamber—for the wasp builds the roof of its home first Then to the end of this footstalk, a cap of the same material is added about half an inch in diameter To the underside of this cap four cells are attached, and in this manner the first stage in a new wasp city is built In each of these four cells an egg is laid by the queen-wasp, and other cells are added until a layer of cells is formed each with an egg deposited in it Meanwhile the eggs which were laid first hatch out, and the queen feeds them on chopped insects and vegetable food which she has to find and prepare In the course of three weeks, the grubs which emerge from the first four eggs grow so large as to completely fill up their cells They then seal up their cells them-selves with a white cap, after which they trouble their mother no more In ten days' time these grubs change into worker-wasps and emerge out of the cells by cutting them



THE THREE CLASSES OF WASP FOUND IN EACH NEST.

In the centre is the Female or queen noticeable for her superior size On the left is the male or drone with his longer feelers, and on the right is the active little worker

open with their sharp jaws By the time this happens, the paper-making powers of the queen-wasp decline, and this work is taken up by the four young daughters, who though sexually imperfect and smaller in size, are like her in all other respects, for they can build new cells and tend the young just as well as she Day by day new workers appear, and soon the queen does nothing but deposit eggs in the cells as rapidly as they are built by the workers

Both the queen and the worker-wasps are endowed by nature with some wonder-fully made tools to carry on the nest-building function The tiny shreds of wood bitten off from a wooden paling by means of the jaws are worked up in the complex machinery of

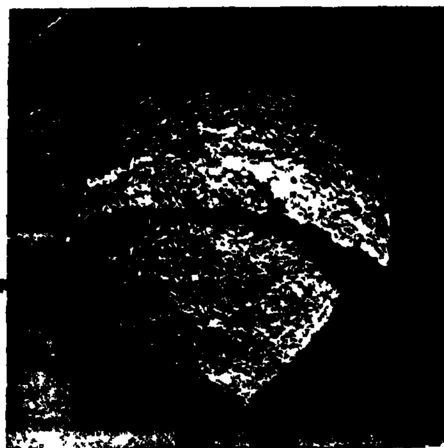
the mouth and mixed with a gummy secretion, until at last a paper-pulp is produced which is then spread out into a thin layer and added either to the outer walls of the city or to the tiers of cells within. Just how the paper is manufactured, and what tools are employed in its production, we do not quite understand, as the machinery of the mouth-parts is rather complex, and it would be out of place here to enter into the details of structure of the biting horny jaws (mandibles), or of the delicate transparent four-lobed tongue to the sides of which is attached a pair of small jointed feelers, or of the sensory six-jointed complex feelers outside the tongue. Suffice it to say that whatever work the wasp has to perform, whether it is carrying a little stone out from the building site of the nest, biting through strong roots, manufacturing paper pulp, robbing the orchard, or stealing tiny portions of sweets from the kitchen or the confectioner's shop which it sometimes prefers to its more lawful prey, the flies—is done by these tools.



Interior of a Wasp's Nest

So the city grows apace; new tiers are suspended to those above by short pillars until several floors are made. Some of the nests are of immense size—the one placed in the Calcutta museum a short time ago belonging to a species of tree-wasps measures more than three feet in diameter, and consists of over a dozen tiers. Towards the end of summer, the wasp city is at the height of its glory, food is abundant, and thousands of busy citizens are extremely active. About this time too some very large cells are built in the lower tiers and extra food is supplied to the grubs that hatch within them. Then there comes a terrible blow to the community, the vitality of the queen-wasp becomes exhausted and she can no longer deposit eggs and the workers soon find themselves idle having no new grubs to feed. When this happens the large cells are cut open and from them emerge a host of young queens, while at the same time from other cells appear their suitors—slender-bodied male wasps with very long feelers. In the course of a few days the mates are selected, and the pairs leave the nest, accompanied by some workers never to return.

A good many of the workers still remain in the nest, but they appear to go mad. Their sole occupation consists in pulling out the half-developed grubs from their cells and leaving them at the entrance of the nest to perish. Several ridiculous explanations have been given of this action. It is not infrequently attributed to a merciful instinct on the part of the workers who, realising that with the approach of the coming cold weather they will not be able to rear their charges, terminate their suffering in this way. The better explanation is perhaps one of sanitation. Until late in the year there are still queens and males to emerge, so the last service rendered by the workers to their race is the removal of these grubs, so that the sexual individuals may mature in a healthy atmosphere. When all the grubs are removed from the cells the workers forsake the nest, and having no home ties or young to feed, they become freebooters, giving themselves over to orgies in any warm kitchen or sweetmeat seller's



Nest of the Tree Wasp

The photograph is twice the actual size

shop where they can scent savoury food Even if they escape the hands of the cook or the shopkeeper their time is now short; for having deserted their nest, they find little shelter, and sooner or later, wet and cold overtake them

Therefore, in the early history of a wasp hive, there are two kinds of individuals only - the queen and her daughters The third kind, the male, appears at the end of summer—when the city is at the zenith of its glory, and when certain marriageable daughters have been born to the community from which he can select a wife His function in life having been fulfilled, he perishes, together with all the busy workers of the city in which he was born Only the young queens are able to survive the winter and become the mothers of new communities Their husbands never see the thousands of citizens of which they are the fathers, indeed they never see the beginning and early stages of a city at all

The queen-wasp is not nearly so aggressive as the workers, and much less likely to sting, the barbs on her darts are often very imperfectly developed A worker-wasp may lose its life while stinging an enemy, owing to its darts adhering, but the queen, in the interests of the race, is more protected, and uses her sting for its true original function, in egg-laying The ovipositor of the worker-wasp, having largely lost its original function is now developed into a complex weapon of defence, and is also used for paralysing living prey by means of its poison. The male wasp is harmless in this respect

Thus we see that in its social economy the wasp is as marvellous as the bee.

Ants

Of the four groups of social insects mentioned above, adaptive plasticity attains its boldest and richest expression in the ants They occupy a unique position in the insect world on account of their dominance as a group, as is shown first, in their high degree of variability exhibited in the great number of their species, sub species and varieties, second, in their numerical ascendancy in individuals; third, in their wide distribution over the earth; fourth, in their remarkable longevity—and colonies often outlive a generation of men; fifth, in their abandonment of certain over-specialised modes of life from which the other social insects seem not to have been able to emancipate themselves; and sixth, in their manifold relationships with plants and other animals—man included. Sir John Lubbock has well said that

> "If we judge animals by their intelligence as evidenced in their actions, it is not the guerilla and the chimpanzee, but the bee, and, above all, the ant which approach nearest to man"

Indeed, the resemblances between men and ants are so very conspicuous that they have been noted even by the aboriginal thinkers Folk-lore, and primitive poetry, and philosophy show the ants as an abiding source of similes expressing the fervid activity and co-operation of men Although these similes have become trite from repetition, the scientific student can hardly free himself from the many anthropomorphisms which they suggest He is forced to admit that the social and psychical ascendency of ants among invertebrates constitutes a very striking example of convergent development The palaeontologist may be inclined to admit that this convergence has a deeper significance, that it may have been due, in fact, since ants and mammals seem to make their appearance simultaneously in mesozoic times, to some peculiar transitory conditions that favoured the birth of forms destined to dominance through extraordinary psychical endowment What these conditions were we have but the slenderest hope of ever knowing. Perhaps they may be conceived as having favoured psychical mutations which are not only more remarkable but also more obscure than the physical mutations now engrossing the attention of biologists Be this as it may, there is certainly a striking parallelism between the development of human and ant societies as we shall see later on.

Life History

Before we direct our attention to some of the more extraordinary ant colonies, let us examine the typical life history of these insects, for, with few exceptions, the general life of one community is very similar to that of any other.

An ant's nest may be built above or below ground; in hollow trees; in plant galls; in decaying wood—in fact, no situation may be said to be wholly unsuitable for a nest if the right kind of ant is at hand to make use of it. The mating of the sexes as a whole centres in the males and females In those species in which one or the other of the sexual forms are wingless, the mating must take place within the nest or on the ground outside. But, when both sexes are

winged, mating nearly always takes place in the air; in fine summer weather, the males and young queens take to nuptial flight. When the hour for this draws near, a strange excitement pervades the ranks of workers. In some species, even the blind and etiolated ones venture out into the sunlight and accompany the males and females to the entrance of the nest. The winged forms move about in tremulous indecision, but, finally venture forth, run about on the stones or climb about on the grass blades till they have filled their trachea with a plentiful supply of oxygen. Then they spread their wings, and are soon lost to view, rising in the air they glitter like sparks, pale into curling smoke and are lost to view high in the air. "Sometimes the swarms of a whole district have been noticed to unite their countless myriads, and, seen at a distance, produce the effect resembling the flashing of the Aurora Borealis, or that of rainbow hues in the spray of laughing waterfalls." During this flight of love, mating takes place, and their evolutions so far as they can be observed, resemble those of the honey-bee so aptly described by Maeterlinck,

'She drink with her wings, obeying the law of the race that chooses her lover, and enacts that the strongest alone shall attain her in the solitude of the other, rises still and, for the first time in life, the blue morning air rushes into her stigmata, singing its song, like the blood of heaven in the myriad tubes of the tracheal sacs, nourished on space that fill the centre of the body. She rises still. A region must be found unhaunted by birds, else that might profane the mystery. She rises still, and already the ill assorted troop below are dwindling and falling asunder. The feeble, infirm, the aged, unwelcome, ill-fed who have flown from inactive or impoverished cities, these renounce the pursuit and disappear in the void. Only a small indefatigable cluster remain, suspended in infinite. She summons her wings for one final effort, now the chosen of incomprehensible forces has reached her, has seized her and bounding aloft with united impetus, the ascending spiral of their intertwined flight whirls for one second in the hostile madness of love."

It must be noted, however, that there are several important differences between the nuptial flight of ants and honey bees. In the case of the bees, there is the single female for whom the males compete whereas among the ants there may be hundreds of females. Moreover the pairs of ants often descend to the earth in copula and always separate without the female tearing away the male genitalia. Nor does the female ant as a rule return to the colony in which she was born. In both cases the male dies soon after mating.

On descending to the earth, the first care of the fertilised female is to divest herself of her wings, henceforth useless to her. This she accomplishes either by pulling them off with her legs and jaws or by rubbing them off against grass blades, pebbles etc. She is now an isolated being restricted to a purely terrestrial existence. During her life in the parental nest, she had stored her body with food in the form of fat and bulky wing muscles. With this physiological endowment and with an elaborate inherited disposition, called instinct, she proceeds to establish a colony out of her own substance. She begins by excavating a small burrow, and enlarging it into a chamber at the blind end, closes the entrance and shuts herself away from the outside world. This engineering feat (in the case of one proceeding alone) causes the ant much tribulation. She often wears away all her mandibular teeth, rubs the hair from the body, and mars her burnished or sculptured armour. At length, bruised and scratched, the queen, in her cloistered seclusion, passes days, weeks, or even months waiting for the eggs to mature in her ovaries. When these eggs have reached their full size at the expense of her fat body and degenerating



NEST OF CAMPONOTUS RUFIPES ON A TREE.
After von Thring

wing-muscles, they are laid in little packets after having been fertilised with a few of the many thousand spermatozoa stored up in her spermatheca during the nuptial flight. These are nursed till they hatch as minute larvae or grubs, and are nourished by the queen from its saliva derived from the fat stored in her body and eventually developed into undersized workers (workers minor), whose first care is to break away into the outer world and to proceed with the enlargement of the nest. The newly hatched workers bring food for the queen, and she regains some of her original plumpness, but remains all the time perhaps for 15 years a lonely self-sacrificing egg-laying machine.

In an incredibly short time, the community is in full swing. The ill-formed original workers are replaced by more lusty individuals from a different kind of eggs laid in clusters and not in cells like those of bees and wasps. The greatest care is bestowed upon them by the workers, and they are covered with saliva by frequent licking which causes them to stick together in batches. This renders their transport easier either from chamber to chamber on account of the variation of temperature and moisture from hour to hour, or to a place of safety in case of an accident to the nest.

The grubs which hatch from the later eggs of the queen, (or queens) are soft-bodied, blind, legless, helpless little creatures. Their nurses supply them with nourishment from their own mouths consisting of partly digested food, or masticated insects caught by the [illegible], portions of seeds or other [illegible] matter. For a month or [illegible] the nursing is continued [illegible] in order that the grubs may develop into healthy well-grown [illegible]; it is necessary that they should be surrounded during their various stages of growth with an atmosphere of constant temperature and humidity. To bring this about the nurses remove their charges from place to place within the nest and they are arranged in [illegible] according to their ages. The nurses of one Texas species [illegible] the habit of bringing their charges to the surface after nightfall and slowly promenading up and down with them after the manner of human beings.

At length the grubs reach the stage at which it is necessary to change into chrysalids, so the nurses embed them in the earth till they have spun their cocoon (the embedding is done so that the grubs may get some points of attachment for the silk), then they dig them up and store them in piles. Inside the cocoon the grub transforms into the adult insect, and when the changes are almost completed, the nurses once more come to the rescue, by splitting up the silken envelope, they remove the half-formed ant (*callow*) from within. The callow is helpless, its legs feelers and wings, if it be a winged form, are closely folded to its body; all these organs are cleaned, licked dry and unfolded by the diligent nurses. In short, they literally set the callow on its feet.

These immature callows soon develop into males or females, or soldiers as the case may be. The structure of the nests, the number of castes—that is to say, individuals modified in some special manner for the accomplishment of definite duties and the habits of the workers differ widely in the various species.

In some species, workers (normally a caste of non-reproductive females) of different ages perform different tasks foraging or housekeeping, fighting or nursing, as the case may be, and the division of labour is associated with difference of structure. Thus in the Sauba or Umbrella Ant of Brazil (Ecodoma cephalotes) so well described by Bates in his Naturalist on the Amazons, there are three



DRIVER ANTS ATTACK A SNAKE.

The snake is the Horned Viper and it was attacked whilst casting the skin. The ants covered every portion of its body. The snake struggled for a quarter of an hour but in the end was killed and finally eaten by the ants.

classes of workers. All the destructive labour of cutting six-pence like discs from the leaves of plants is done by individuals with small heads, while others with enormously large heads simply walk about looking on These *worker-majors* are not soldiers nor is there any need of supervising officers Bates thinks that they serve as passive instruments of protection to the real workers against the attack of insectivorous animals. The th[ird] order of workers includes very strange fello[ws] with the same kind of head as the work-majo[rs] have, but the front is clothed with ha[ir] instead of being polished, and they have in t[he] middle of the forehead a twin "simple ey[e]" which none of the others possess.

(To be conclud[ed])

THE ORIGIN OF THE HOLI FESTIVAL

BY PROF JOGES-CHANDRA RAY, M A, VIDYANIDHI

THE Holi festival of Northern India is known as Dol-Yatra in Bengal It is pre-eminently a festival of those who are devotees of Vishnu, whether known as Narayana or Krishna Well-to-do people have generally a separate pavilion specially built for the occasion, while others erect a temporary canopied structure for the purpose Early in the morning of the appointed day, the Full Moon day in the month of Phalguna, the deity is brought in his throne to the pavilion and placed there with his face turned to the south He is anointed and bathed, and, after the usual worship with flowers, touched with coloured powder. The throne is suspended by means of cords and rocked seven times Hence the name is Dol or swinging Sometimes he is carried in a procession in the afternoon amid great rejoicing, and coloured powder and water thrown on each other's person Thus ends the festival which is sometimes continued for a few days more In the preceding night, however, there is also rejoicing, though chiefly among children A bonfire is made in the evening in which a figure called 'meda' or ram is burnt This ceremony is known as 'Charchari' in Sanskrit, and 'Chanchari' in Bengali

There are various legends connected with the festival, and practice differs in different parts of the country It is generally believed to be a spring festival, occurring as it does now in the spring month of Phalguna It is to celebrate the advent of joyful spring after cold weather, and the name, Vasanta-Utsava sometimes given to it associated with hilarity, and, in parts of India, with coars[e] revelry among the lower classes, has lent col[our] to the view

But there are serious difficulties in th[e] way of accepting this origin Firstly, it fails t[o] explain the practice of burning a bonfire o[n] the night preceding Holi into which th[e] supposed figure of a ram is thrown W[e] can understand the enjoyment of a swing o[n] a full-moon night in spring and merry-m[a]king with coloured powder and water, bu[t] why should there be fire also ? In Maha[ra]shtra and other parts of the country, th[e] full-moon night is known as Hutasani, mea[n]ing the night on which a sacrificial offe[r]ing is made to fire The character of th[e] festival is thus completetly changed into a fir[e] festival Secondly, Dol-Yatra is not an isolate[d] festival occurring once a year in spring I[t] has its counterpart in the rainy seaso[n] exactly six months after It is then know[n] as Hindol in Sanskrit, and Jhulan in Bengal which, being derived from, the same root a[s] Dol, also means 'a swing But who would ever think of a swinging pastime under incessant torrents of rain in the month o[f] Sravana ? Thirdly, how to account for th[e] origin of another Dol in Chaitra, a mont[h] after Holi Though this is not as popular a[s] the first Dol, it is not without authority Fourthly, Phalguna, the month in which Hol[i] is kept, was not a spring month in ancient times, and, were it not for the precession of the equinoxes described later on, would have been now a winter month, unsuitable for holding carnival. Fifthly, we should remember that there is a festivity a month after Hol[i]

in which Madana, the Indian cupid, is worshipped If Holi were in origin an amorous sport of Sri Krishna, one should have considered it superfluous in view of the Madana festival Sixthly, if Holi were of recent date, the time appointed for it appears to have been ill chosen, since Phalguna is cold in Upper India where the festival is extremely popular and where it probably originated

All these difficulties disappear if one recalls the history of our calendar and takes Holi to be an anniversary in memory of the New Year's Day sacrifice which used to be performed by the Vedic Rishis of old The event was so remote in time that its origin was forgotten, and various legends grew up in course of time to account for the celebration Yet, as will be presently seen, there is a substratum of truth in them, garbed though they are with ignorant fancy of various times This festival, a reminiscence of the commencement of a new year, is not a solitary instance of its kind. It is preceded by the observance of 'Maha-Siva-ratri', the Great Good Eve, a fortnight before Holi, and these two are analogous in significance to Rasa-Yatra and Deepali in the month of Kartika when a new calendar began The third calendar, and the present one began in Asvina with Kojagari and Mahalaya and analogues in Chaitra in which there is again a Siva-ratri followed by a Dol and Madana festival

There are numerous instances of feasts in our calendar which appear to have been appointed for the purpose of marking astronomical cycles, such as Yuga, Manvantara, Kalpa, Samkranti, &c, and Durga Puja in Asvina and also six months after in Chaitra appears to have originated with a cycle of astronomers The fixing of the dates of the feasts was neither accidental nor fanciful The wise men of old took advantage of astronomical and historical events and enjoined religious observance, may be to commemorate them, just as they selected picturesque places for shrines and pilgrimage

The Dol-Yatra, literally the swing festival, is one of these Its clue is found both in the legends and the date which is the Full moon night in the month of Phalguna. It is well known, the Aryans counted days by nights as we do even now throughout India in the name of 'tithi' It is a lunar day, just as the months Phalguna, Chaitra &c, are all lunar

At first each month commenced with a Full moon, and the names of the months were derived from those of the constellations which rose with the Full moon. Thus the name of the month, Phalguna, meant the month of 30 nights beginning with the full-moon occurring in or about the constellation, Phalguni. There are two constellations, first and second which bear this name Long afterwards, for some reason or another, the beginning of the month was changed from Full moon to New moon, thus transferring the Full moon night to the middle of each month. But as the names of the months were not changed, the two systems of counting, though still in use, have often been a source of confusion

The Aryans had of course a year, depending upon the annual motion of the sun, divided into two halves, the Ayana', consisting of 180 days each They particularly noticed the solstices with which are connected long and short nights, winter and summer; and the half-year, the Ayana, was the period from one solstice to the other The two equinoxes were also observed, and these two together with the two solstices gave the six seasons, three in each half-year

It was soon found that the twelve months consisting of 354 days did not complete the year In some years there were thirteen full moons, and in course of time, two or more months in excess of the number calculated at the rate of twelve per year. As a consequence it became impossible to know the seasons from the names of the months and to perform agricultural operations in right time After a great deal of anxious consideration, the Rishis devised the system of omitting the extra months and displayed the marvellous ingenuity of practically converting the lunar months into solar and making them represent twelve equal divisions of the ecliptic

The four cardinal points of the ecliptic would have been now in their respective months but for what Western astronomers call the precession of the equinoxes, or, as we say, of the solstices They tell us that the points are not fixed like the stars, but continuously move backwards, though very slowly, at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years As a consequence, each point falls back by a month in about 2300 years For instance, autumnal equinox, which now happens early in Asvina, was not there before It was at one time in Kartika, at a remoter time in Margasirsha, and so on, making a complete revolution in about 26,000 years.

The two equinoxes are always six months apart, and so are the solstices These four are

separated from one another by an interval of three months. Hence if,

(1) autumnal equinox falls on Asvina full moon,
the vernal must fall on Chaitra ,,
winter solstice on Pausha ,,
summer on Ashadha ,,
(2) aut. equi in Kartika, wint sol in Magha
ver. ,, ,, Vaisakha, sum. ,, ,, Sravana
(3) aut equi on Margasirsha, wint sol in Phalguna
ver. ,, ,, Jyaishtha sum ,, ,, Bhadra

Let us now return to the main question

We have suggested that Dol-Yatra is a celebration of the New Year's Day of ancient times. If so, the year must have begun in Phalguna on the Full Moon night. But was this month counted the first month at any time of which we have any record? The question has been sufficiently answered in Tilak's *Orion* in which he has given many references from the Vedas to show that Phalguna was at one time the end and beginning of the year. Let us see which of the four points could fall in this month. The vernal equinox could not have occurred in the month, since it now happens in Chaitra, which was yet to come. For the same reason summer solstice is excluded. The autumnal equinox which now happens in Asvina may also be left out, since it implies an antiquity of about 12,000 years. The only point left is the winter solstice, and we know for certain that the ancients used to commence the year from winter solstice, that is, from the moment the sun began his northern course. But from what we have seen above, if the winter solstice was in Phalguna, the autumnal equinox must have been then in the month of Margasirsha. Hence we see that, roughly speaking, the seasons have receded since the time by at least two months. To be precise, the change takes us back to 3000 B. C., the beginning of the Kali-yuga.

It will be easy now to trace the origin of Jindol in the month of Sravana. Probably it used to be observed in Bhadra, which is the sixth month after Phalguna, and on account of change of calendar, probably due to the greater length of the first six solar months counted from Vaisakha, the festival came to be placed in Sravana. It is, however, clear that what happened to the sun in Phalguna had a counterpart in Sravana, when he was at the other solstice. And if any one observes the sun's journey, north and south, he will at once notice remarkable similarity with the to and fro motion of a pendulum, especially when the sun is observed in the meridian, the pendulum is only upside down, and the period of semi-oscillation six months. The swinging motion is perceived only at the time of return. Metaphorically, the sun is mounted on a swing. In this connection, the word, Yatra, is significant. It means motion or journey, and it is Dol-Yatra, the motion of a pendulum. As seen from high latitudes, the luminous orb appears low down in the sky in mid-winter, rising higher and higher every day and sending down coveted warmth and light and making the period pleasant and auspicious for all kinds of ceremonies. After reaching a certain point, still away from the zenith, it stops for a few days as if unable to decide whether to proceed onwards or to go back. The same thing happens when it arrives at the southern station, and these are the times when it appears to be rocking in a cradle.

But the sun has been ever doing the journey in this fashion, and what is there peculiar to the Dol Yatra to connect it with the mid-winter ceremony of ancient times? A complete answer is found in the legends and also in the Maha-Siva-Ratri observance on the fifteenth night preceding Dol. It will be remembered that when winter solstice was in Phalguna, the autumnal equinox was necessarily in Marga-sirsha. The latter month is commonly known in Bengal by its other name Agrahayana which literally means the first month of the year. It is also to be noted that while the names of all the months are derived from the names of twelve constellations, this name, agrahayana, is an exception, directly telling us the beginning of the year.

But it will be said that a year cannot have two beginnings, one in Phalguna and the other in Agrahayana. Yet we know both may be current at one and the same time and among the same people. For instance, we have in Bengal a civil year from Vaisakha 1st, and a religious year from Chaitra Sukla. Village people count the year sometimes from Pausha (mid-winter), sometimes from rains (Varsha, from which 'Varsha', the year), and even from Durga-puja (autumn). It was therefore not unusual to have two beginnings of the year according to the purpose of chronology. In the Geeta, Sri Krishna described himself as the first of everything that is counted, one of which is the month of Margasirsha.

The name of this month is derived from the constellation, Mrigasira or Orion, the great Hunter of Greek mythology. It has figured prominently in popular fancy, and a very large

number of legends has clustered round it Here was mighty Vritra of Vedic fame slain by Indra, and the grand sacrifice of Daksha destroyed by Rudra, the fearful, the head of Daksha being transformed into that of a goat or deer Here the demon, Ilvala by name, who used to assume the form of a ram to lure unweary Brahmanas to destruction was at last eaten and digested by the sage, Agastya The curious reader is referred to the History of Hindu astronomy in Bengali by the present writer for an explanation of these and many other stories connected with the striking figure of the constellation Purans, the repositories of popular tales of ancient times, have not forgotten to tell us that Holaka or Holika from which the name Holi has been given to Dol-Yatra, was a demoness who was burnt to death, because, according to one account, she used, like Putana, to eat children The name is, however, not found in ancient literature, and Sanskrit lexicons do not mention it It was probably a vernacular name like Dhundha of Maharashtra, meaning terrible, and perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit name, Ilvaka or Hilvaka the three stars in Orion's belt And well might the people dread and abuse her, for with her appearance on the eastern horizon at sunset came diseases, chiefly respiratory, to which children succumbed, and Vedic Rishis prayed to India, that they might outlive a hundred Sarat (autumn) What Margasirsha was seasonally at one time, the month of Kartika became later, and received the notorious appellation of 'Yama-damshtra", the jaws of death

It was therefore not surprising that Sri-Krishna while a child had to suffer from an attack of Putana, a demoness who disguised as a woman used to poison children, and Ayurvedic writers included her among the infantile diseases It is also just possible that the idea of celebrating Durga-puja in the month of Asvina, as a mother protecting her children against a dark-skinned Asur, terrible in the form of a wild buffalo, originated in this way

According to another account, Holika is plainly described as a sister of Sambat, the year (from which the era of that name), and the old year is cremated in order to usher in the new In Eastern Bengal, Holaka is described as an old woman who is burnt to death The mist of uncertainty can no longer cloud our vision as to the origin of Dol-Yatra. Probably bonfire meant also rejoicing on the New Year's Eve as it does in Deepali, though unfortunately it is a moon-lit night at the time of Dol. Possibly the illumination used to take place in Marga-sirsha, and it is surprising, that, a bonfire in the name of burning a meda (ram) is sometimes made in parts of Western Bengal in this month on the occasion of 'Navanna' ceremony, the feast of first partaking of new rice after harvesting.

When the New-Moon month was introduced, the year no longer began with the Full moon in Phalguna It began with the preceding New Moon, and the night received the name of Maha-Siva-ratri In Bengal, we have been using a solar calendar and therefore attaching importance to Samkranti—the day on which the sun enters a sign of the zodiac But to those who follow the luni-solar calendar and count days by tithi, the beginning of a lunar month is equally important As there are twelve lunar months in a year, they count twelve Siva-ratri, each occurring just one night before New Moon, and may therefore be called New Month's Eve One of these is Maha-Siva-ratri, the Great Eve, because it is a New Year's Eve also We need not trouble ourselves with the question whether this eve belongs to Phalguna or the preceding month of Magh. The same question arises with the Dewali night, which was surely the New Year's Eve when autumnal equinox fell in the month of Kartika A fortnight later there is Rasa-Yatra, said to be a sportive circular dance of Sri Krishna The night, Rasa-purnima is, however, also known as Tripuri-Purnima, on which Tarakasura, an Asur or demon formed of Taraka or stars, was slain by Kartikeya, the General of the gods (Deva-senapati), and foster son of Krittaka, the Pleiades It is needless to say what all these mean and who the Asur was He was of course killed when the autumnal equinox had receded from Marga-sirsha full moon to Kartika full moon, and the winter solstice from Phalguna to Magh about 2300 B C making the latter month pure and auspicious even for leaving this world as renowned Bhishma did after waiting on his bed of arrows for fifty-eight days In another account, the name of the Asur was Mahishasura, the same as is represented in Durga-puja and killed by the goddess She rides on a lion, since the constellation, Phalguni, is in the zodiacal sign, Leo, whence the people of Madras who follow the solar calendar call the Holi festival, Simga, the festival of the Simha or Leo month, exactly as the people of Behar

call it Phagua from its happening in the month of *Phalguna* It is curious to observe how the same old story invented in ancient times has been preserved, though the occasion which gave it prominence no longer existed In the fire festival of Dol-Yatra, the Asur has got the name, Mendrasur, obviously Medhrasura, an asur in the shape of 'medhra' or ram For, we are told he could assume any form he wished We now see why Padma Puran directs the burning of an animal fit for sacrifice, such as a goat or ram In parts of Northern Bengal, a ram is actually placed in a miniature house made of bamboo and straw evidently for roasting, though taken out just before the house is set on fire The animal is afterwards killed and its flesh distributed among the assembled crowd

In parts of South Bengal, a sweetmeat, of the shape of a storied and pinnacled temple called 'math', is sold in large quantities in fairs held during the Dol festival This appears to be an imitation of the fire-altar which the Vedic sacrificers used to build with bricks for the purpose of producing and keeping fire previous to actual sacrifice We see further that the proper time for Dol is just before sun-rise on the following day, the commencement of the new year, and that the deity has to be placed with his face to the south, perhaps because the sun has not yet turned to the north

The Full Moon day in Sravana, when the second Dol takes place, usually goes by the name of Rakhi Purnima On this day the deity is given a new sacred thread, and in imitation all the four classes of people wear a thread to protect them from evil spirits in the next year There is difference of opinion as to the day for this festival, some appointing it in the month of Bhadra and reminding us of the ancient calendar when the summer solstice took place in this month The sacred thread is no other than the endless 'aditi', the ecliptic, which encircles the sun anew who is supposed to pursue a new path on the completion of the old

There is yet a third Dol This takes place in the bright half of Chaitra The exact date varies. There is no bonfire, as there is none in Sravana Dol This would have been inappropriate, since both of these had no connection with Mriga-sira The Chaitra Dol goes by the name of Phula Dol, or flower Dol, and is really a continuation of the spring festival of Vedic times, the memory of which is preserved in Sanskrit dramas such as Ratnavali The name, Dol, **applied to it must have been a later introducti when the original significance of the wo had been completely forgotten**

From the dates given above, it must n be supposed that Dol-Yatra or Rasa-Yatra h been our festival since the remote tim implied by them We are told by Ved scholars that the Rishis used to perfor sacrifices at the times of full moon and ne moon and of solstices and equinoxes The were other sacrifices performed at long i tervals There were sacrificial sessions one of which, we are told, the sun's annu course was imitated On the day precedi a sacrifice, the fire-altar used to be got rea and fire kindled by friction of two piec of dry wood The sacrifices served vario purposes, one of which was to rememb the calendar The art of writing was unknow and the daily affairs of life could not carried on without a calendar The sacrific became rarer in later times, possibly throu the influence of Jaina and Buddhistic doctrin during the rationalistic period of our histor but the memory persisted and assumed ne forms according to the temperament and e vironment of the people That Durga-puja really a 'Yajna' or sacrifice is plainly to in the ritual texts relating to it, and as th Vedic sacrifices were communal feasts, th puja has become a national festival in Be gal Similar is the case with Dol which h replaced a Vedic sacrifice, the memory which though fading is still preserved in th roasting of mutton, though in name In Be gal, Durga-puja is a puja among those wh adopt the cult of Sakti, or primal energ In the rest of India, it is unknown in th Bengal form It is there as Sarasvati-pu or some other and instead of anim sacrifices as in Bengal, offerings of flowe and fruit are made Dol-Yatra has bee a festival among those who adopted th cult of Vishnu, the all-pervading energ sustaining the universe and cannot therefo have anything to do with destruction of lif On the contrary, humane feelings toward all creatures have been the predominant fea ture of Vishnu worship In parts of Wester Bengal, a small effigy of ram is made of ric paste as a substitute of a living ram ar burnt, reminding us of the use of rice cak or 'purodasa,' in sacrifices in later times the place of animal of more ancient ritual

From the explanation of the origin of th Dol festival as given here, it will not b correct to jump to the conclusion that it sun worship As seen in the worship o

deities Hindu religion is undoubtedly symbolical. The three steps by which Vishnu has encompassed the three worlds are represented by the three steps of the sun, the morning, noon, and evening. Symbols may vary to some extent, and Salagrama, the round black piece of stone, is a variation of the same symbol

No human thought is free from metaphors, and no religious worship is free from symbolism Whether God has made man after His image or not, it is certain man has made God after him, and whether we call Him father or mother, friend or master, it is all the same symbolical It is equally true that common people in all countries often confound a symbol with the thing for which it stands It was on this account that Hindu sages did not approve of symbolical worship But as the symbol, Cross, has continued to represent Christianity, and to be an idol to many, so the sun has been a symbol from remote past to represent cosmical evolution, and every striking phenomenon brought about by the sun has been made an occasion to worship the Ordainer of the laws of creation. Dol-Yatra represents a cycle, albeit a short one, of a succession of natural events with which our life is interwoven, and has therefore been made a token of remembrance of all cycles known to man

When, however, Srikrishna was recognized as an incarnation of Vishnu, the sun was forgotten, but his acts were transferred to him. For instance, Srikrishna, while an infant, is reputed to have broken a pair of Arjuna trees and upset a heavily loaded cart And the people wondered at the feats, which required superhuman strength to accomplish, forgetting the facts that Arjuna is another name of Phalguna, and the constellation, Rohini, has been from its form called a cart in astronomical literature Stripped of the allegory, the sun is represented to have left the pair of constellations, Phalguni, which by their stars look like erect trees, and consequently the constellation, Rohini also, these two being situated just at the places of the solstice and equinox remembered in Dol It is not possible to explain every incident in the life of Srikrishna during his boyhood Thus, in spite of the poetic veneer unconsciously laid upon his acts, many have been detected not to fit well with his after career

The natural cravings of man for love and amusement found, however, imaginary satisfaction in them. Dol Yatra was confounded with spring festival, and red-coloured powder and water added to complete the picture. There is nothing strange, nothing incongruous, in the playful sports of the Beloved, who has ever been drawing His creatures to Him in ways which He alone knows And Vaishnavas are perfectly right when they say that Dol and Ras Yatra are his eternal sports, the why and the wherefore of which will ever remain beyond the ken of mankind

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujrati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.*]

ENGLISH

THE SUPPLEMENT TO THE MIRAT-I-AHMADI *Translated by Syyid Nawab Ali, M A, and C N Seddon, I C S. (Gaekwad Series, Baroda, 1924) Pp. xiv+276 with 2 full-page pictures*

This history of Gujrat was written by Ali Muhammad Khan, the last of the Mughal diwans of the province, in 1750-60, just before its annexation by the Marathas Its value lies in the fact that "Ali Muhammad had exceptional opportunities, he writes of things he had himself observed, he was not only contemporary with the events described but himself took an important part in them" He has an additional merit, too, which is possessed by no other Persian historian of India, *viz.*, that he

ives imperial proclamations and regulations in the original with a copiousness which is of the highest service to the historical student. There is nothing like this, except in some of the historical works produced in Egypt in the Fatimid period, as noticed by Karl Becker in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

The first part of Ali Muhammad's huge work gives the history of Gujrat from the earliest Muslim period to the Maratha conquest. The second part consists of a detailed topographical account of Gujrat, its cities, castes, temples, mosques, the lives of Muslim saints and the Mughal administrative machinery. This second part has been rendered into English (paraphrased in parts, summarised in others) in the volume under review.

The edition leaves much to be desired, partly no doubt because the editors worked on the hopelessly corrupt lithographed edition of the Persian text, but also because they have not used the other sources available to the historical student today. It is very far from being a definitive edition of the *Mirat* such as Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* or Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*. The notes and explanations are not marked by scholarly accuracy and fulness. For example on page 215 footnote they refer only to Gladwin's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* for the revenue of Gujrat and seem to be unaware of the fact that fuller and more accurate information on the subject is available in Thomas's *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* and J. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzib* (the latter of which gives extracts from the *Khulasat* of 1695 and the *Chahar Gulshan* of about 1720.)

As regards the translation, the trouble of the editors has been that they had to make their version from the very incorrect lithographic edition published by the Fath Karim Press, Bombay, which has several gaps in it. A MS (not autograph but belonging to the author) was found at Cambay too late to be used in this edition. The two translators should note that there is another old and very distinctly written MS of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* with extremely useful corrections and glosses in the margin, in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, which is described in the colophon as in the author's own hand.

We are glad to learn that the Baroda Government are going to print the Persian text of the *Mirat* and also an English translation of the first or historical part of it. Care should be taken to consult the author's autograph noted above before these are sent to the press.

SCENES AND CHARACTERS FROM INDIAN HISTORY, DESCRIBED IN THE WORKS OF SOME OLD MASTERS *with notes by C. H. Payne* (*Oxford Univ. Press* 1925) *Pp. X+252, 6s net.*

This is an English reading-book containing ten extracts describing some remarkable persons and events of Indian history, such as Alexander's invasion (from Plutarch), Yuan Chwang's visit to the court of Harshavardhan (from Hui Li), Vasco da Gama's coming to Calicut (from Portuguese sources), Akbar (Du Jarric), Shivaji's coronation (from Fryer), the Court of Aurangzib (from Tavernier). These are all taken from contemporary writers, who alone (as Mr. Payne rightly observes) can give us the genuine *atmosphere and life of the periods* while the scientific historian often fails to reproduce these for us.

In choosing his sources, Mr. Payne has been guided by considerations of style and not of scholarly accuracy. Thus, for Plutarch he goes to Dryden's incorrect version (as patched and repaired by Clough) for the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to Stanislas Julien's primeval French translation (instead of the more modern rendering of Beal). Similarly he prefers Erskine and Leyden's translation of the *Babar-namah* (a translation *two* stages removed from the original) to Mrs. Beveridge's recent version made directly from the Turki text, with all the lacunae filled up,—his reason being that Mrs. Beveridge's style is not of a kind to attract the general reader (p. 123 n.)

The topics chosen are all attractive and the editor's own notes useful and learned.

SHIVAJI'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS. It had hitherto been held that Shivaji, the great founder of the Maratha nation was born on 6th April 1627. But the chronicle preserved in manuscript by the Jedhe family of landed magnates in the Poona district records that he was born on Falgun dark 3rd 1551 Shaka, corresponding to 19 February 1630 (New Style). The contemporary Sanskrit epic the *Shiva Bharat* says the same thing. Though there is evidence for the former date also and the question has not been finally decided by scholars, a party at Poona headed by Mr. Sadashiv Mahadev Divekar organised a Shivaji birth anniversary celebration at the fort of Shivner (his natal place) on the latter date last year. At this gathering papers learned and otherwise contributed by a wide circle of writers in and out of Maharashtra were read. A selection of these has been now printed in a volume of 356 pages by the Ithihas S. Mondal of Poona at the price of Rs. 4, with a beautiful card-board portrait of the hero in bas relief. The volume is one which no future historian of Shivaji can afford to neglect. In addition to marshalling *all* the facts and evidence known to the writers from a variety of sources and standpoints, some extremely rare works (like the Jedhe Chronicle, the *Rajvyavahar Kosh* &c) have been here reprinted. As many *Shakavalis* (chronicles kept by different families) as are known to exist in Maharashtra have been printed besides fresh contributions to our knowledge, such as Afzal Khan's letters, Shivaji's relations with the Portuguese from the Goa records (by three writers) a charitable grant (in Persian) by Jai Singh I, &c. We only miss here the balanced and critical discourse written by Mr. Wakaskar (of Baroda) on the date of the hero's birth which was printed in a journal in May last. Mr. Divekar deserves the support of all interested in Maratha history.

J. SARKAR

A FEW WORDS ON OUR FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH INDIA. *By Major Wingate, of the Bombay Engineers. First published in 1859 by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. Reprinted and published by Major B. D. Basu I. M. S. (Retd), Allahabad, 1926. Price six annas.*

We make the following extracts from this instructive publication. Most of what Major Wingate said in 1859 is true to this day in an even more intensely aggravated form.

"The exaction of a tribute from India, as a conquered country, would sound harsh and tyrannical in English ears, so the real nature of the

Indian contribution has been carefully, though possibly unwittingly, concealed from the British public, under the more inoffensive appellation of Home charges of the Indian Government.'

'Not only is it a fact that India has been acquired without the expenditure of a single shilling on the part of this country, but it is equally a fact that, so far from involving outlay, India has regularly paid to Great Britain a heavy tribute, which there is reason for thinking has not fallen far short of the almost incredible sum of a hundred millions sterling in the course of the present century!

"This enormous tribute, obtained without sacrifice of any kind is, then, one great and undeniable advantage derived by this country from its connection with India, but it is, by no means, the sole advantage. The funded debt of the Government of India, borrowed in India, is estimated at nearly sixty millions sterling, of which three-fifths, of thirty-six millions, is the property of our own countrymen. The whole, or mostly the whole of these thirty-six millions consists of investments by Europeans in India out of money made in that country, and constitute, therefore, a clear addition to British property, gained through our connection with India, as does also the property of our fellow countrymen invested in India in banks, houses, factories, and various other ways, which probably amounts to more than ten millions. And in addition to British investments made in India, we have or shortly shall have, no less than eighty-one millions raised in this country, on account of East Indian stock, deposits, bond debt debenture loans, Indian railways and public works, making the aggregate amount of British capital dependent on the preservation of our Indian empire, nearly one hundred and thirty millions sterling. * * *

'The problem then which the Indian financier and above all the Parliament and people of England are called upon to solve is not how to raise additional revenue from India for that to an adequate extent would be found to be at once ruinous and impossible—but, whether it is fair and just that the entire cost of upholding British supremacy over India, should be defrayed by the people of that country. Has our policy in India been determined out of pure, unselfish, and benevolent regard for the welfare of the people of that country and without the smallest regard for the manner in which it may affect our own country? Was this the principle which guided us in imposing prohibitive duties upon Indian manufactures imported into this country and merely nominal duties upon British manufactures imported into India? Was it out of pure regard for India that cotton exported to Great Britain from India, is exempt from duty, while it is taxed on exportation to all parts of the world besides? Was it Indian interests which dictated the fixing of import duties upon goods brought to India in British ships at one-half of the amount levied upon similar goods brought in ships of any other country? Were native interests solely concerned in the exemption of Europeans in India from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of criminal justice, by which native redress for British wrongdoing has been made a practical impossibility in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred? Was it out of consideration for the taxpaying Hindoo and Mahomedan, that the official Europeans in India was provided with a costly ecclesiastical establishment before anything was done for their education or enlightenment? Was it unselfish regard for the natives that dictated the policy of obtaining, upholding, and extending British dominion in the East, by means of taxes raised in India, in opposition to the rule obtaining in all other British dependencies, of providing for the costs of their military defence from the British Exchequer? And lastly, were the arrangements for defraying what is styled 'the home charges' out of the Indian revenues, under which nearly one hundred millions sterling of taxes collected in India, have been transferred to Great Britain in the course of the present century, devised for the purpose of benefiting the people of India alone? Let the candid reader thoughtfully and conscientiously answer these questions for himself, and then say whether British interests as well as Indian interests have not had a share in determining the course of our Indian policy.

'If, then, we have governed India, not merely for the natives of India, but also for ourselves, we are clearly blameable in the sight of God and man for having contributed nothing towards defraying the cost of that Government.

'We have there at this moment, an army of upwards of a hundred thousand British soldiers, which upholds the power and influence of Great Britain over the whole of Asia, and adds greatly to the status of our country, even among the nations of Europe. But for India, this large body of men would be thrown upon the labor market at home to the injury of the whole class of our laboring population while the very recruiting for the army of India, probably relieves us of poor-rates to the extent of a quarter of a million a year. By means of the army and revenues of India, this country has carried on wars and made conquests in all parts of Asia. Ceylon, Singapoor, Hong Kong, Aden, and Rangoon have all been so acquired. The first China war, the Afghan war the Burmese, and Persian wars, were chiefly fought with the resources of our Indian empire but, in pursuance of a British policy with which the interests of India were but remotely concerned." * * *

"Let Englishmen then, consider well the facts which have now been stated, viz. that India in the present century has paid to this country a tribute of at least a hundred millions sterling that our countrymen have a capital of one hundred and thirty millions invested in public securities in other undertakings connected with India, that the trade of India is probably of more importance to us than that of any other nation in the world, that our ambitious youth and a large body of our poor are provided with congenial occupation there, that the possession of India adds immensely to the power, dignity and influence of our country in all parts of the world and apart from all higher considerations connected with their duties as civilized and Christian rulers, they will surely on the lower grounds of self-interest, come to the conclusion that India is indeed well worth keeping.

POL.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RUPEE. *By B. R. Ambedkar, sometime Professor of Political Economy at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay. Published by P. S. King & Son, Ltd., Orchard House, 2 & 4, Great Smith Street, Westminster. Price Shillings 15 nett.*

The book which was published in 1923 is an exceedingly instructive treatise on a terribly controversial subject and retains its topical interest

even in 1926. Prof. Ambedkar tackles the problem of the Rupee in all its details He traces its history, analyses the mountain of all sorts opinions which has grown round it and finally gives us his verdict that the problem has arisen on account of the neglect, by those in power, of the truth that it is the internal purchasing power of the Rupee which is of primary importance and not its exchange value as has been assumed and worked upon by them.

"Stability of a currency in terms of gold is of importance only to the dealers in gold, but its stability in terms of commodities in general affects all........."

This highly important aspect of a good currency was overlooked (and was it intentionally?) by our rulers during several decades

The closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893 was the outcome of a great and continued fall in the purchasing power of the Rupee But this step did not lead to any stoppage of the depreciation Why? Because, although the people could no longer bring silver to the mints, *the Government could* and did So fervently did they go in for Rupee coinage that prices rose in India during 1893-1914 even more than in other countries

This was due to the fact that the Government coined Rupees to meet the demands of the trade of the country during the busy season, but this expansion thus caused could not be remedied by suitable contraction in the slack season The Rupees went out year by year but never came back to the treasury in proportional quantities after doing their work Lying in the remotest corners of the country in "small pools" they reduced the economic life of the country to the State of a water-logged marsh Fresh demands by big traders led to fresh coinage every year and the cumulative effect of this made the problem of rising prices progressively serious

This is due to the fact that the Rupee currency cannot be contracted normally, as in the case of a gold currency, by export or melting on account of its low specie value And the economic structure of Indian society is such that money once set into circulation does not return easily and quickly to the fountain-head

So Prof Ambedkar prescribes closing the door of the mints *not only to the people but also to the government* (beyond a limit) This will prevent inflation and disturbances in the internal price level.

So much about the *tokens* the rupees The standard of value should be gold and the elasticity of the currency should come from this source With a gold basis both expansion and contraction should be easy

Prof Ambedkar has shown great scholarship and a tremendous amount of hard work in this book. It beats all other treatises on the Rupee by a good many lengths and is a noteworthy contribution to the Indian economics.

A C

JAMSETJI NUSSERWANJI TATA *By F R Harris New College, Oxford, Published by the Oxford University Press Price Shillings 15 nett*

This is a profusely illustrated and finely got-up volume giving a chronological account of the life of the great Parsee It should be welcomed by admirers of Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *By Prof. Santosh Kumar Das M A, Hist. and Econ, of the Maharaja's College, Nepal. Published by the author, at 5-2 Ananda Dutt Lane, Howrah. Price Rs. 2.*

The author thinks that the India of to-day longs to take her place in the world of nations and all talk of living an isolated life coming from reactionary idealists is useless in view of this urge which is more fundamental than such idealism

Narrow nationalism will no longer serve us to any purpose, nor will it do so to any other nation The state of perpetual warfare must be finished and the world organised on better lines

The author then analyses the causes which lead to war and finds fault with certain explanations as put forward by socialists and others as being not the whole cause "Sinister interest," may sometimes cause war, but the real cause lies deeper and is biological, psychological and economic in nature The theory of Balance of Power or arming and so organising nations as to let no nation or group of nations think of war with impunity, has been found to provoke rather than prevent war A better scheme would be disarmament and international arbitration by a League of Nations

The League ideal is nothing sudden or novel. It is the 'legitimate outcome of the system whereby law and order have been established in every community" and it "embodies the highest ideal of sociology" It will ultimately lead humanity by way of cultural Syntheses to a place which will be a step up in spiritual evolution

The author then gives us the historical background of the League of Nations and an account of the various influences which have contributed to its development He alsogives us a fairly detailed picture, of the League's organisation and functions and an idea of what it has been able to do so far With India's position in the League of Nations, the author is not at all satisfied India has been admitted into the League so that Britain may have "one more vote without paying for it" India pays an exorbitant sum to the League and gains thereby nothing worth mentioning.

In conclusion, the author says, "The mere establishment of a League, however, does not necessarily imply the achievement of the ideal · even the total abolition of war, were that secured, would not be enough, for those who have been genuinely moved by the ideals of liberty and order with regard to the relation of nations and States desire a world in which every nation and every race shall develop its own character and tradition fully and freely within the common life of all humanity, and many years of disappointments may yet divide us from such a world"

An Appendix contains the complete text of the League of Nations Covenant

Altogether this book is a well-schemed-out one and deserves the attention of all serious students of history, economics and politics.

THE OCEAN OF STORY (VOL. IV) BEING C. H TAWNEY'S TRANSLATION OF SOMADEVA'S KATHA SARIT SAGARA *Now edited with introduction, fresh explanatory notes and terminal essay by N. M. Penzer, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.*

We have already reviewed in these columns the first three volumes of this splendid ten-volume

edition of the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. The foreword to this volume which contains matter up to the end of Tawney's first volume (End of Book IX) has been contributed by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Ph. D, the erudite Librarian of the India Office Library.

MEMORIALS OF ALFRED MARSHALL *Edited by Prof A. C Pigou M A, and published by MacMillan & Co, Ltd. Price shillings 12-6 net*

This memorial volume edited by the great pupil of the greatest economist of modern times will be heartily welcomed by the millions of admirers of the late Prof. Alfred Marshall who live in every corner of the civilised world It contains twenty selected papers by Prof Marshall, a good many letters written by him to different people at different times, a life of the late Prof by Prof J M Keynes and reminiscences by Profs Edgeworth, Fay and Pigou and by E A Benians The book also contains several interesting pictures of which two are photogravure reproductions of two photographs of Dr Marshall The publishers have done well to keep the price of this volume of over 500 pages down to 12-6 only as there are many who would prize it but cannot afford to pay a higher price We congratulate Prof Pigou and his collaborators on the success that they have made of "this tribute" to the great savant

A C.

"POULTRY AS A BUSINESS" *By Bhupendra Kumar Guha Thakurta* This is a precis compiled by the Author as a result of his observation in America and perusal of American literature on the subject It is not indicated in his notes as to whether the Author is himself engaged in poultry-farming Had he given us his own personal experiences, the book would have been much more interesting Poultry-Farming is a strenuous life the layman generally imagines it is merely a matter of throwing a few grains to the hens and collecting the eggs When he embarks on the enterprize and finds that it means all work and little leisure, he becomes disheartened

As a hobby, which not duly brings in fresh eggs and chickens which reduce the house-hold bills, a few well-bred hens will keep any man thoroughly interested. Their upkeep costs little as they consume the leavings from the table

We would be greatly benefited if the Author would do a sojourn in his native land and work out practical methods to suit the conditions Piano-boxes for the construction of poultry houses are not to be had in India for the asking, nor can permanent structures be advocated for the housing of fowls in a country where the invaders of the night are, unhappily, so plentiful.

Lover of Poultry

ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY MEGASTHENES AND ARRIAN: *By J W. McCrindle, M. A, Principal of the Government College, Patna Calcutta, Chuckervarty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd, 15, College Square. 1926*

Emboldened by the success of their venture in the matter of publishing a cheap reprint of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Messrs. Chuckervarty, Chatterjee & Co, have undertaken the publication of similar reprints of the late Prof. McCrindle's works. We have here *Ancient India: As Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, and the publishers have assured us at the end of their preface that they intend to publish the others gradually at an early date. So far as the present reprint goes, we have nothing but praise for the excellent printing and get-up of the work The pagination of the original edition has been indicated throughout for facility of reference. The price has been fixed at Rs 7-8.

A. G.

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GUJARATI

KOJAGRI *By Vinayak Nand Sankar Mehta, B A, P C S (U P) Printed at the Gujrati Printing Press, Bombay Cloth bound. Pp. 62 (1925) (Price not noted)*

The title of the book is interrogative, meaning "Who is awake?" It is a drama written to illustrate the chastity of a Hindu wife, whom the friend of her husband wanted to inveigle, the period chosen is between 1620 and 1640 A D. and the place, the banks of the Holy River near Benares. There is both vigor and virility in this style and expression of idea, but there are two things which get on the nerves of an ordinary Gujarati, born and bred in Gujarat the padding of the language with North India words, phrases and idioms, and the mode of life depicted, which is foreign to Gujarat in its association The author excuses himself for the first by saying that there could be no limits placed to the expansion of a language (here the Gujarati language), for the second, perhaps his long residence in the U P. and away from Gujarat is responsible It is a pleasant, little volume all the same, from which the abundance of animal spirits peeps out now and then.

SRI DATTAPRABODHA KALPADRUMA SAKANDA III. *By Dattatreya Boova Printed at the New Sodagar Press, Surat Paper cover Pp. 232 Price Rs 2-0-0 (1925)*

We have already noticed the two prior volumes of the series The predominant feature thereof is the imparting of *Bhakti Jnan*, and it is done here by means of dissertations and illustrative stories, from our mythological works.

CHHATROPOJOGI GUJARATI SABDAKOSH *By Lallubhai G Patel, printed at the Surya Prakash Press, Ahmedabad Cloth cover. Pp 863. Price Rs. 6-4 (1925)*

After the Narma Kosha, two generations old, there is hardly a good Gujarati Dictionary to be found The present effort therefore of Mr. Patel deserves felicitation not only because of its pioneer work but because of its intrinsic worth and labor. Although meant to be useful only for school boys, it reflects the expansion of the language, and consequent addition of words therein, to its fullest extent and is thus up-to-date.

SHRI BHISHMA CHARITRA, PART SECOND: *By Vaidya Shastri Damodar Kanji. Printed by the Lakshmi Electric Printing Co, Baroda Cloth bound. Pp. 218 Price Rs. 2-8-0. (1924).*

A most interesting book. The preaching and

precept of Bhishma Pitamaha are an abiding source of inspiration to Hindus. They are let out here in a very impressive way.

URMI: *By Yogendra. Printed at the Swatantra Printing Press, Bulsar. Cloth cover. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1921).*

Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta once asked Mr. Yogendra as to which were the readable books in Gujarati Literature, and he said practically none, with the exception of one or two. This collection of his own poems with self-made comments seems to have been published with a view to remove that blot from our Literature. Natural scenes, birds, flowers and like subjects have furnished the material and it is sought to show that emotion has inspired the verses.

SAMSAR PARIHAT NATAK: *By Thakkar Narayan Visanji, printed at the New Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 182. Cloth cover. Price Rs. 2-4-0 (1925) with photos.*

This Natak is meant for the stage, and is therefore embellished with the clap-trap and fun which popularise shows on the stage. A trustee commits breach of trust with the assistance of a corrupt solicitor, whose first wife becomes a Barrister and leaves him and he marries a second wife who is a Doctor. The fraud is ultimately exposed and the proper party gets his due. There is nothing further done or said to leave behind any abiding influence.

DESHA BANDHU: *By Jayant Kumar Manishankar Bhatt. Printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Ranpur. Pp. 900. Paper cover. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1925).*

Everything relating to the late Deshabandhu Das is to be found here, his library, legal and political activities. Translations from *Sagar Sangit* are not forgotten. Such a biography of the late Indian patriot Das was badly wanted in Gujarati, and it has been brought out with commendable promptitude. It is illustrated with pictures.

SHRI GITA GOVIND AND SHRI KRISHNA GITANJALI: *By Vaidya Shastri Damodar Kavi. Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1925).*

This collection of songs and verses written in praise of Shri Krishna is modelled on the old style and pleases the audience when recited.

K. M. J.

HINDI

BARI DIDI—*Translated by Pt. Rupnarain Pandeya. Indian Press Ltd. Allahabad. 1925. Re. 1.*

The Indian Press Ltd has taken to the task of translating the work of the Bengali novelist Babu Saratchandra Chatterji. This laudable enterprise seems to be well conceived and well executed from the book under notice. The style of the translation is charming.

PRAKRITIKI—*Translated by Dr. Nandkishore, M.B., B.S. The Indian Press, Ltd. Allahabad, 1925. Rs. 2-8.*

This popular scientific work of Babu Jagadananda Roy of Bolpur has been the subject-matter of this publication. The general get-up is satisfactory but the illustrations should have been better.

Those who are interested in the juvenile literature in Hindi, will congratulate Mr. Premchand for editing a series published by Ganga Pustakamala Office, Lucknow. Some of these works are:

(i) BALNITI KATHA, PARTS I, II.—*Translated by Badrinath Bhatta, B. A. Price Re. 1-4 each.*

These are translated from works written under the order of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda. Moral tales of various countries are collected here.

(ii) GADHE KI KAHANI.—*Bhupnarain Dikshit. Price As. 12.*

The tale is a translation of Memoirs du Ane by Countess de Sagur.

(iii) NAT KHAT PANDE.—*By Bhupnarayan Dikshit. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The interesting story of a bad boy.

(iv) KHEL PACHISI.—*By Thakur Pratipal Singh. Price As. 6.*

Some of the popular games both indoor and outdoor are here described.

(v) KIDE-MAKODE.—*By Bhupnarain Dikshit, B.A., L. T. Price 10.*

This short account of insects is a good beginning for taking up larger work on Natural History.

(vi) BHARAT KE SAPUT.—*By Tahoorbaksh. Price As. 10.*

Some tales of great men of mediaeval and modern India are here told with ease and grace.

RAMES BASU

TAMIL

THE EDICTS OF ASOKA WITH TEXTS IN DEVANAGRI. BY R. RAMAIYAR, ASSISTANT LECTURER, KUMBAKONAM COLLEGE. *Publishers, C. Coomarasamy Naidu and Sons, Madras.*

The intensely human appeal which the Edicts of the Great Buddhist Emperor make to all classes of people renders this and other books of this kind a most welcome addition to popular literature. In the present work, the author has tried to bring the wisdom of Asoka at first hand to the Tamil reader and there can be no doubt as to the educational value of this work. A lengthy introduction into the historical narrative of the period to which these documents belong has also been given and forms a fitting historical background to the study of the edicts. It should be said to the credit of the author that the translation follows the spirit of the original most faithfully. The Devanagri text of the edicts added to this work might by itself be useful as a separate hand-book to Indian history and will if published independently, be useful to non-Tamil public as well. A word of praise is due to the beautiful language of the translation.

S. V. C.

THE MUDDIMAN COMMITTEE MINORITY REPORT ON INDIAN STATES

BY RAO BAHADUR M V KIBE, M. A

THE question of the relation between the Government of British India and the Indian States has loomed large in the political horizon of India Although responsible leaders like Dr Besant have ignored it, yet the Minority of the Muddiman Committee, while devising a constitution which would be a real step towards self-Government on colonial lines, could not overlook a portion of the Continent comprising one-third of its area and over one-fifth of its population

But opinion among the leaders in British India is much divided on the subject and in fact it is nebulous The first in the field to express his considered opinion on the subject was no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi At first from the Presidential Chair of the Indian National Congress and later as a speaker in the Indian States Conference held in the same week and lastly from the Presidential Chair of the Conference of the subjects of the Native States in Kathiawad, he has expounded his views on the continued existence of the Indian States To take his speeches one after the other, he has unfolded his weaknesses in behalf of them Even as relics of bygone times and while even British India is not popularly governed, the Mahatma will not interfere with the powers and prerogatives of the rulers of the Indian States He has advised them to follow in the steps of idealised historical kings like Shree Ramchandra Maharaj But he has not said a word to encourage the subjects of the Indian States to assert their rights and not confine themselves to merely discharging their duties This is what the critics say. In the Mahatmaji's opinion, however, one may imagine that rights and duties do not come into conflict in a State which he has described

At the other extreme is the view taken by Dr R P Paranjpye from the Presidential Chair of the National Liberal Conference held at Lucknow in the last week of December, 1924 He announced that unless the Indian States joined the proposed federation in British India, he would have nothing to do with them Apparently he and his friends would observe a sort of benevolent neutrality in a conflict between the subjects and the rulers of Indian States He would have a repetition in India of the process by which the kingdoms in Italy and Central Europe disappeared He would not mind the bloody path of revolution

Between these two extremes comes the recommendation of the Minority of the Muddiman Committee on the Reforms of India. It is indeed a subtle recommendation as becomes the lawyer element in it

Hitherto, the affairs of the Indian States are beyond the pale of influence of the popular legislatures in British India But the report while agreeing to leave the direction, the control or disposal, or by whatever name the relations between the Paramount Government in India and the Indian States may be called, to remain with the Governor-General, would allow the popular assemblies to discuss affairs relating to them and move resolutions on them

In the first place, the report is not clear whether it will withdraw from the Governor-General's Council the power it has of being associated with the Governor-General in dealing with the questions of the Indian States, and in the second, it is remarkable for a body which counted among its numbers an emeritus member of the Government of India that it should say that "it believed" that the Governor-General alone dealt with the Indian States

It is true that he is the member of the Government in charge of that portfolio, but his powers with regard to it are not greater than those of other members in regard to theirs, except in so far as he is possessed of some superior powers over them in his capacity as the Governor-General

The Minority of the Muddiman Committee would remove the bar that is now laid on the legislatures in British India to discuss questions relating to the affairs of the Indian States. The Members cannot, except by grace of the Government, ask any information about them And this though the so-called Princes Protection Act, which requires the Government

of *India to be satisfied as to the falsity and* know the true facts, before a prosecution of an offending newpaper published in British India could be allowed So the subject 'Indian States" was to be regarded as more sacrosanct than subjects like the military forces which are non-votable for financial purposes, although they could be discussed and influenced as any discussion could do so. What the Minority proposes is to bring the subject "Indian States" into the category of foregoing subjects

It thus goes even a step further than what was proposed by Mr N. C Kelkar from the Presidential Chair of the Indian States Subjects Conference at Delhi While calling upon the subjects of the Indian States to organise in order to assert and wrench rights of Government from their Rulers, he would extend to them an asylum in British India Whether he would go to the extent of allowing plots to be hatched against Governments of Indian States on the British Indian soil has not been made clear by him But he would no doubt encourage non-cooperation between the subjects and Rulers in Indian States since the former course would be open to objection on account of the treaties of alliance, amity, friendship of protection existing between the Rulers of British India and the Indian States Debarred by their helplessness as the Indian States generally are from using any force in checking even a rising of their subjects, although instances of the kind occur here and there, for instance, as in Baroda and Udaipore, even the panacea of determined non-cooperation as advocated by Mr Kelkar may lead to their success in the establishment of their rights or power, which is what they would eventually want Yet it is a cumbrous weapon and many lives may be nipped in the bud, or even if flowered may wither for want of notice or encouragement

But the subtle suggestion of the Minority Committee cannot fail to have far-reaching results. In any case, a debate in the Indian Legislatures is bound to attract attention practically all the world over Then the Members being privileged to tell anything, exaggerations of facts will have more publicity than true facts When a debate is raised, the Government will be bound to reply and it will be difficult for it not to express its view on the subject unless it can take shelter for a few days behind the statement that the matter was under enquiry But eventually it will have to come out with its considered opinion and disclosed the action *taken by it, as, even in these days, it some*times does.

The present practice which has been formed from precedent to precedent, although never of a uniform character, is that the paramount power in India claims to judge and set right affairs of Indian States in certain contingencies on the plea of preventing internal or external commotion which it is bound to do in many cases by treaties or engagements or in the exercise of rights of self-defence as far as its own territories are concerned Even in Europe which was studded with numerous petty though independent States, neighbouring States declared war on a State the affairs of which were in a state of commotion The case of France after the French Revolution at the close of the 18th century is an instance in point It is true that the action of the British Government in such cases in India was not subject to any real popular check for want of genuine interest on the part of the party-bound legislatures in Great Britain Sometimes there would be a debate in either or both Houses of Parliament before an empty House For any effective action by them, one must go back to the middle of the 19th Century when the confiscated principality of Dhar was restored by command of the House of Commons

The recommendations of the Minority, if given effect to, will bring the popular vote nearer Home In some cases, it might check any arbitrary exercise of its right by the bureaucracy in British India, but such occasions will be rare It must be admitted that the highly cultured, judicious and trained mind of the Rulers of India almost invariably based their decisions on sound principles of equity and law But that does not affect the question.

The same mind under the dominance of Imperialism encouraged by the noble desire of seeing justice being done between party and party are apt to brush aside sovereign rights of parties which are no longer in a position to enforce them by *force majeure* In the circumstances, the popular assemblies are much more likely to be swayed by the same considerations, and in exciting moments carried off their heads and may prematurely or more vigorously force the hands of the Government The consequences may be fatal to the weaker party when precedents are not uniform and the rights of the parties have been obscured.

The only remedy, then, to preserve intact

their identity which the Indian States have to fall back upon, is to organise themselves along with British India into a League of States and bring into existence all those constitutions and safeguards which have been already described in the Article headed, "The Constitution and Functions of Indian League" It has been objected that it means the giving up of powers now exercised by the Government of India or the British Government to other bodies But even if it be so, it means doing nothing more than what is proposed to be done in the pure domestic affairs of the Indian Government And the proposal with regard to the Indian States has greater justice behind it The powers exercised by the British Government or its Agent in India do not owe their origin to a contract, but to drifting forces of circumstances. When the latter have changed, justice demands that the direction of the drift should also change Any way, that proposal alone will preserve the Indian States amidst various others suggested and its acceptance requires no other justification.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Unemployment in Bengal

In *the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Federation Gazette*, Ismail Abdulla Mohammed publishes his views on the above subject He first tries to locate the causes which have contributed to the present situation and rejects right at the beginning the suggestion that it is something in the nature of the Bengali race that makes them unfit for success in any walk of life as untenable, because

> From the very beginning of Indian History *Bengal was a rich Province*, which fed and clothed its population with ease The Bengalees were a *hardy, adventurous people* It is recorded of them that in the early centuries of the Christian era they crossed the ocean and successfully settled in *Java* Is not Assam and Bihar today filled with many affluent and influential emigrants from Bengal? Going back to the middle ages, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Mahomedan General of the Pathan King in the eleventh century was tempted by the riches of Bengal to essay its conquest The English flourished and built their empire in India because they had, as their base of operations, the rich and resourceful province of Bengal Bernier, a European traveller of the seventeenth century, has recorded of Bengal that it was a province which supplied the neighbouring kingdoms with abundant rice and sugar Bishop Heber tells us that the small army of Clive which won for him such victories was chiefly composed of Bengalees.

Then Mr Mohammed goes on to give us some of the causes which lie at the root of this evil Deserting the villages is one.

> The last census figures show a considerable increase namely *16·9 per cent* in the populations of the small *industrial towns* of Bengal. This results in two evils Men leave their homes and occupations in the village and come to the towns to earn their livelihood The village is, therefore, left unmanned and thereby becomes the more neglected. The Bengalee Zamindar does not care to live in the village with such unhealthy and uncongenial surroundings His example is followed by the middle classes as well The supply of agricultural labour is soon found insufficient to meet the demand At present cultivation is not intense Nor is the whole country brought under the plough
>
> The English school-educated youth has an aversion to crafts He is only willing to hunt after a clerkship Such a field of employment does not, and cannot, in the nature of things, absorb the whole of the middle class and once taken to, has its enervating effects, leading to still further degeneration

Foreign competition in the economic institutions of the people is cause number two.

> In addition to other causes, unemployment is increased by the immigration of foreigners into Bengal and especially Calcutta The rich fruits of the trade of Bengal which are unclaimed by her sons have been seized by others. Thus the competition of the foreigner has been growing larger and larger in every walk of life
>
> The magnitude of what the people have lost can be understood when it is known that an export trade worth 300 crores of rupees passes through the hands of such middlemen

Our education is also to blame, says the author, in whose opinion

> Another cause of unemployment is the nature of the education which the youth in Bengal receives, be he Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian The curricula of our universities are bequests of the mediaeval age.

Starting a number of technical colleges will alleviate the distress in the authors opinion, but the difficulty of this arises out of lack of funds Funds can be raised by the

universities, by making a monopoly of the text-book trade.

Leaving a wide margin for the expenses of printing and authors' remuneration more than sixty lakhs of rupees could be made out of this source. *Most of this money could be taken in by the University by issuing its own publications, using the profits to supplement the income of the University. It is refreshing to note that a good start has been made by Calcutta University in this direction.*

This is an unhappy choice of means, for in the case of the Calcutta University the practice of making money out of text books has led to undesirable results. The author appears to be an admirer of Western methods. No Western University would dream of inflicting on its alumni text-books of the type of the Calcutta University publication because such text books defeat the end for which the money is earned, *viz.*, sound education.

Expert advice on matters of choosing careers for boys is wanting in our Universities and this is another cause of the present unemployment. As the author says:

Another cause of trouble is that at present our young men are not guided by the advice of experts in the matter of selection of professional courses.

In this matter, the system that obtains in some Western Universities can be profitably followed. A board of prominent educationalists and business men should be appointed. The duties of the board would be to give proper advice to all students when they apply to it, as to the choice of a future career in life.

The author recommends reversion to agriculture as a palliative:

Healthy public opinion ought to be created in favour of agriculture. There must be practical demonstrations at Government agricultural farms showing that by scientific tilling every inch of land ought to yield profitable results. Public lectures in the vernaculars should be held at all places, in villages as well as in towns, by a staff of enthusiastic workers, explaining the immense potentialities of agriculture, if only conducted in the right way. New text-books for boys ought to be written extolling this occupation and explaining its advantages. In these and various other ways this temperamental dislike of the *Bhadralog* class could be removed.

And *charka* as another:

India is yearly sending 60 crores of rupees to foreign countries for the purchase of cloths. Cotton is plentiful in the country. There is no reason why India should not manufacture all the cloth that she requires. Efforts is the only thing needed in this connection. Mr. Gandhi's advocacy of the use of the *charkha* in every Indian home is to be applauded. There is not work enough for the *ryot* throughout the year.

Though we do not see how this applies in the case of *middle-class* unemployment in Bengal.

"Hinduism" Condemned

A very strong condemnation of Hinduism in its present-day working shape appears in the *Vedic Magazine*. The writer S. Ranga Iyer, M. L. A. does not economise adjectives and phrases to fully express his contempt for the corrupt practices which go under the name of Hinduism. He says:

Our patriots, Sannyasis and politicians have been responsible for much egoistic literature on this Punya Bhumi' of ours. Swami Vivekananda whose feet I bear on my head used to call it Punya Bhumi. I am afraid the *punya* of the past has yielded place to *papa* in the present. Aryavarta is today un-Aryan. The ancient land of bliss is a land of curses and crimes today.

We have lost the national virtues which made us great in the past. We have become robbers and thieves robbing our lives of its beauties and duties—stealing the greatness of the past to camouflage the meanness of the present. We are a degraded people. We are vain. We are quarrelsome. We are idle. We are lotus-eaters, money-grabbers, vile loafers in creation, flatterers of aliens, apes of the West or torturers of the Vedas to suit our purposes. Worst criminals on God's good earth quoting scriptures like the devil to defend the ungodly, the unmanly, the inhuman, the diabolical horrors which we practise and perpetrate. Hinduism has become a cursc to cover a multitude of sins and loathsome vices. No wonder Hindustan is punished by God with loss of freedom.

Who are the Hindu leaders today? Men who have not the courage of their conviction. I do not want to name names. But there are loud-tongued leaders who denounce untouchability but who will not drink water at the hands of an untouchable—who will not eat the food cooked by an untouchable even if he happens to be cleaner than their own Brahmin cook—who will ask their sons and nephews to perform *prayaschitta* soon after their release from prison even though they went there as happy pilgrims of the national struggle to the temple of freedom. This is as much true of the United Provinces and Upper India as of the benighted Madras and Southern India.

We open temples in numbers and get reputed men to lay the foundation stone of god. But our temples are worse than brothels—especially so in South India. Untouchables cannot go to the temples which keep dancing girls to amuse the deities and please its worshippers. Indeed it must be an awful Hindu god who cannot get on without prostitutes and who will be polluted by the presence of an untouchable.

The Hindu husband can marry a thousand wives and keep a harem of concubines and mistresses but the Hindu Religion-in-practice cannot let the girl

divorce the cad and blaguard of such a husband. An old rogue of three scores and ten can marry a young girl of twelve and leave her a widow to mourn her lot for the rest of her life—a child widow whom her high caste prevents to remarry Some of the children-in-agony run away with a kind non-Hindu or a brothel-keeper who are to them better guardians than their own religion As heaps of evil omen these innocent widows are looked down upon by the believers of the great Hindu religion

And concludes

> "Hinduism" is a monster. It is not the Aryan religion It is not Krishnaism or Ramaism or Buddhism or Aryanism
>
> So long as the poisonous reptile of Hinduism is not killed and cremated not all the sacred waters of the Ganga, the Yamuna, the Saraswati the Godavari the Narmada the Sindhu and Kaveri can wash our society of its follies and impurities
>
> Let Hinduism the moral dungheap of priestcraft and superstition cease Let Aryanism Vedantism the Vedas prevail

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Buddhism as the World-Religion

Those who argue about the superiority of a given religion over others to serve the whole of humanity as its religion, take for granted that humanity will follow the logical path and accept the reasonable as soon as it has been proved to be so However that may be, it is always interesting to hear what each religion has to say for itself in regard to suitability for the honour of being the World Religion The followers of Christianity generally use up the maximum of paper and ink to prove their case In view of this fact, the Hon'ble Mr D B Jayatilaka's article of the above name in *The Buddhist Annual* of Ceylon will be found interesting He says

> The Buddha is the World-Teacher (*Sattha Deva manussanam*) and his message is addressed to all mankind irrespective of race colour, caste or sex This note of universality which characterizes Buddhism is no after-thought, no subsequent development in its career due to some accident of history It was struck by the Master himself not at the close of his earthly life but at the very beginning of his public ministry when he sent out his disciples with the injunction that they should wander over the world, out of compassion for mankind, for the good of the many, for the welfare of the many, and set forth the higher life in all its fulness and in all its purity And the message thus proclaimed brings peace and happiness equally to all, to the poor and the lowly as well as to the rich and the mighty—to Bimbisara, the sovereign lord of the Magadhas, and Sunita, the outcaste scavenger, to the merchant prince Anatha Pindika and the beggar Indaka, to the Sakyan Queen-mother Prajapati and Capa, the hunter's wife, to the wealthy and high-souled matron, Visakha, the courtesan Ambapali, and the sorrow-stricken Patacara, to the Brahman sage Pokkharasati and the child Sopaka Though the mission of Buddhism is thus all-embracing, it is not infrequently described by Western writers as a rigid asceticism—a cult meant for recluses, who have withdrawn from the ordinary life of the world into the seclusion of the monastery or the forest This is a serious misconception Buddhism does indeed insist on the high value of renunciation, the giving up of what one holds dear and precious, for the sake of the Truth 'Every good deed has in it the element of renunciation', says the Buddha It is at the same time recognized that utter self-sacrifice even for the sake of the higher life is at any particular time possible only for the few, while the majority must follow a less difficult path, and train themselves in the sphere of duties attached to household life The due performance of these duties is extolled by the Buddha in no unmistakable terms On one occasion, he was asked--What is the highest blessing ? He answered the question in several verses, one of which translated runs —
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> "To support father and mother,
> To maintain wife and child,
> To be engaged in blameless occupations
> This is the highest blessing" (*Mangalasutta*).
>
> Surely this is not asceticism. In fact, the Buddha Dharma condemns all ascetic practices which involve self-mortification as painful, ignoble, and unprofitable just as it discourages and disapproves of all forms of self-indulgence
>
> The coming religion, it has been well said, must appeal to reason, and stand the test of human experience Buddhism completely fulfils this requirement One of its most striking features is its rationality In the first place, there is no veil of mystery which envelopes either the person or the teachings of the Master The Buddha never claimed to be a supernatural being, nor did he ever say that the truths he taught were discovered by him by means of supernatural intervention or agency
>
> Again Buddhism offers no dogmas the belief in which is necessary for salvation It is understanding, knowledge, wisdom that purifies, not mere faith The seat of authority is Reason which must prescribe for each one of us the rule of life
>
> The Buddha Dharma contains no speculations as to the origin of things and first causes, which form the most important battle-ground in the warfare between science and religion. In fact, Buddhism condemns all such vague speculations as utterly unprofitable Upon the sure foundation of principles derived from the facts of life it builds a system of practical ethics—a method of self-culture, which has for its end the emancipation of man from all evil and all suffering. The training is threefold, and it is summed up for us in the famous utterance of the Master which contains the essence of all his teachings. It is this :—
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> To abstain from all evil,
> To fulfil all good,
> To purify the heart.
> This is the teaching of the Buddhas.

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India and Africa

Mr C F Andrews says, in the course of an article in the *Young Men of India*, that Africa will yet need the spiritual help of India to drag itself out of the "utter savagery" in which it is still merged The article runs as follows :

On every fresh journey, when I have crossed the Indian Ocean from India to Africa the ever old yet ever new problem has arisen, filling my mind with thoughts that never seem to get a suitable answer—'What in God's Providence is the true relation of these two lands to one another ?'

The earliest records of the inter-communication between India and Africa are very few We can tell from fossils and from the flora and fauna that remain, as well as from geological evidence that a land-bridge once united Madagascar and the continent of Africa with India The peaks of the submerged continent are still to be traced in the Seychelles and the Maldive and the Laccadive Islands, together with Mauritius and Reunion further south But this bridge of land had probably sunk below the sea in places long before man began his history upon the planet

In the prehistoric times, it is not impossible that men went still backwards and forwards from island to island, till Madagascar was reached and from thence the coast of Africa just as in an opposite direction they traversed from island to island eastward as far as the Polynesian Islands of the Pacific The marvellous similarity of legend and fable and *primitive custom points to such a* wandering of mankind from India as one of its main centres in different directions

Historically, we have the records of the coasting voyages along the Persian Gulf and Arabian shores and across the Gulf of Babelmandeb to the 'Island of Storms,' now called Socotra, on to the harbours of Kisumayu and Mombasa and the island of Zanzibar

One of the strangest of all mysteries to me in the reading of early Indian history is to find every other route of travel occupied by the stream of Buddhist monks which poured forth in the first great impulse of the religious movement which followed upon the death of Gautama, the Buddha but to find at the same time this one great open route seemingly unoccupied and untraversed Far into the Eastern seas they went facing the dread typhoons Far into the highest mountain passes they pierced facing death by avalanche and cold But this open sea-route to the West never seems to have been used At least, we have no record of it Possibly it was actually traversed and settlements were made and lines were laid down and the Dark Continent covered over the records with jungle once more For there have been many buried efforts of mankind in this land of deadly fever and disease

But one religion at least swept down the coast to conquer and possess the earth The Mussalman invaders from Arabia and the Persian Gulf established small kingdoms which were visited year by year by Indian merchants who bartered their goods and returned The Malabar coast and the Gulf of Cambay sent forth these adventurous voyagers. When the settled monsoon winds had been discovered, as passing all the way from Africa to India advantage was taken of their steady current by the sailing ships and there was no need any longer to hug the coast.

Yet, after a thousand years, how little progress has been made in civilization ! Today the part of Africa that is most incurably diseased, morally and spiritually is this very coast district No literature or art or culture has flourished for any length of time during this rule from Arabia and Persia

The Portuguese, who came with Vasco da Gama, had also done very little to spread refinement and light and peace after this conquest of the coast kingdoms The deadly slave traffic from the very first entangled them and made the religion of the Cross a mockery Only very slowly is this greatest and darkest stain on Christian Africa being obliterated

It has been my own supreme hope, which I have expressed at many conferences of Christians that the Indian Christian Church itself may find its own life-meaning and purpose in fulfilling that which Buddhism so nobly tried to achieve, and after great achievement failed to maintain For there are in India itself, and to the south-east across the sea and to the west across the Indian Ocean countless human lives still sunk in utter savagery and needing the sympathy of passionate love which Christ has brought back to earth and given to us His followers to offer to the sons of men Each time that I have crossed this Indian Ocean, I have been more certain than ever that the time will surely come when India, in the spirit of the living Christ will stretch out her hand to the East and to the West to save mankind

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Rabindranath *vs* Gandhi

Referring to the recent controversy between Rabindranath Tagore and Mr. Gandhi, the *Prabuddha Bharata* says—

The conflict between the poet and the saint is a conflict of the visions of life Other things are merely details And one cannot deny that so far as interpretation of national life goes the poet is more comprehensive than the saint It is no wonder that Mahatmaji is to-day finding himself in the minority He is a worker at the foundations and such work as his cannot become a mass movement without imperilling itself Time is an important factor, and one must be patient A reform carried out too soon destroys itself in the long run His influence on the national life, indirectly vast, is bound to be because of his philosophy of life directly only partial But one need not regret if a single man fails to stamp himself on the fate of three hundred millions of people.

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Religion and Politics

In the same journal we find an able analysis of the complexities created in recent times by using religion as a political weapon by the Indian nationalists. We are told :

Up till 1919, i e., the Amritsar session the Congress has been a purely political organisation The special Calcutta session inaugurated the policy of Non-violent Non-co-operation. This gave the Congress, in effect and practice, a religious colouring It assumed a philosophical tone and preached a certain gospel of life Non-violence had to be lived Fasts and *hartals* were instituted for the purpose of self-purification and self-discipline Soul force was the sword to be wielded in that battle. Swaraj, though it remained undefined as the political end, was variously interpreted Some declared that individual and personal Swaraj had been attained by them, though collective Swaraj was not yet Non co-operation assumed a religious aspect The sacred books were consulted to see if co-operation with the Government was not against their holy injunctions Altogether the movement looked more religious than political Thus was religion made a hand-maiden of politics

Let us see consequences First, the Khilafat movement It is seriously to be doubted whether it should have been made a part of the Congress programme on religious grounds More than one thinker have attributed the growing fanaticism of the Muhammedan community to this unwise step of the Congress Muhammedan bigotry was dying its natural death The Khilafat movement ensured it a fresh lease of life Their co-religionists in other countries have found through bitter experience the folly of mixing religion with politics But Indian Musalmans do not seem to have learnt that same lesson

The splendid show of unity between the Hindus and the Muhammedans with which it began has been converted in the end to bitter mutual hatred and suspicion This is the danger of invoking the power of religion for secular purposes

What is altogether a fresh trouble is the sowing of an evil seed in minds of the myriad villagers in India The Non-Co-operation movement led to the sending of propagandists to the villages

In the name of religion, with its cult of soul-force the one signal which is still able to energise even the dying Indian with zeal and enthusiasm When the movement would fail as it was bound to fail it would leave behind a sinister force in the villages, working against the ancient traditions, evoking communal self-consciousness and a sense of having been deprived of rights by the upper classes, and a struggle for their acquisition

The future will bear the fruit of this attempt at using of a higher force for a lower end, *viz.*, the employment of religion to gain a political end

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State Aid to Libraries

Mr T. C Goswami, M A, Bar-at-Law, M L A, contributes to the *Indian Library Journal* an English version of speech delivered in Bengali as President of the Hoogly District Library Conference. The speech does not add to the credit of our rulers as will be seen from the following quotations.

Mr Chapman said here last night that a nation had the library it deserve But in his speech he has admitted that the Imperial Library was the creation of Lord Curzon and that its progress has been arrested by the fact that the subsequent Viceroys and Governors have shown little interest in it and he said further that when Governors of a country are men of wide and cultured interests, the libraries find help and expand, otherwise they do not Might I, therefore venture another generalisation-- A nation has the sort of libraries that are worthy of its Governors"

In our country, the State does not evince the least interest in such institutions As a member of the Legislative Assembly, I had to study the Imperial Budget, and I found that our revenue has almost doubled what it was in 1914, from 76 crores it has risen to about 130 crores But in matters of education and public health there has been very little progress if any We shall have to do everything by our own efforts without expecting any help from the state.

Education in the Indian Army

Mr Ernest Burden, C I E, C S. I, gives a sketch in the *Indian Review* of the system of education followed in the Indian Army We quote important items from it

In the *first stage*, the recruit learns Urdu (including the necessary English military words for which no Urdu equivalent exists) *orally*, taught by the 'direct method' Other subjects are mental arithmetic, including simple addition, subtraction, division and multiplication, measurements and angles Religious instruction in the soldier's own faith is given, and thrift, personal hygiene and cleanliness, and a spirit of comradeship are inculcated

In the *second stage*, elementary Geography, Urdu in the Roman script and written calculations in arithmetic are introduced In combination with Geography, the soldier is taught the history of his unit and its campaigns, the simplest facts connected with the defence of India, by sea and land, and he is given an elementary conception of the British Empire.

In the *third stage*, a good knowledge of Urdu and the Roman script is required The Geography of India is taught as thoroughly as possible, including its economic Geography, and trade, and the effect of geographical conditions on the life of men and animals Regimental History, the work of the Navy and Army and the problems of defence and the necessity for law and order are taught, again in connection with Geography.

In the *fourth stage*, Indian History is introduced and the subjects taught in the earlier stages are now taught more extensively and up to a higher standard

A man who has qualified in this stage and has obtained his First Class Certificate is fit to take

his place as a Viceroy's Commissioned Officer both in civil and military life.

The last stage, in the system, as it exists at present, is the Special Certificate which is gained by passing written examination conducted in English. The standard of Geography, Indian History and Mathematics is fairly high and the candidate has to discuss problem of the day and have some real knowledge of the main problems connected with Imperial and Indian defence. He is required to know the methods of Government in India from the village to the Central Government and to have a rough idea of the methods of Government in other part of the Empire and the meaning of Indian and Empire Citizenship.

We should love to go through some of the texts adopted. Those dealing with History, the British Government of India and the Empire must be specially interesting.

A Forecast of Life in 2026 A. D

Utopias never get stale for the simple reason that they never have to go through an actual existence on earth. Mr. A. S. Wadia, M. A. paints a picture of what things will be like a hundred years hence in the *Hindustan Review*. We are told:

A century hence the world will be dotted all over with pin heads of air mast and aerodromes and the air itself will vibrate night and day with the throb of thousands upon thousands of aeroplanes. Their criss-cross flights would dim the sunlight over towns during the day and at night the heavenly constellation itself would pale before the brighter constellation of thousands of moving red, white and blue points of their lights. But on a gala night the procession of illumined air-ships and aeroplanes will fill the heavens with such a fantasy of fairy lights as to make the brightest visions from the Arabian Nights appear beside it but a gaudy dream.

There will be one great change. The hills and mountains that are now laying waste and uninhabited will then come into their own and their tops especially in the Tropics will be converted into residential quarters for more prosperous classes of the townspeople who will fly to their business in the morning and back to their hill homes in the evening. When the air comes finally to establish its free empire on the face of the Globe, the present national frontiers will be old historic ruins and the tariff walls now running conterminous with them will be found only in the economic histories of several nations.

So much to the credit of Aviation. Seen from a different viewpoint, development in Aviation may only force the fighting nations to leave a strip, several miles wide, along the frontiers uninhabited and desolate to act as "no man's land" in war time. Colour and class prejudice will be dead in 2026, says the writers. The troublesome elements in our mechanical civilisation will disappear due to improvements in manufacturing process, etc., and

With the gradual removal of these debasing elements and the steady expansion of our manufacturing capacity there will necessarily arise conditions which will lead to a vast increase of the world's population and create a growing passion for enervating pleasures and more luxurious modes of life. In other words life being made the more easy by the perfected machine and more hurried by the subjugated air it will naturally become more complex and vastly difficult. To counter-balance these tendencies the newly-launched idea of birth-control will be then legally recognised and widely practised and the ancient ideals of simplicity and art will once more take hold of the human mind with the consequence that the then growing cult of pleasure and luxury will be, to borrow a term of the psycho-analyst, sublimated into nobler channels.

Another boon will be that in 2026

Religion will have again simplified itself into a few basic beliefs of common utility and universal validity. Nor will Religion then be at loggerheads with Science as she now is, but both will employ their best energies in the quest of the Absolute, the one in revealing, the other in realising the Mystical Heart of Things. And Science will have taken vast strides by then and harnessed most of the free energy of the world that is now going waste such as atmospheric electricity, tidal power, solar and atomic energy. As coal has now mostly replaced wood and as oil is fast replacing coal so electricity derived from natural forces, harnessed and conserved will in those days wholly replace wood, coal and oil.

Science will also enable us to practically conquer the diseases of the human body. Not only that but

Another great change will be that our present prisons and penitentiaries will be converted into social reformatories and mental institutes where the criminal will no longer be looked upon as a wilful decadent of society deserving social ostracism and condign punishment but will be treated as a mentally defective and morally deficient delinquent who by certain restrictions put on his movements and being provided with regular work, food and exercise was to be gradually won back from his wild irresponsible ways to a life of decency and discipline and if possible of good citizenship.

So that there will be nothing left to be desired, and, probably in another century, in 2126, humanity become so perfect that it will attain Nirvana through germinal degration. This is biologically possible.

Political Agitation Declared Foolish

The Feudatory and Zemindari India is an organ of that extremely "loyal" section of

Indians who have inherited property for the continued and unhampered enjoyment of which they have to depend more or less on the British rulers of India. The following extract from this journal, though sounding a bit like discouraging something which has a possibility of affecting one's pocket, will be found useful by some politicians who have made what they preach quite distinct from what they practise

> Political agitation is easy work, you have only to abuse the Government to your heart's content, criticise their actions, give them gratuitous advice It does not impose upon you any restrictions or duties Not so social reform It means self-introspection, which the politician would avoid Social reform means the carrying out the reforms in one's self and in one's household The politician has no taste for such work That is why he characterises the social reformers as enemies of their country and as playing into the hands of the Christian missionaries and foreigners. He looks upon the exposure of social defects and abuses as unpatriotic and would advise covering them up so as not to expose them to the gaze of the foreigners The present-day congresswallah, the political fire-eater, is an arrant social reactionary He would defend the abuses as the distinguishing features of society and warn against their being interfered with in any way.

The Widow's Cause

We take the following from the *Widow's Cause*, the organ of the *Vidhava Vivaha Sahaik Sabha*, Lahore, as descriptive of the achievements of the *Sabha*

> It was on the first of December, 1914, that the overwhelming grievous cries of the lacs of Hindu child widows had a beneficial response from above by moving the feeling and living mind of Sir Ganga Ram Kt., R B., C I E., M V O who rising up to the occasion, as a practical, though silent, worker founded on that auspicious day, the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore to uplift the widows out of the degradation in which the Hindu community had forcibly thrust them into and to popularise vigorously the propaganda of widow remarriage among the Hindus
>
> At first it appeared too discouraging and hopeless for one individual to grapple with that senseless Hindu brain, which was dead to all susceptibilities But there was the Almighty's working and in a short period the signs of success became apparent.
>
> The number of widow marriages reported in 1915, 1916, 1917 1918 and 1919 was 12, 13, 30, 40 and 90 respectively In 1920, 1921 and 1922, it rose to 220, 317 and 454 respectively In 1923 it rapidly rose to 982 and in 1924, it was as high as 1003 viz, almost to double the previous years in 1925, the number has increased to 2,663 All this shows how the pernicious custom of enforced widowhood, blindly followed by the numerous generations of Hindus for many centuries is losing its hold, particularly in Upper India, to which the work of this society has been mostly confined It is worthy of note that large number of the marriages took place among high caste Hindu families Of the total number of 6210 remarriages, there were as many as 1146 among Brahmins, 1,242 amang Khashtriyas, 1,910 and 549 among Aroras and Agarwals, 130 and 206 among Rajputs and Kasths 232 among Sikhs and 937 among miscellaneous castes, The Punjab took the lead, next to the Punjab, the large number of marriages took place in U P In the year 1925, 2098 widow remarriages were held in Punjab and Delhi provinces, 38 in Sindh 73 in Bengal, 356 in U P, 23 in Madras, 12 in Bombay 11 in C. P 17 in Rajputana, 5 in Hyderabad Deccan and 30 in Assam These have been reported to this office But the number of marriages actually held must be much larger
>
> The Sabha has branches and co-workers at about 500 stations throughout India It is encouraging to note that sympathy and co-operation are being enlisted from all quarters Recently 20 new branches of the Sabha have been established in Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies and C P.
>
> The society has received more than 12,000 applications of gentlemen of high castes and various social status, willing to marry widows.
>
> Taking into consideration the fact that while some 20 years back the marriage of a Hindu with a widow was not only a rarest occurrence in India, but a thing severely condemned by society followed by a social boycott and ex-communication of the family it is now being appreciated as a mark of advanced civilization—the success achieved appears to be really encouraging
>
> But we need not think too much of this success taking into consideration the other side of the picture The census report for 1922 showed 20, 218 780 Hindu widows in India, out of whom 97 800 were below 10 years of age, 234,00 between 10 and 15 years of their ages and 113, 500 between the ages of 15 or 20

The School Master's Plight

The following, a quotation from Dr W S. Urquhart's Presidential Address, before the All-Bengal Teachers' Conference, demands the serious attention of those in power in the socio-political world

> The teacher is exploited in order that the community or perhaps some wealthy man may have the glory of association with and credit for a Higher English School *The teacher is worse paid than a domestic servant* Those who minister to the comfort of the wealthy members of the community are considered of more account than those who educate their children. There is need *here to get* rid of confusion of ideas. When the authorities are strict about the conditions under which a school is to be recognised, the cry is often raised that they will be depriving a struggling community of the advantages of education This cry would be

intelligible and justifiable if we could always be certain that it was the community as a whole which was struggling and not merely the poor teachers, if we could be sure that the sacrifice of poverty was always at the expense of the community as a whole and not merely at the expense of the teacher. Often I grant that the community does its very best, but it is not always so and it is for an association such as this to devise means whereby the community may take its fair share in the burden of education and those who have adopted more lucrative professions may be induced by public opinion to divide some portion of their wealth with those who are actually engaged in education. We must give the teachers their proper place in the social economy, so that the young teacher after having by toil and sacrifice on the part of himself and his family, come to the close of his University course should not feel that his life has reached an anti-climax and that he is compelled henceforth to exist under miserable helpless and soul-destroying conditions. The teacher must not be regarded as merely the insignificant employee of the community but as the depositary by the community of a sacred trust and the community must see to it that it provides honourable conditions under which the teacher may carry out that trust.

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Jaina Philosophy

The following appear in an article by C. S. Mallinath in *The Jaina Gazette* and describes the fundamental concepts of Jaina Philosophy.

According to the Jaina the liberated soul is not in absorption but retains its individuality in perfection. It is not an attendant but a Lord. It is not annihilated but continues to exist. It lives, it knows and it enjoys bliss. It is *Satchidananda.* All the liberated souls are equal and they are second to none. Jainism is the most democratic of all the Religions. It not only preaches the brotherhood of all mankind but proclaims the equality of all the souls in the Universe. The soul in a plant or bird or animal is potentially equal to that of a human being. Again all those souls are equal in point of their intrinsic nature to God—a Perfect Soul. Democracy does not end on Earth. It continues in Heaven also. All the Souls that are in Moksha have equality of status, quality and bliss. No soul there is inferior or superior to the other in any way.

Jainism is pre-eminently a Realism based on its *anekanta* system of Logic. It believes in the eternity of Soul, Universe and Moksha. There are infinite souls *Jivas* in the universe, each one of them being potentially God possessing the qualities of infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite power and infinite bliss. They are transmigrating as celestial, human, sub-human, or hellish beings according to their karmas. The soul has for its natural attributes consciousness, knowledge and perception. It has no form; it is the doer of actions; it is of the same size of the body in which it dwells; it experiences the results of its own actions; it has the tendency of a natural upward motion.

The Universe is a reality constituted of six *dravyas*—soul, Matter, Space, time, the medium of Motion and the medium of Rest. The Universe was never created and will never be destroyed. Only modifications of the substances are growing on every moment. That which is a mountain to-day may be levelled to a plain to-morrow, that which is clay now may be made into a pot a few hours afterwards and that which is ice now may be water some time hence and so on. The basic teaching of modern scientific discovery that matter is indestructible has been the teaching of Jainism from time immemorial. The substance continues to exist through change.

The Jain cosmography describes the Universe (the macrocosom) to be of the form of a human being (the microcosom) standing erect with legs apart and hands placed on the waist. The whole universe is enveloped in three atmospheres called *vatavalayas* or wind-sheaths and is divided into three regions the nether world, the middle world and the celestial regions all being situated one above the other from bottom upwards. Above the celestial regions at the very peak of the universe is the Blessed Region of Moksha called Siddhasila in Jainism.

There is no place in the Jaina Theology for a God who creates and rules the world. The God of the Jainas is the all-knowing pure and perfect soul which resides in Siddhasila.

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The Anagarika Dharmapala on India and the West

In an article in the Maha-Bodhi, the Anagarika Dharmapala gives us his thoughts on various things during his stay in Switzerland. He much appreciated the way the Swiss have used science to make life joyous and expects Indians to take a lesson from it. He says:

I stayed at Zurich a week and enjoyed the scenery of the Zurich lake. There are over a hundred motor boats plying in the lake taking passengers from one place to another, especially to the baths. How different are the sights in the Gangetic valley. Enjoyments are made possible in Europe and America in a grand scale due to scientific progress. Electricity is helping the people of Europe to make life joyous, and the people get all the joys on this earth because of their education on scientific lines. Every boy and girl gets the best education in departments of arts, literature, science, industries, agriculture and their future is assured. To read the history of Switzerland is a pleasurable inspiration. The motto of the Swiss people is "One for all and all for one." The Lord Buddha when He enunciated the Seven principles of concord to both the Bhikkhus and to the kshatriya princes anticipated the ethics of modern enlightened democracy based on co-operation. Unfortunately conservative elements of Brahmanism sapped the foundations of purifying democracy and the sublime principles of healthy co-operation enunciated by the Prince of the Sakyas were allowed to go to the limbo of oblivion. Brahmanism is only for the high caste, and the non-high-caste people preponderate in India.

So that unless this false aristocracy were done away with, we may not hope for much progress

The Dharmapala's views on British influence on Indian life, as quoted below, are worthy of his keen intellect

> Under British rule the people live in a state of placid ignorance contented with the rituals and superstitions and degenerating social customs, spending in vain so much money which could be usefully spent in bettering their social status But the disintegrating ethics of Brahmanical dogmatic sociology is too stupendous an obstacle which could only be removed by enlightened co-operation, and the millions of people live and die like sheep The British missionaries are the emissaries of the trinity, politics, trade and Christianity They are dunderheads utterly ignorant of scientific and agricultural economics which are essential to-day for the progressive development of a nation Europe advances on scientific lines, but poor India knows nothing of the advanced conditions of European races The intelligentsia of India are pupils of British constitutional law and they are, like the British missionaries, selfish looking only for their individual enrichment through British law courts Among the teeming millions of India there are only a few scientists, and they do not care to work on practical lines which would be of help to the teeming millions The poets dream dreams, and the wealthy class spend their money in luxury The rajahs are bacchanalian sensualists who spend their time in the enjoyment of abnormal sensual orgies The once powerful brahman priesthood is to-day impotent to do anything in the way of progress All they can do is to retard the progress of the working classes who form the backbone of the nation In other lands, the labouring class are a power and the government of each country help the agricultural development by improving the waterways and assisting the people by educating the young generation in agricultural methods. The United States and the different European governments are foremost in developing the resources of agriculture The Indian landowners do nothing to help the agricultural community. They neglect improved methods of scientific agriculture, they do not visit great agricultural centres in Europe, the United States and other countries to witness the many improvements made within the last fifty years Indian people suffer for want of scientific knowledge in agriculture, dairying, road building ship building, etc Educated philanthropists and scientists from European countries seldom visit India Globe-trotters visit India during the cold weather to see magicians and monkeys Missionaries with the knowledge of eighteenth century theological dogmatics go with their families to find their livelihood, and all they can teach the people is that Elohim created Adam from mud, and that the serpent deceived Eve, and they both fell from their spiritual nakedness, and that Jesus the Nazarene, son of the carpenter Joseph came down from heaven to save the people from the sin of Adam, and that unbelievers will be cast into a hell of brimstone and fire for eternity. This gospel fit for the doldums, is preached to the people who pass their lives in stagnation.

And his thoughts on the fate of Christianity are enlightening

> The theory of evolution as proclaimed by Darwin shook the foundations of Hebrew Christianity and as time went on men like Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Mill entered the arena and drove out the theologians from their strongholds. The future of Christianity is doomed Science is advancing, and the discoveries of fossils go to show that the earth was not created 6,000 years ago but that the earth is many millions of years old Radioactive science and the law of relativity will help the European races to get a better idea of the cosmic process than through the Semitic book of fables.

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Muslim Education in Bombay

The Mysore Economic Journal gives a summary of an official publication showing the progress of education among Muslims in the Bombay Presidency during the past ten years The following is taken from the above summary :

> With regard to secondary education, eight Government High Schools out of seventeen have been provided with special teachers of Urdu and 15 per cent of the places in Government secondary schools have been reserved for Muslims, while free studentships for Muslims at the rate of 22½ per cent of the total number of Mahomedan pupils in each Government secondary school have been sanctioned Altogether the proportion of scholarships provided for Muslims is largely in excess of that provided for other schools
>
> No difficulty is felt by Muslim pupils in gaining admission to Government Arts Colleges and in each Government professional college 10 per cent of the total number of places are reserved for Muslims provided they possess the minimum qualifications required for admission A large number of scholarships are also available for Muslim students in these colleges
>
> The measures taken by Government have led to a marked progress in the education of Muslims in the Presidency Proper Comparing the figures for 1915-16 and 1923-24, it is seen that Muslims attending colleges increased by 76 per cent, those in secondary schools by 25 per cent, and those in primary schools by 27 per cent, although the total Muslim population recorded in the Census of 1921 was less than that in the Census of 1911 Taking the three main communities, 15 11 per cent of the Brahmins attend school, 3.726 per cent of the intermediate Hindus and 7 77 per cent of the Muslims Muslims are more than twice as advanced as the intermediate Hindu community in primary education and from 3 to 1 times in secondary and higher education

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Exuberant Loyalty

Indian Princes, chiefs, zemindars etc., are noted for their love of the British and their

loyalty to the crown and its representatives ***This is no doubt in the fitness of things in view of the fact that the British have relieved them*** **of much of the heavy and often troublesome burden of sovereign by such as arise out of problems of defence, foreign policy etc The following news, taken from the** ***Feudatory and Zemindary India*** **will go to show that this loyalty is not empty**

To mark the occasion of the successful recovery of H E the Countess of Reading from her recent illness Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singha of Monghyr presented Rs 10,000 to be devoted to any purpose Her Excellency might think fit Her Excellency has decided to give Rs 15,000 out of that amount to the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta for the purchase of a deep Ray Therapy Apparatus for the use of indigent patients and the remaining Rs 5000 to be devoted to medical requisites for hospitals at Lahore

If only all the princes would join in and celebrate their loyalty by opening schools and hospitals and by helping welfare organisations instead of doing so through expensive dinners, parties and journeys abroad which produce no beneficial results for the people of India

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Bengal's Intellectual "Decadence"

Answering Justice Greaves' statement regarding the loss of her intellectual pre-eminence by Bengal, "A Bengali" writes in *Welfare*

It was due to the backwardness of other Provinces, rather than to any innate greatness, that Bengal had so long been leading India in things intellectual Also the present "decadence" of Bengal in this respect is due very much to the progressiveness of other provinces and not so much to any degeneration of our own brain substance The will to progress is a living sentiment in the youth of the other provinces They are deadly serious in their academic and other intellectual pursuits In Bengal, on the other hand, there is a lightheartedness attached to the academic outlook of students They take a cynical view of achievements in the world of examinations and feel that there is no "real" merit in topping the list This is not altogether a wrong view, and if Bengal can along with this attitude of mind, cultivate a love of true scholarship her losses in the field of government services will be fully compensated for by successes in the field of learning Nevertheless, this sneering attitude towards success in examinations, often hides a want of self-confidence, especially in those who go in for these examinations in spite of an avowed contempt for the same. This is a symptom of lack of grit and strength of character

Scholarship is a contemptible thing in none of its various aspects Bengal has lost sight of this truth in the heat of her strong feelings against the pseudo-scholarship propagated by the system of mass production of university men inaugurated by the late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Under this system thousands of graduates were turned out by the University of Calcutta with academic hall marks to which they had no real claim The result is that to-day Sir P C Roy can justly say as he is reported to have said to a representative of the *Statesman* that "it was not difficult to find first class M A's who were deplorably ignorant on the most important subjects and had only a superficial knowledge of others" And such M A's often obtained the first place in the University No wonder that they cannot hold their own against better trained men from Madras or Bombay.

The kind of scholarship which helps one to win laurels in examinations is scholarship, not in the field of deep thinking, but in that of facts and information A thorough grasp of fact, of what others have said on a subject, of the *pros* and *cons* of a thing etc etc, are what education should aim at in order to produce success in competitive examinations This means the choice of sound text-books and teachers In the Calcutta University both are sadly conspicuous by their absence The text-books are often selected with a view to enrich the author or the publisher (we guess this from the fact that some of the worst books on certain subjects are written by the members of the Calcutta University themselves and are selected as text-books Yet other such books are published by the University and forced on the students (we shall be glad to be proved wrong in our view) and not with an eye to excellence The teachers also are very often, with some exceptions not quite so well read as they should be The standard of the examinations of the University is also set to suit the teaching rather than to exact hard work from the students and sound teaching from the professors We remember our college days, when we used to get through the examinations of the Calcutta University with no trouble worth the name And that with intellectual abilities none too remarkable So that if Bengal desires to do better in the Services examinations great and immediate efforts should be made.

1 To overhaul the list of our text-books,
2 To overhaul our hierarchy of teachers and
3 To overhaul our curricula and standards of examinations

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Mr Gandhi's "Fundamental Error"

In the course of an article contributed to "Foreign Affairs," Sir Federick Whyte, the late president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, writes thus on what he calls Mr Gandhi's "fundamental error":

> It has often been asked What did Mr Gandhi mean by Swaraj? Not even he himself knew or if he did, he professed so many interpretations of it that in the end the world was bewildered and forsook him. Swaraj actually means self-rule, and sometimes he interpreted it in the political sense of responsible government, sometimes he interpreted it in the purely personal sense of self-knowledge, self-discipline, self-control. In truth, Mahatma Gandhi cared nothing for politics and knew nothing of it. Statecraft to him was an unnecessary encumbrance in human life, for at the bottom of his heart he believed or professed to believe that the only permanent bonds which can hold human society together are these of goodwill and love. The ideal was too high even for him to reach let alone the common humanity of India and the policy which he founded on this conception of society naturally broke under the strain of circumstances. He attempted to impose upon his own movement an ideal too high for it, and he confessed himself that he had committed a Himalayan blunder" in believing that a movement of passive resistance could long remain passive.
>
> Here lay his fundamental error. He and India have paid for it since.

Nevertheless, Sir Frederick has the fairness to add that

> it none the less remains true that his influence, both for good and for evil, stretched more widely throughout India than the influence of any other man in our generation, or perhaps in any other. Non-Cooperation in some of its aspects will soon be forgotten, or will only be remembered as a movement composed of mixed good and evil which was marred by some hideous bloodshed. But whether Non-Cooperation is remembered or not, there is no shadow of doubt that the influence of Mahatma Gandhi will remain, not in virtue of his spinning wheel or his homespun, but in virtue of personal example. It is idle to inquire what personality is, whence it comes or how it can move mountains, but the fact remains that the most novel feature in the whole landscape of India during the past five years has been the awakening of the masses to their political and economic conditions. That awakening is Mahatma Gandhi's work. Thousands, if not millions, of Indians have understood for the first time during these years, vaguely and ignorantly the meaning of the word "political" and wherever Gandhi passed, he left behind him an imprint on all minds which will not rapidly be effaced. Therefore, despite all the extravagance, chicanery, corruption and cruelty of the Non-Cooperation movement, the net sum of it is not evil and goes to the credit of its creator.

Some persons who professed to be Non-co-operators may have been guilty of extravagance, chicanery, etc, but these things did not follow from the principles of the Non-co-operation movement, nor did Mahatma Gandhi countenance or connive at them. On the other hand, the entire credit of the awakening of the masses does not belong to him, it was due in part to contemporary events, as partly enumerated thus by Sir Valentine Chirol in an article in the *Near East and India* —

> Bad harvests, the renewed ravages of the bubonic plague, two appalling outbreaks of influenza which carried off within a year nearly two millions of people, the huge rise in the cost of living, a sudden blast of intense economic depression reaching across from Europe, the disastrous antics of currency and exchange, the queer stories brought home by a million native troops thrown for the first time during the war into close contact with western life all these were enough to produce a dangerous and unprecedented ferment which spread even to the silent masses. Then came Amritsar and in the Duke of Connaught's own phrase its shadow lengthened over the face of India, whilst the strange figure of Gandhi, surrounded with the halo of ascetic saintliness which has from times immemorial appealed to the religious emotionalism of India, concentrated every popular grievance real or imaginary into a comprehensive denunciation of British rule and of western civilisation as satanic.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms also have disturbed, to however small an extent, the pathetic apathy of the masses.

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The Awakening of Asia

This is the title of an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* by Professor F A Ossendowski. He considers Japan to be the leader of a pan-Asiatic movement, whereas Bolshevist Russia masquerades as the friend of "enslaved Asia" and is pursuing the ideas of a "Central Mongolian Empire" or pan-Mongolism. In support of this latter statement he observes —

> The ideals with which the Bolsheviks approach and tempt Asia are not Communistic. They go into Asia preaching the fallacy of materialism,

positivism, and of Christianity as taught by the white races The whites, they say have divided nations into conquerors and vanquished and mankind into workers and those benefiting by their toils These burning words have been known to be used before, The same lesson was preached by the Christian Buddhist Leo Tolstoy the Indian Rabindranath Tagore (*Nationalism*) and the Chinese Professor Ko-hoo ming (*The soul of the Chinese People*)

These words can but have one meaning and one consequence, a war for freedom from the white yoke.

I have seen sorcerers clairvoyants and prophets calling Asia to her mission of revenge and war The soviets have wrung the control over this outbreak from the hands of the Asiatic and anti-Bolshevist leaders They knew how to turn religious worship and passion into action and into deeds which would bring about their aim the conquest and destruction of Europe

Rabindranath Tagore never had the remotest idea of preaching a *jehad* or any other kind of war for the conquest and destruction of Europe

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Why France and Great Britain should Combine

The following passages occur in an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* on the revolt in Syria

The French have maintained throughout that the cause of the Syrian revolt (including the Druse outbreak) is entirely due to Pan Islamic influence and anti-European feeling in Asia That this antagonism to European influence exists seems to be beyond doubt, but it appears more likely that the Druse insurrection with its results is being exploited in the interests of Pan Islam than that Pan-Islam is the cause of the turmoil in Syria Since the outbreak in July the Arab craving for independence has been stimulated by a local Press which expounds the desire of the people to govern themselves, although they are utterly incapable of doing so Anti-European propaganda floods the newspapers of Palestine and Syria where everything possible is being done to sow dissension between France and Great Britain

All this is said in order to enforce the lesson—

Above all, France should realise—and M de Jouvenel certainly does realise—that in the Near East she should sink her individual nationality and become an integral part of the European whole Great Britain, as mandatory Power in Palestine and Irak, should do the same and the two representatives of the same League of Nations should work hand-in-hand in the closest co-operation and with the same end in view—the good and welfare of the peoples entrusted to their guardianship The task of the League in the Near East is not easy But if its emissaries are united, and firmly so, the difficulties should be greatly reduced. If, on the other hand, the Asiatic can see his way to sow dissension between the French and British elements of the League's influence, he will most assuredly do so He lives by intrigue and is a past-master in the art.

It is only the superabundance of humility that has impelled the British writer to give the palm in intrigue to the Asiatics. The European, particularly British, record in effective intrigue has yet to be broken *Vide* "Rise of the Christian Power in India"

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The Biological Function of Humanitarianism.

Mr Aldous Huxley writes in *Vanity Fair* that humanitarianism is the expression of the mystical idea of the equality of man—'an idea which has already profoundly modified human society and which is destined to produce incalculable effects in the future'

We are all humanitarians now whatever our political opinions and whatever our social position Even those who are in possession of wealth and power admit that those who possess nothing have certain rights They are perpetually giving away little bits of their wealth and power to the dispossessed Why they could still resist the dispossessed, if they liked they could still oppress them even as their fathers resisted and oppressed But somehow they are not able to do so Humanitarianism has become a part of them it is impossible for them to ignore it It was this surrender of the power-holders to the dispossessed that outraged Nietzsche into propounding his new superman's morality Nietzsche justified his anti-humanitarianism in the name of Natural Selection The justification is, Mr Huxley argues quite invalid

Darwinism, as Benjamin Kidd pointed out long ago justified humanitarianism, not Nietzschean immoralism It is by a ceaseless process of competition that the breed is improved, is even kept up to existing standards In a tyrannical society where humanitarian principles are not recognized ninetenths of the individuals composing that society are so unfairly handicapped by poverty, bad conditions, and inadequacy of education, that they are not in a position to compete for any of the higher prizes of life By ameliorating the lot of the dispossessed, humanitarianism removes this handicap and thus by multiplying the competitors, tends to create an intenser and therefore biologically more stimulating competition Humanitarianism, then has a biological function—to render possible an intenser competition within society When all men are free to compete and all start equal, the chance of getting able men at the head of affairs is obviously increased That is the political justification of humanitarianism Societies should be run on humanitarian principles because an increase in the number of competitors increases the chances of efficient leadership "

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"The New and Infinitely More Exciting Vision of Nature."

Sir Jagadish Bose's demonstration of the existence of a pulsating heart in trees and plants has led the famous Irish poet and economist "A E." to animadvert in the *Irish Statesman* upon the insensitiveness of the public to the greater number of scientific generalisations "These affect society but little unless they are embodied in some invention" "A E" adds —

> We know that in every pin-point of space there is an image of the universe of light brought by waves or rays so that the eye can echo that impression of infinitude Through wireless and broadcasting we have become practically certain that every pin-point of space is capable of holding within it an echo or reverberation of the whole universe of sound, that a voice crying here goes round the world, for it may be caught up anywhere there is an instrument delicate enough Our ears, yet have not the range of our eyes and cannot bring to consciousness that universe of sound as the eye brings to consciousness the universe of light Perhaps the ear will become more sensitive in further evolution But it is astonishing how little this miraculous nature science reveals to us affects our normal consciousness
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> We walk about with our being insensitive to the miracle our intellect is convinced of and the intellect soon gives up the effort to civilise the [illegible] nature and we relapse after the first wonder of hearing some new discovery into a normal unwondering commonplace The theory of evolution was probably the scientific generalisation which most rapidly affected human consciousness There were popularisers of that now almost obsolete Darwinian doctrine But what genius will popularise the new and infinitely more exciting vision of nature revealed to us by later scientists, who would make the universe suddenly appear living and spiritual to us as it really is, and not inanimate and material as our gross senses make us think?

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The Religion of the American Indian

In the *Buffalo Art Journal*, Mr Ellsworth [illegible] defines the original attitude of the American Indian as "simple and exalted"

> The worship of the "Great Spirit" was silent, solitary, and free from all self-seeking The Indian was silent because he knew all speech to be necessarily feeble and imperfect His worship was solitary for he believed that He is nearer to us in solitude From the very birth of the child his spiritual instruction began. At first, merely pointing to nature, then in whispered songs, bird-like, morning and evening The child's spiritual training continued until he was sixteen, when he took his first solitary communion with the Great Spirit This was called "hambleday" literally "mysterious feeling" or it may better be interpreted as "consciousness of the divine" The first "hambleday" was a very elaborate ceremonial.
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> The youth first purified himself by means of a vapour bath to cast off as far as possible all fleshly influences The father of the boy then sought out the most commanding summit in all the surrounding region—a place where beauty and silence reigned The silence was His voice Beauty was a stimulant to the spiritual self Knowing that God set no value upon material things, the youth took no offerings or sacrifices other than symbolical objects such as paints and tobacco
>
> Wishing to appear before Him in all humility, he wore no clothing save his mocassins and breech-clout At the solemn hour of sunrise or sunset he took up his position, overlooking the glories of nature and facing toward the sun, and there he remained, naked, erect, silent and motionless, for a night and sometimes longer At times he would chant a hymn or offer the ceremonial pipe. In this ecstasy the Indian found his highest happiness and the guiding influence of his life.

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Mussolini

Mussolini is a powerful man and is moulding Italy into a powerful nation In view of Italy's geographical position, the possibility of a stronger Italy is looked upon with disfavour by some of the most powerful nations of to-day That it is so can be seen from the tone of the following extract from *The New Republic* How far it is a true picture of the situation in Italy cannot be judged by people who are outside Italy and have only non-Italian sources of obtaining information regarding that country That it is an one-side picture can be guessed from its temper It runs

> Mussolini's is the blackest shadow which lies over Europe at the present time The belief is widespread that the future policy of the Italian Dictator is likely to prove the most dangerous and disruptive force at work anywhere on the continent The heart of the Facist "philosophy" is the use of force if the time should come when it had nothing to fight about, Mussolini's Black Shirt organization might be in danger of melting away In internal affairs he has been almost too successful for his own good. He has crushed political opposition, exiled or intimidated his enemies, almost literally abolished hostile criticism in the press and elsewhere In order to continue to feed Italy the now familiar diet of raw meat, his enemies believe he may be compelled to embark upon a dramatic external policy of some sort France and England would hardly be likely to permit him to go to war with Austria, and we trust he would be too shrewd to put his hand into the fire by picking a quarrel with Jugoslavia What he is most likely to choose, if the prophets are correct, is an effort at colonial aggrandizement, perhaps in northern Africa Such an attempt, however, might easily lead to international friction of the sort which culminates in war Meanwhile with his talk of a new Holy Roman Empire, his

proposal for "an all-Latin bloc" and the attacks which his Facisti are making on the Locarno Pact, he is worrying the chancellories of western Europe just at the moment when they thought to enjoy a little well-earned peace Already, pessimists are saying that Italian intransigeance is likely to be the fatal stumbling block in the path of the coming League Conference on Disarmament

The last vestiges of freedom are being stamped out in Italy with a scientific thoroughness which must excite the admiration of all those American business men whose avowed love for Mussolini is based on his efficiency No citizen is permitted under the new statutes to speak or write in anything but hearty approbation of Il Duce and all his works A hostile critic if he lives in Italy is subject to fine and imprisonment and if he lives abroad, any Italian property he may possess is subject to confiscation Civil government by another decree, has been abolished outright in all towns with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants These are now to be ruled direct from Rome The last of the opposition newspapers have given up the ghost, after a period of declining circulations due to the fact that the public did not care to wade through their heavily censored columns and read about birds and flowers In short, the present internal administration of Italy is as strikingly similar to that of Russia as their foreign policies are for the moment along parallel lines.

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Chinese Minister learns Sanscrit

The following appears in in *The Young East*

Mr Wang Jung-pao, Chinese Minister to Japan, has recently taken up the study of Sanscrit with the help of Dr M Nagai of the Tokyo Imperial University, and while studying it, His Excellency is comparing Chinese translations of sutras with originals.

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Why not India ?

The following is taken from *The China Journal of Science and Arts*

That China and other countries on the Pacific have a very good friend in the Rockefeller Foundation is evidenced by the various undertakings fathered by that institution Recently Dr Harry L Russell Dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin has arrived in China from Japan, being on a visit to this and other countries in the Far East for the purpose of investigating educational conditions here He is making a thorough examination of the science education in the Universities and Colleges of these countries, and will select groups of already trained scientists with the idea of giving them further training in science through the medium of the Rockefeller Foundation, the department of which concerned has been handsomely endowed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Up till now the Rockefeller Foundation in these parts has been mainly concerned with medical education and research, carried on at the Peking Union Medical College and the present increase in the scope of the institution's activities must come as a great boon to China and other countries of the Far East

Dr Russell is looking for suitable men in China to benefit by the plan of the Foundation. These must have received their doctor's degree in educational work, and must be willing to return to their own country when they have received the extra training in America, to devote themselves to work there for the benefit of their own nationals

This is offering young men who have graduated in foreign countries and returned to China but find that they do not know enough about educational science, a wonderful chance to acquire that knowledge Science teaching in China is woefully inadequate and we sincerely trust that Dr Russell will be successful in his search for candidates of the Rockefeller Foundation's new enterprise

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Broadcasting Obscenity

Pornographic literature and obscene "art has become a serious social menace in India where there are no good organisations to fight these evils and as such, such things can be circulated among the youth of the country with impunity That this evil is no less present in such well-organised and advanced countries as the U S A can be seen from the following extract from the *Literary Digest*

"Pictures from Paris " whose purpose is obvious in their titles magazines which are openly or furtively obscene, and that sort of literature which is published secretly and sold on the sly, are some of the grave dangers to which the youth of the country is constantly and carelessly exposed The situation, we are told, is probably worse to-day than it has ever been, because of new publications constantly appearing on the market and the easier distribution, and the traffic in obscenity is said to be practically without hindrance In some cities, attempt to sell improper literature to children on their way to school are reported Jersey City recently took a decisive step in barring a dozen magazines from a news-stand, after arresting and indicting the proprietor The proprietor was permitted to go free on his promise to discontinue the sale and distribution of the magazines found objectionable In Philadelphia it is reported that attempts are made to sell improper periodicals to school boys and girls, in some instances at the very doors of the schools and the ire of the educators and clergy of that city has been thoroughly aroused According to Dr. Broome superintendent of schools in Philadelphia, as he is quoted in *The Bulletin* of that city, these publications form one of the most serious menaces to our youth, to-day " He goes on

'There is no traffic more insidious or harder to deal with on one hand or more damaging to the character of youth on the other than these publications These periodicals are so candid and frank in vulgarity, both in text and illustrations, that there is no effort to conceal the purpose for which they are published.

The schools, public, private, and parochial, are constantly exercising the utmost care to counteract these vicious influences. But they cannot accomplish results without cooperation from every citizen who believes in clean-mindedness

Whether the conduct in this respect is worse than twenty-five years ago, I am not prepared to say The same amount of foul-mindedness does more harm to-day, however, and reaches more young minds because of the greater facilities for publication "

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Lord Hardinge on Locarno and After

The Financial Review of Reviews publishes an article by the Right Hon Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, K G, in which he deals with the Locarno Pact, the history which gradually led up to it and its effects on the political and economic future of Europe We give the concluding portion of the article below

The Locarno Pact, which may be described as the effective end of the war, consists of a treaty of mutual guarantee between England, Germany, Belgium, France and Italy by which the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* on the French and Belgian frontiers is established and the demilitarised zone on both banks of the Rhine, to which are attached Arbitration Treaties between Germany on the one hand, and France Belgium, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia on the other Encouraging and hopeful as the conclusion of these [illegible] may sound, it does not necessarily [illegible]w that they will ensure peace indefinitely, any [illegible] than the Treaty of 1839 guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium which Germany, as a [illegible]atory Power, treated as a 'scrap of paper " [illegible] the example of what befell Germany is a very [illegible] lesson, and the greater certainty now that [illegible] lesson would be repeated on an aggressor [illegible] necessarily make any ambitious Power [illegible] before embarking on such a course But [illegible] is in the Locarno Pact, yet does not appear [illegible] wording of it, is a new atmosphere of peace [illegible] conciliation with our former enemies and [illegible] readmission to the comity of nations on equal [illegible]s It is only by the constant pursuit of a policy [illegible] peace that war and strife amongst nations can be [illegible]manently averted and this we may hope to be [illegible] true interpretation of the Locarno Pact.

With the stabilisation of the political situation [illegible] Europe, economic equilibrium will undoubtedly [illegible] in due course Already our two principal [illegible] in the war are making good. Germany [illegible] stabilised her currency is steadily paying what [illegible] to the Allies under the Dawes' report, and [illegible] of her diminished resources she is gradually working up to her pre-war standard With [illegible] and determination beyond all praise she [illegible] her difficulties, and by her industry and [illegible] is rapidly overcoming them Germany's [illegible]mercial supremacy in Europe is far more likely [illegible] realised than the military predominance [illegible] was her aim for more than a generation.

Then again. Austria, with the financial assistance [illegible] the Allies, has stabilised her currency, has balanced her budget, and gives every indication of a growing economic prosperity. Her principal difficulty is that, deprived of access to the sea she is surrounded by States who make the export of her manufactures almost impossible, A more friendly disposition towards Austria on the part of the Central European republics would be of inestimable value to her, and also indirectly to themselves.

Of the Central European States, Czecho-Slovakia is the more advanced and progressive, having embraced most of the richest manufacturing districts of the former Austrian Empire By a great effort, she has stabilised her currency, balanced her budget and, being self-sufficient in manufactures and foodstuffs, with a fair proportion of raw material, her industrial activities are likely to expand considerably She is fortunate in having a capable President and a very efficient Prime Minister in M. Benes

Roumania Servia and Poland, all of them devastated during the Great War, are slowly but surely recovering and tending towards permanent economic stability

Thus, as we look around, we see, with the signal exception of the situation in Russia, steady progress and re operation on all sides in Europe and fortified by the Locarno Pact and its subsidiary agreements, we may hope for the development of mutual and peaceful co-operation in the path of progress and civilisation Such progress will undoubtedly occasion demands for capital, which can be found more readily on the English market than elsewhere and after careful investigation should present favourable opportunities for safe and sound *investment* In conclusion it may be stated that now that the future of these various nationalities in Europe is more assured, investors can turn their attention in those directions with more confidence than they could have had during the past few years

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European Solidarity against the Orient

Although Orientals know little about it, the occidental press has been talking a lot about a certain anti-European movement which is rampant everywhere in the Orient Whatever anti-European movement there is in the East is directed not against Europe, but against Europeans who indulge in exploitation of the East As soon as this exploitation ceases, let us suppose by the greater practice of morality and self-control among Europeans, who up to now cannot resist the temptation of despoiling others if they can do so without much risk of physical injury, the anti-European movement will also cease But there are some people still in Europe who think that by better organisation of European military power and by a suitable solution of the troublesome problem of dividing the spoils, they can keep up this work of exploitation for yet some time Such efforts will no doubt call forth similar efforts of a defensive nature in the East as well.

However that may be, we give below quotations from an article from the *Politica*, Rome, which was reproduced in English by the *Current History Magazine*

Although this is not generally realized as yet "the National-Religious revolution of the Moslem world and the National-Communist revolution of the Yellow world, are but two phases of a single anti-European movement extending from Casablanca to Vladivostok This movement is constantly fed by Bolshevist propaganda Although Germany may be seen alongside Russia extending aid to that movement her part is by necessity a temporary one Germany is essentially a Western and a Christian country, a colonial power both by her past and by her aspirations, an integral part of imperialist Europe She is anxious to free herself of the necessity of making common cause with Bolshevism and with the East, and it is to the interest of Europe that she should succeed The negotiations for a Rhine compact are an effort to detach Germany from the Bolshevist combination and thus to push the defense line of the West back from the Rhine to the Vistula Russia on the contrary, is not a part of the Western system, and attempts to detach her from the Orient, such as were made by Lloyd George, are doomed to failure Just as the Czarist State was European on the surface only, so is the Bolshevist revolution, in spite of its European label

The anti-European revolution however is anterior to Bolshevism, as it is anterior to Versailles, to Wilson, to the World War to the twentieth century Its origin is to be found in the system of ideas that has prevailed since the eighteenth century in that very Europe against which it is directed Though the present conflict is, in a sense, but one of the gigantic phases of the age-long duel between Orient and Occident this phase differs profoundly from all the preceding in that the revolt of the Orient against Occidental domination is carried on this time in the name of a universal 'right,' which the Occident itself made universal The struggle is waged in the name of an international ethical system which is entirely of Occidental European origin in the name of universal 'equality,' of inherent rights of men and of peoples of the 'principle of nationality, of the 'right of self-determination' Then came the World War, and all Asiatic peoples, whether sovereign or subject began to be courted, flattered and solicited to join the war for right against might in the name of 'justice and universal liberty' "The most categorical and demagogic anti-imperialist doctrine was officially proclaimed during four years by the leading imperial capitals, and then it resounded to the remotest corners with the powerful voice and authority of Wilson. * * * Under the ferrule of the great transoceanic demagogue -who also was anti-European by an irresistible instinct though from different motives—Europe for the first time abased her prestige in the eyes of the Asiatics by admitting their 'right' and her own wrong" With the advent of peace, the victors repudiated their promises and the anti-European revolution flared up, with Wilson's Fourteen points as a slogan

In the face of this movement, Europe's resistance is weakened by a "crisis of conscience," which has all the symptoms of a crisis of decadence Europe's infirmity consists of the predominance of a universalist ideology based on the principle of universal equality as over 'the direct instinct of historical necessity of power, and of might' It is a case of bad conscience that handicaps Europe in her dealings both with the East and with the new Transatlantic West To the anti-European revolt in the East and the anti-European pressure from the West there should be opposed the solidarity of the imperialist powers of Europe That solidarity however, is non-existent as yet not only in politics but even in public sentiment The responsibility for this rests primarily with the older and greater colonial powers France and England, who took advantage of their victory not only to deprive the enemy power of its overseas empire but also to despoil their ally, Italy, of her share of the colonial conquest The result has been to force Germany to seek revenge in a universal collapse and at the same time to cause Italy to assume an attitude of benevolent neutrality toward the Oriental revolution A real European solidarity is possible only after a thorough revision of the imperial hierarchy of the world whether effected peacefully or by war.

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Medical Effect of Music

We find in the *Literary Digest* that

Recent experiments to determine the effect of music upon the human mind and body are discussed by a German physiologist named Rasser in *Biologische Heilkunst* An abstract in *Naturwissenschaftliche Umschau* (Coethen) is quoted in part as follows The author begins by observing that music not only soothes melancholy and induces forgetfulness of sorrow but may actually exert a healing effect upon nervous affections and reduce pain He mentions as examples in which neuralgic pain was relieved by music Gladstone, Herbert Spencer, and the late Empress Elizabeth of Austria He says

Gallius relates in his Gallic Knights that the ancients believed that all persons suffering from sciatica are relieved of pain when they hear the notes of the flute He says that he has read in a work by the Greek author Theophrastus that the effects of snake-bites are neutralized by suitable tones of this instrument Likewise, the Greek philosopher Democritus declares that many diseases are healed by fluteplaying Gallius himself appears to give credence to these ideas, since he remarks 'So great is the relationship between the body and the soul and correspondingly between the diseases and the remedies of soul and of body'

The influence of music upon the human organism is employed as a therapeutic measure by physicians Various investigators have studied this influence by means of physiological devices, which have arrived at a high degree of perfection in modern times'

The author cites experiments made by Dr I Trachanoff with the Mosee dynamometer which proved that cheerful music of a gay and spirited tempo actually increases the lifting power of the muscles, whereas a slow and melancholy melody exerts the reverse influence It has likewise been demonstrated that a bell sounded at regular intervals has a definite effect upon the elimination of

carbondioxide and the absorption of oxygen, in other words, the sounds produce an acceleration of the processes of metabolism

The author next refers to the favorable influence which music exerts upon mental troubles. He remarks also that certain French physicians have demonstrated that music operates as a sedative influence in narcosis Experiments such as those of Dr George Zehden of Berlin also indicate the favorable effect of certain sounds in such cases An interesting experiment quoted by him is that made in a clinic in Berne, Switzerland, with the object of modifying pain by a combination of music and narcosis.

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Trade Monopolies as a Source of War

Nations have fought in the past often and bitterly, because they have tried to monopolise fields for economic exploitation Now we find Americans resenting the monopolistic exploitation of their markets by other nations through the sale in America of monopoly goods of different kinds The following quotation from the same journal would give an idea of the trouble

Rubber, the cushioner of shocks and deadener of sounds, now threatens to become a cause of wars and tumult For, at Secretary Hoover's suggestion Congress, disturbed by the fact that America's twelve or fifteen million motorists and her millions of other users of manufactured rubber paid some hundreds of millions of dollars more for their tires and rubber goods in 1925 than they did in 1924, has called for an investigation of England's control of crude rubber prices Already our press echoes with such ominous phrases as "trade war" and "reprisals" A Western daily characterizes the British Government's boosting of prices by restricting production on British-owned rubber plantations as "commercial banditry". A Massachusetts State Senator declares that the British "have, in reality, declared a trade war against the United States and invited reprisals." Our editorial statisticians estimate that if the present high prices are sustained, the British rubber-planters will take more money from this country in exorbitant profits than the British Government will pay us in settlement of her war debt In England, the correspondents tell us, the man in the street reads of American indignation over the price of tires "with the complacent smile of the cat that has just stolen the cream." And when this man in the street has a smattering knowledge of American politics, says the London correspondent of the New York *Times*, he comments as follows, 'Hoover is just pulling off what they call a political stunt. He is grooming himself for the presidential fight in 1928 He is twisting the British Lion's tail, and there is no more in it than that"

Secretary of Commerce, Hoover, who leads this onslaught on the high price of rubber, says that the group of British rubber-planters who control the market are causing American purchasers to pay from $30 to $70 excess profit on every set of automobile tires they buy To quote his statement further,

"The manufacturers point out that there are ample supplies of rubber in the world, but they have been held up by this combination, and speculators, until rubber has increased from 35 cents a pound to an average of $1 10 last month A year ago the combine declared that 35 cents was a reasonable price, but the difference now demanded by them and speculators amounts on our 900,000,000 pounds of annual rubber import to nearly $700,000,000 per annum, and means a charge of $30 to $70 a year on every user of an automobile

Nor is rubber the only raw material consumed in the United States and controlled by a foreign Government, Mr. Hoover reminds us There is now an official Franco-German control over the price of potash. The Chilean Government controls the price of nitrates. The Dutch Government controls quinin And the Yucatan Government controls the sisal fiber from which is made the binder twine used in American wheat-fields

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Russia Wheels Round

Social reformers in the past had been in the habit of believing and asking others to believe that progress and betterment of society would not be possible unless radical changes were made in every field of life They proclaimed the whole social structure unsuited to human well-being But they forgot that during its thousands of years of evolution, the social structure had been subjected to the test of compatibility with human happiness at practically every step As such it is not reasonable to think that an intellectually evolved scheme of society would do more for human happiness than would the established system which has been built up slowly and with a view to attain happiness, if not for the greatest number at least for more than a mere few as some would like the world to believe

Russia which had been trying to improve the lot of her greatest number by means of economic fads has found out at last that the beaten track has at least the virtue of leading somewhere She has been slowly coming round since four or five years ago The following extract from the *Literary Digest* will show us the extent of the recovery.

From rigid communism Russia passed in 1921 to the famous 'new economic policy," but as Russian editors point out, the Soviet Government still retained three institutions, which they considered corner-stones of communist philosophy These institutions, we are told, are the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nationalization of the main branches of industry, and thirdly, the monopoly of foreign trade by the Government Private capital in

Russia could do no harm, it was held, as long as these three bulwarks were maintained. But about the middle of November last, it appears, a new reform was decreed, which modifies, if it does not actually abolish, the monopoly of foreign trade. As recorded in the Russian press, the Commissariat of Foreign Trade has been taken from its chief and stanch supporter, Comrade Krassin, and has been fused with the Commissariat of Domestic Trade under the direction of Comrade Tzurupo, a more liberal Communist. Henceforth, licenses to export and to import will be granted more facility, we are told, and what is more, the Soviet Government will encourage the formation of 'mixed companies,' composed of foreign capitalists and representatives of the Soviet Government for the purpose of promoting foreign commerce.

Also, it is pointed out, individual Soviet trusts and cartels will have the right to purchase materials directly in foreign markets. While it is true, say some Russian newspapers, that the Commissariat of Trade will still control all individuals and organizations engaged in business, they assure us that this control will not be nearly so oppressive as it has been heretofore.

In the Moscow *Economicheskaya Zhizn*, there is a statement taken from one of Kameneff's speeches in which he said that "no longer could we endure the condition under which only our Trade Delegations had the power to buy pins, soap, machinery, clothing, nail-files, and what not. Such a state of things is dying a natural death." In this paper, also, we read that the foreign trade monopoly built up an enormous and clumsy machine of Trade Delegations, that were slow and inefficient, and it is related that in Berlin alone the Soviet Trade Delegation had a personnel of eight hundred.

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Fascism in France.

The Living Age tells us that Fascism is fast developing in France. The reasons are financial, social as well as political. We are told :-

> France is watching foreign Fascism with growing attention. Her reactionary press does not conceal its belief that Mussolini's dictatorship is a model form of government. The great boulevard papers seem to please their enormous circle of readers by publishing column articles portraying Fascist rule in its most favorable light. So the merits and demerits of Fascism have become a matter of bitter partisan contention.
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> During the past few weeks certain organizations that hitherto have avoided, and indeed indignantly disclaimed, any sympathy with the Fascisti have begun openly to copy them. We begin to hear of 'Blue Shirts' whose purposes and tactics are identical with those of the Italian Black Shirts. Prominent in this agitation are the *Camelots du Roy*, organized by Charles Maurras and Leon Daudet, who have made themselves conspicuous by various disorderly manifestations against Radicals and Pacifists. But French Fascism evades declaring itself as yet on the question of a republic or a monarchy. It puts forth a more plausible programme, limited to a reassertion of State authority and national discipline. Instead of proclaiming revolution, it professes to be the nation's defender against revolution.
>
> The recent luxuriant growth of Fascist organizations in France is due to a feeling that the Opposition in Parliament is powerless to prevent the Socialists from carrying out confiscatory financial and taxation policies. This fear has induced everyone in France who feels his property interests threatened to seek the aid of any agency even that of these extremist Nationalist groups, that will defeat the Cartel's programme.

The French Fascists are, however, not a powerful body, for

> Notwithstanding the military mimicries of most of these groups, they still lack the discipline and ruthless tactics that characterized the Italian Fascisti even before their March on Rome. They have made boyish demonstrations of hostility to Herriot and they raised a little student-rumpus to show their displeasure at the appointment of Francois Albert, the former Minister of Education, but these were amateur affairs. A more serious incident occurred in the rue Damremont at Paris where the Jeunesses Patriotes attempted to hold a parade one night by military divisions with prearranged commands and signals. But when a few rowdies, either Apaches or Communists, fired a revolver shot or two at them, they promptly took to their heels.

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Britain's Work in India

Using a textile metaphor, Mr R. K. Sorabjee, M.A., describes in the *Journal of the East India Association*, how the British have reinforced the fabric of Indian Life by stretching it on a frame of "efficiency" and by supplying the "warp" which consists of several strands, *viz.*, Justice, Education, Finance, Irrigation, Transport and Communication, Organization, Banking, Defence, Missionary Effort, Industry and so on and so forth. The writer says,

> Foremost amongst these is the strand of Justice. Britain may well be proud of the system of Justice it has introduced into India. Justice means impartiality and with all the will in the world no people of the many peoples of India could have set that strand in the warp. Religious feeling in that land of many religions runs so high, Prejudice, in that land of caste and community, is so strong.

The other "Strands" are equally good and strong.

We need hardly comment on what has been entirely spun by Mr Sorabji and his spiritual co-operators. He asks the Indians to supply the woof for this hybrid fabric which in his opinion would be the ideal India. Our doubts are many. They concern the true quality of the warp as well as the

possibility of weaving anything successfully on the Imperial Loom, whose consumption of woof is always disproportionately large compared to the amount of *real* cloth turned out.

Position of Women in Islam

The Review of Religions publishes an article by "Hidayet" on the above subject It opens as follows

> One of the accusations of the opponents of Islam, which always surprises me, is the assertion that Islam keeps the position of woman low
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> As yet, I have not succeeded in finding out on what this assertion is based, certainly not on the Quran at any rate, as nowhere I have found in that book a verse indicating or even hinting in the slightest degree, that the position of the woman should be an inferior one On the contrary, the verses dealing with woman's rights state clearly that the position of woman in Islam is as honourable as that of man in every respect
>
> As regards her social position, we read in Surah IV 32 "Men shall have the benefit of what they earn and woman shall have the benefit of what they earn"
>
> I know that many a working woman in Holland would jump up with joy if this Islamic injunction were to be put into practice here It seems to me, that the position of the Dutch lady in The Hague, on whose private business property her husband had drawn a cheque for several thousand guilders, and who a few weeks ago lost her case against him before the Dutch court, is far more inferior to that of a Muslim woman, who under Islamic Law, never could have been subjected to such treatment

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Revival of Buddhism in Japan

Struggle for existence against Christianity has given new vigour to Buddhism in Japan The Buddhists are making rapid strides and the way they are tackling the problem of revival should convey a lesson to Hindu revivalists The *Harvard Theological Review* in an article by James Thayer Addison, gives us the following information on the subject

> One unexpected result of sixty years of Western civilization in Japan has been the the revival of Buddhism When the new era of Japanese progress began in the sixties of the last century, Buddhism was obviously declining Though still powerful as the religion of the masses it was intellectually sterile and apparently incapable of renewed vigor, either spiritual or practical No great movement of reform, no access of energy had marked its history for six hundred years. And when the restored imperial government disestablished Buddhism, its last hope seemed to vanish But from that day to this Buddhism has enjoyed a new lease of life. Both intellectually and practically it is far more flourishing and active to-day than it was in 1890 Yet, strangely enough, it may be doubted whether its standing is higher and its influence greater than they were sixty years ago The progress of Western thought and of Christianity has been so rapid and effective that relatively speaking Buddhism has probably made little, if any advance In other words, it has had to run fast in order to keep in the race at all, and only its revival has prevented its gradual disappearance as an important factor in the national life
>
> Though the educational, philanthropic, and missionary activities of Japanese Buddhism are the chief outward signs of revival, several others are important enough to deserve mention Among these are the efforts of the temple priests to win and hold the people—especially the young people Leaders of the larger sects are no longer content with a laissez-faire attitude, for they cannot afford to drift. Again with one eye on the vigorous methods of Christian missionaries, they are making ever greater use of preaching
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> The Nishi Hongwanji sect claims to have about 2000 Sunday-schools with nearly 100,000 pupils, and while there is no reason to believe that these figures are accurate in a Western sense, they indicate at least a remarkable growth of this form of religious education And at least three of the other sects are almost equally active in the attempt to reach and hold the children
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> To hold the boys and girls who are too old for Sunday-school methods there are a growing number of Young Men's Buddhist Associations and Young Women's Buddhist Associations.

"Sordid Imperialism

The New Republic says —

> The mandate system of the League of Nations is the least admirable aspect of the whole Geneva enterprise The mandates of the British in Mesopotamia and the French in Syria were both awarded in flat contradiction of the wishes of the populations involved. In both cases, the honor of the Allies had been expressly pledged to another arrangement Great Britain, of course, took Mesopotamia partly for the sake of the Mosul oil, partly because it fitted in with her Persian policy, partly for the general diplomatic and military advantages Never has the economic motive in imperialism been more flagrantly exposed than in British policy in the Middle East, where the British government's partial ownership and complete control of the oil companies holding the chief concessions is not even camouflaged. The whole chapter is one of sordid imperialism for which, though the Mesopotamian mandate has been better conducted than that of the French in Syria, there is nothing to be said.

British Justice and Fairplay

Harold J Laski writing in *The New Republic* on the Communist trials says —

The conviction of twelve British communists for conspiracy to publish seditious libels and for

incitement of the army and the navy to mutiny is the first considerable political trial in this country for many years It is important that it should be understood in its proper perspective since it affords a useful clue to the present temper of English politics

Ever since the Baldwin government came into office, the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson Hicks, has been fulminating against the Communist party as a gigantic conspiracy which is shattering the foundations of the British Empire He has been passionately supported by the Yellow Press and the semi-official Tory organ, *The Morning Post*

Upon a number of documents submited to the Attorney General the latter was induced to indict twelve of the most important Communists in England

They had I think, a perfectly fair trial The Attorney-General, who led for the prosecution, could not have put his case more moderately Their own counsel were treated fairly both by the judge and the Attorney-General

But he thinks the English Law of Sedition is hardly ideal For, says Mr Laski,—

On the law as it stands in England, I may quote the remarks of two great English lawyers "The legal definition of sedition" wrote Professor Dicey "might easily be used to check a great deal of what is ordinarily considered allowable discussion and would if rigidly enforced, be inconsistent with the prevailing forms of political agitation" "Where factions are unequally balanced," wrote Lord Cockburn, "and the times violent there is no department of criminal justice where such extensive unfairness may plausibly be practised under the forms of law"

Apart from the fact that the trial took place in an atmosphere of carefully propagated anti Communist feeling that the law of Sedition in England is rather amorphous, Mr Laski thinks it unwise to have prosecuted the communists for other reasons too He says

But was it wise? Ought in other words, the prosecution to have been undertaken? I append some reasons why Englishmen who care for freedom, men like Mr C P Scott, Prof L T Hobhouse, Mr Shaw and Mr Wells—I take names unassociated with politics—do not think it should

(1) The Communist movement, on the confessions of its own leaders, is a dwindling movement. They put its membership at 4 000, and the recent decisions of the Labor party made their further decline inevitable Persecution will have the inevitable effect of increasing the party's prestige and importance. (2) It is always inadvisable to prosecute mere opinion No one would have defended the Communists for attempting definite acts, but not even the most urgent efforts of the secret police could discover documents of other than abstract and philosophic nature To punish for these is to go back to the worst trials of the Napoleonic epoch. (3). The prosecution comes badly from a government some of whose members would have been found guilty of far worse offences in the Ulster controversy of 1913. For men like Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead to accuse others of sedition is farcical, (4). The prosecution is political and not judicial It follows upon a year's campaign by the Home Secretary (himself a seditionist of the Ulster period) and a specific demand for exactly this action from the Unionist party (5) It is always impossible to define sedition and the only result of putting communism in that category has been to make thousands acquainted with its teaching who never before were even interested in it

Regarding the nature of British Justice in Modern Times, Mr Laskit hinks *it is no longer as impartial in its administration as it was in former days.* For

The Home Secretary is referred to by the Manchester Guardian as the "Secretary for Class War" Certainly since he came into office, the police who are under his control, have winked at illegal drilling by Fascists all over the country A charge made against three Fascists who attacked the lame driver of a Daily Herald van withdrawn without any proper charge being substituted in its place though everyone agrees that this would not have happened had the van belonged to the *Morning Post*

Britain is degenerating Mr Laski continues

Professor Hobhouse whose wise insight into English Politics seems to me unsurpassed, said to me recently that he had detected in recent years a decline in the British respect for freedom I believe that is true, though it is difficult to measure how far it is true Certainly, men like Sir W Joynson Hicks are educating their supporters into a belief in class-justice, class-liberty, and class-force They are persuading large numbers of the working class that what Mr Gladstone once termed the "resources of civilisation" are exhausted Nothing is worse for a country than to magnify petty sedition into public danger

The above should receive the attention of the keepers of Law and Order in British India

—

The National Spirit of China

David Z. T. Yui writing on the above in the *World Tomorrow* says

The Chinese people have often been criticised as having no national spirit. How can one imagine the absence of a national spirit among a people who have witnessed the rise and fall of many nations and who have themselves passed successfully through 5 000 years without serious interruption? It is perhaps true that they do not have what is known as a nationalistic spirit, which, however, is different from a national spirit.

A national spirit is the inner-being or soul of a people. It is that which holds a people or race

together, distinguishes them from any other people or race, and marks out their special contribution to the world's civilization It is built upon their cultural heritage, their accumulated thought-life and the activities, abilities, habits and experiences of past generations

The ideals of life and life's relations enunciated and lived by our forefathers remain unsurpassed even according to present standards of both East and West We are not a people merely with a glorious past but one in whom that glorious past is still surging and throbbing and seeking for avenues of expression No force can check its activities it is bound to issue forth in a greater present and future We are struggling not to save our country as the ordinary expression goes,—for who can destroy our nation with such a national spirit as we have ?—but for the benefit of ourselves and the world to strengthen and improve by taking advantage of what the modern civilization has to offer

We should remember that our national development should not be brought about in any forced manner but it should be allowed to follow in its own way and take its own time While we shall need and appreciate outside cooperation, we must all take care that no greenhouse process be employed which might hasten its blossoming as well as its early withering and death which would be a calamity not only to the Chinese people but also to the world at large We, therefore reiterate, give us time, our national spirit wi'l do the work.

China and the "Powers"

Frank W Lee advocates the abolition of extraterritoriality in China by the "Powers" in the same journal and says

The powers may assist China by abandoning the practice of united action in China Chinese understand that in Europe and the West no such concerted action governs the relations between States except where they deal with so-called inferior Powers or late enemies The Concert of Powers in China smacks too much of superiority to be welcomed The powers in their anxiety to present a solid front to China assume a dictatorial policy not conducive to friendly feeling Joint representation, joint-notes and warnings joint-memorandums on all conceivable subjects have been thrust upon China Even when the representatives of some of the foreign powers have had reasons to doubt the wisdom of a given action they have been dragooned into a quiescence by the fetish of preservation of feigned prestige Let each Power deal with China in its individual capacity and according to the dictates of the wishes of its own people

Those Powers who sincerely sympathize with China's national aspirations should announce their determination to relinquish extraterritoriality within a definite period, and then offer China their friendly assistance for the establishment of the necessary judicial machinery to enable China to take up her new responsibilities Encouraged by the friendly gesture, China would welcome that kind of foreign assistance. By such an act, any of the Powers can render substantial help to China and hasten the day when modern courts will dispense justice to both Chinese and foreigners Something must be done to restore confidence promote goodwill and bring about whole-hearted cooperation Nothing will clear the atmosphere so effectively as a voluntary expression from one or more of the Powers that they are willing to place their nationals under the jurisdiction of China with the perfect assurance that China will rise to the occasion and protect their interests under her own laws just as well, and better, than they can now be protected under the system of extraterritoriality

A New Caliph ?

The *Living Age* gives us the following news

Last autumn representatives from all Islamic countries held congress at Cairo to consider the restoration of the Caliphate This congress will reassemble at Baku under Soviet protection shortly It is significant that the names having the strongest support for the honor of heading the Mohammedan world are the Riffian leader, Abd-el-Krim, the sheik of the Senussi, the victorious sheik of the Wahabis, Ibn Seud, who already holds Mekka and has just occupied Medina, and, last but not least, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the President of Turkey.

Karl Marx on India.

The following are quotations from Karl Marx's letters written for Horace Greeley's daily paper nearly three quarters of a century ago, They appear now in the *Living Age*, Regarding British rule in India, Marx says·

The British in India have taken over from their predecessors the department of finance and of war, but they have entirely neglected that of public works Hence the decay of agriculture, which cannot be carried on in accordance with the English principle of free competition, of *laisse . faire, laissez aller* We are, however, quite accustomed to see in Asiatic empires the decay of agriculture under one government and its restoration under another The harvest here corresponds to the presence of a good or bad government, just as in Europe it reflects good or bad weather The subordination and neglect of agriculture however, bad it might be, could not be regarded as the ultimate ground of the collapse of the Indian social order brought about by the British invasion, if it had not also been accompanied by circumstances of quite a different significance, by an entirely new phenomenon in the annals of the Asiatic world.

The cause of Indian's "Collapse" was in that

It was the British invasion that shattered the Indian handloom and smashed the spinning wheel to pieces England began by displacing Indian cotton goods from the European market Then she

brought cotton yarn to Hindustan, and finally flooded with cotton from abroad the real home of cotton itself Between 1818 and 1837 the export of yarn from Great Britain to India rose in the proportion of 1 to 5200 In 1824, the export of British cotton goods to India amounted to hardly a million yards, in 1847 it already exceeded sixty-four million yards At the same time the population of Dacca dwindled from 150000 to 20000 This shrinkage of Indian cities long renowned for their fabrics was by no means the worst consequence British steam power and British science destroyed all over India the union of agriculture and hand-manufacturing

A very able analysis of the problem, no doubt Marx says, regarding the motive of England's inroads into the Indian social structure, that

> It is also true that England in setting into motion a social revolution in Hindustan was actuated solely by the lowest interests and proceeded stupidly in her endeavor to bring it about But this is not the matter in issue Rather the question is, can mankind fulfil its mission without a fundamental social revolution in Asia? If it cannot then England whatever the crimes she may have committed has in the carrying through of this revolution acted only as the unconscious instrument of history

The conceited European in Marx thought that Indian "barbarism" should be improved by contact with "enlightened" Europe He says

> The Arabs Turks Tartars, Moguls, by whom India was successively overrun were quickly Indianized since barbarian conquerors in obedience to an eternal law of history always succumb to the higher civilization of their subjects The British were the first who were superior to the Hindu civilization, and therefore conquerors inaccessible to its influence

Moslem rule, in some parts or other of India lasted some seven centuries If British rule lasts so long it will be time to consider whether conquered India will have conquered her conquerors by that time Already the influence of Indian culture and civilisation over not only Great Britain but the whole of the West is quite perceptible and considerable There are thousand of Western thinkers including British ones, who think that India will give a better outlook upon life to them If their hope is realised, shall we call the British also "barbarian conquerors" of India?

Marx made another mistake when he said

> The railways will cause a reduction of the army and of military expenses

He also said something which will answer those who preach that Indians have been greatly benefited by the introduction of *modern* methods and appliances into India's economic life Marx opines that

> The Indians, however, will not reap the fruits of the new blessings conferred upon them by the British bourgeoisie as long as in Great Britain itself the present ruling classes are not displaced by the industrial proletariat or until the Indians themselves become sufficiently strong to shake off the British yoke once for all. In any case, in the more or less near future this great and interesting country this noble branch of the human race, which, to use an expression of Prince Saltykov, is *plus fin et plus adroit que les Italiens*, will experience a great revival

And this revival will certainly be (or has been) concomitant with a *partial* shifting of the British "yoke Karl Marx has little faith in the British Bourgeoisie in India, for, in his words

> Has not the bourgeoisie in India, to employ the phrase of that great robber Lord Clive himself taken refuge in cruel extortion when simple corruption could no longer keep pace with its rapacity Has it not while in Europe it chattered of the inviolable sanctity of the national debt in India confiscated the dividends of the rajahs who had invested their private savings in the securities of the East India Company? Has it not while it fought the French Revolution under the pretext of the defense of our holy religion at the same time forbidden the propagation of Christianity in India? Has it not, in order to extract money from the pilgrims streaming to the temples of Orissa and Bengal made a trade for itself out of the murder and prostitution of the temple of Juggernaut?

The British exploitation in the days that followed Marx has, of course, been not quite so crude as the description above Yet some think it has not been any the less in volume

—

British Rule in Palestine

F N Bennet gives us a valuation of the British administration of Palestine in the *Century*. He says in one place regarding the relative merits of Turkish and British rule

> Before the war law and order were maintained in Palestine by half a battalion of Turkish troops and a few hundred gendarmes and on the whole the laws were observed and travel was both safe and easy It is true that occasionally the methods of the Turkish police seemed to the Western visitor somewhat unusual
>
> But apart from occasional eccentricities of judicial procedure, the administration of the law was on the whole efficient, and I do not hesitate to say that to-day, in many parts of Palestine, life and property are less secure than they were under the old Turkish regime. Crime has increased rather than decreased since the Ottoman days, robbery with violence is far from uncommon.

The constitution is also defective Says Mr Bennet

Another change lamentably for the worse, is the practical disfranchisement of the inhabitants of Palestine Under the sultan, the Palestinian enjoyed a more complete system of adult suffrage than ourselves at the time, and four or five representatives were duly elected to the Ottoman Parliament in Constantinople. Local self-government was also in force municipalities, like Haifa, Jaffa or Gaza were administered by councils elected by the ratepayers To-day the country is governed by an autocracy more complete than any system found in a crown colony, for the Palestinian inhabitants have wisely declined to accept a form of 'representation' which is illusory and humiliating The proposed Legislative Council was to consist of ten nominated (and of course pro-Zionist, members, and twelve elected members, two of them to be Jews and two Christians a permanent majority for Zionism was thus assured and the 'representation" of the vast Arab majority turned into a farce In addition to the loss of any parliamentary representation for the nation as a whole, the local government of the municipalities has also been destroyed With the single exception of Tel Aviv and some other smaller Jewish communities municipal councils are no longer, as formerly elected by the townspeople, but simply nominated Not long ago an extraordinary spectacle could be witnessed at Haifa An armed police guard accompanied the workmen engaged in the erection of standards and wire for Rutenberg's electric lighting contract—a contract [illegible]ed over the heads of even the nominated town council, who were actually unaware of its terms [illegible] protested in vain against such a flagrant contempt of local opinion And all this is going on after a war fought to secure the 'self-determination [of] small nations"—a war too, in which the armies [of] Great Britain were materially assisted by the very Arabs whose just claims are now contemptuously ignored. One of the most painful results of the World War in Islamic countries has been the utter loss of belief in the "word of an Englishman" The whole of the Near and Middle East is strewn with the wreckage of broken promises.

And the British have created a problem of racial and sectional hatred by means of apparently thoughtless bits of idealism such as the opening of the Jewish University We are told

In the days before the war, there were, few traces of racial hatred in the towns and villages of Palestine Bitter feuds did indeed exist at times between the rival churches of Christendom, but even these were mainly confined to the actual representatives of the various communities brought into contact within the precincts of certain holy sites, especially the Church of the Holy Sepulcher The normal attitude of Moslems, Christians, and Jews toward each other was friendly and tolerant My dragoman called himself a Protestant, that is, an Arab who had abandoned the ancient Syrian Church of his ancestors in order to adopt a form of Christianity invented by British and American missionaries Two of our retinue were devout Moslems the third was a Jew They got on excellently together and I never detected a trace of racial or religious animosity among them To-day the whole country is full of bitterness and ill-will Moslems and Christians have united in a joint detestation of the immigrant Jews, who are even distrusted and disliked by large sections of their co-religionists who dwelt in Palestine before the Balfour declaration

The divide and rule policy is thus finding a fresh field for application.

CULTURAL UNITY—ETHICAL TEACHING OF THE QURAN AND THE UPANISHADS

By MR WAHED HASAIN, B.L., M.L.C

"If people had been aware of the mysteries of truth, there would have been no strife between sects in which they are divided"

Living close together, as they are, for centuries in India, it is rather strange that Hindus and Moslems should possess such an imperfect knowledge of what is contained in their respective scriptures Vague ideas of one another's religion, no doubt, they have, but they are mainly derived from their defective observation of the outward signs and expression of faith of each community The outward rites and ceremonies performed by a nation are often delusive, and form no criterion of the ethical ideas which impel a sect or a nation to conform to them. Beneath the surface of outward ceremonies and practices, lie embedded the gems of truth which, when discovered, shed eternal lustre and dispel doubt and darkness from the mind But such gems must be found out and laid bare to the eyes before people can be asked to appreciate their real value

Now the Vedas and the Upanishads, pre-

served as they are in a language difficult to master, are sealed books to the Moslems of India. On the other hand, Islamic ideals of ethical truth treasured up in a language equally difficult to understand, are not easily accessible to non-Moslems. It is no wonder then, that they have a very imperfect idea of the Islamic religion and philosophy The result of such ignorance is that each community fails to make a proper estimate of the grand universal truth which the highest thinkers and the best mind of every nation have been striving to attain It is not my object either to defend any form of religion or to show the superiority of one religion over the other There is no lack of hands for the task My object, pure and simple, is to place in my humble way before the public the high ideals of truth to be found in the *Sruti* and *Smriti* of the Hindus and the *Quran* and *Hadiths* of the Moslem I do not pretend to make a new discovery in the province of religion My task is to pick up gems of truth from the Aryan and Semitic Scriptures and to show that the highest ideas of a Supreme being are to be found in the doctrines of almost all religions, be it the religion of the Hindu Temple or the Jewish Synagogue, the Christian Church or the Moslem Mosque. Truth is not the monopoly of a particular religion or of a nation and should be sought everywhere

The following quotations, taken as types, will give an idea of the nature and conception of *Allah* as given in the Holy Quran and of the supreme being (*Brahman*) as given in the Upanishads

AL QURAN

1. There is no deity except one Being- Allah —*Credo of faith.*

2 It is Allah who is and besides whom there is none except that Being.

3. It is Allah ! There is no deity but He the living, the self-subsisting —Chap 2-56

4 Say He is the absolute one He is not dependent on any thing, nor is anything independent of Him He does not beget nor is He begotten and there is none like unto him —Chap. 112

5. There is nothing which bears His similitude , it is He who sees and hears

6. No one participates with Allah in his person and attributes —Chap. 42 9

7. Do not liken him to any of his creatures—Chap. 16-76.

8. He is of pure essence, free from all impurities, free from all defects, self-sufficient, self-subsisting, self-effulgent, light of all lights, possessing splendour and glory, self-dependent and ever-existing, an ever-living God, omniscient, omnipresent, imperishable even when all comes to nought. He is the beginning and the end, the manifest and the hidden, the absolute and one indivisible, the minute of the minutest, the great of the greatest, the most intelligent, the most patient, the most magnificent, the most exalted, the high of the highest He is beyond all attributive description He who pervades the universe and His knowledge extends over all , He who breathes life into the body and He who takes it away He who created at the beginning and He who begins again with subsequent creation, He who watches everything and keeps everything within His knowledge—*From Asmi Husna*

9 Whatever is in heaven and on earth sings praise unto God and he is mighty and wise His is the kingdom of heaven and earth He gives life and puts to death He is almighty He is the first and the last, the manifest and the hidden He knows that which enters into the earth and that which issues out of the same , and that which descends from heaven and that which ascends thereto He is with you wherever you are, for God sees that which you do not His is the kingdom of heaven and earth and all things shall return unto God He causes the night to succeed the day and He causes the day to succeed the night and knows the innermost part of man's heart Chap 57

(a) God created heaven and earth on Truth and made the night follow the day and the day follow the night and fixed the sun and the moon so that each of them rises and sets within a fixed time

(b) The sun and the moon run their courses according to a certain rule and the vegetable which creep on the ground and the trees submit to his disposition —Chap 55

(c) With Him is everything regulated according to a determined measure —Chap 13

(d) Whatever is in this world is perishable but the glorious and effulgent countenance of thy Lord is eternal---Chap 55.

(e) Praise the name of thy Lord the most high who has created and completely formed his creatures who determines them to various ends and directs them to attain the same.—Chap 87 5

UPANISHADS

1. God is indeed one and has no second —*Kathopanishad*

2 There is none but the supreme Being possessed of universal knowledge.—*Brih* 4 4 19

3. The Vedanta declares that Being which is distinct from matter and those who are contained in the matter is not various, because he is described by all the Vedas to be beyond description

4 He is immortal and without form or figure, omnipresent, pervading external and internel objects, unborn, without breath or indiv dual mind, pure and superior to eminently exalted nature—*Mundaka* 12

5 He who is without any figure and beyond the limit of description, is the supreme being.—*Chhandogya.*

6 Appellations and figures of all kinds are emanations.

7 All figures and appellations are mere innovations and the supreme Being alone is the real existence.

8. "The supreme Being, free from all stain,

devoid of figure or form and entirely pure, the light of all lights, resides in the heart, his resplendently excellent seat" "God as being resplendent and most proximate to all creatures is called the operator in the heart · He is great and all-sustaining for on him rests all existence such as those that move, those that breathe those that twinkle and those that do not Such is God You all contemplate as the support of all objects, visible and invisible the chief end of human pursuits He surpasses all human understanding and is the most prominent He who irradiates the sun and other bodies who is smaller than an atom, larger than the world and in whom is the abode of all the sub-divisions of the universe and of all their inhabitants, is the eternal and the origin of breath, speech and intellect as well as of all the senses—*Mundaka-Upanishad of the Atharva Veda.*

(i) In God heaven earth, and space reside and also intellect with breath and all senses—*Mundaka Upanishad of the Atharva Veda, 1-1.*

That spiritual Being acts always, moves in heavens, preserves all material existence as depending on him—He who causes breath to ascend above the heart, and peditum to descend, resides in the heart He is adorable and to Him all the senses offer oblation of the objects which they perceive—*Katha 2-2*

(a) God being eternal existence the universe and whatsoever exists, exists and proceeds from Him He is the great dread of all heavenly bodies as if he were prepared to strike them with thunderbolt, so none of them can deviate from the respective courses established by him—*Katha-Upanishad of Yaju Vedas 11 36*

(b) God is eternal, amidst the perishable universe, is the source of sensation amongst inanimate existence, and he alone assigns to so many objects their respective purposes. *Ibid, 2 · 2 5*

UNREST IN THE EAST

By ASIT KUMAR HAZRA

ASIA is in the throes of a revolution From time out of mind she is suffering—suffering like a caged lion Now she has awakened Her torpor is gone She is shaking her manes, slowly indeed but surely

Might is always right The weak and the helpless must be swept away It is the same creed that made Rome formidable in history It is why the English "traders" became "lords" of India For this alone China has become the "vultures' play-ground", Japan has been driven from America, and the South African Colour Bar Bill is becoming a historic law Might is the fountain of right Neglect it, do away with it and you are doomed Asia is in bondage and does she not deserve it!

The "Sickman" has wonderfully revived, he has not only revived—but has given a terrible blow to the white Imperialist The ridiculous manoeuvre of Lloyd George to crush this "Islamic power" *did* ignominously fail Pan-hellenism had been crushed and the recent *coup d'etat* of Pangalos, the dictator of Greece would not be able to revive it Lord Curzon, though worsted diplomatically at Lausanne, was hailed by the London Press as a brilliant Macchiavelli. The solution of the newer Eastern question could not come from without, it must come from within And it came at last Kemal Pasha could not be bribed, the Caliphate was abolished England groaned in agony - not only groaned but shed crocodile tears

Nevertheless there was the mandate, the mandate of the League of Nations Mesopotamia is under her protection, Iraq and Hedjaz are her satellites Egypt is "free" indeed! Sudan is "protected" And the uncounted millions of Africa? Why, they are the "Whiteman's burden"! Civilise them, "educate" them, exploit them, so that sooner or later the 'burden' may come to a happy end It is "liquidating the claims of history"! Britain, however, is an angel in comparison with other powers France is ever watchful of the ferment in the East. Syria is hers Her dependencies in Africa require a strong hand Did not France once proclaim amidst jubilant acclamations that there are the "Rights of Man"!

The noble pro-consul of the Eternal *City* cannot merely bombard Corfu, he can *hurl* an "Ultimatum" on an independent nation The Amir of Afghanistan is a heathen, a "barbarian". He must be humbled for the "murder" of the Italian engineer. The Afghan foreign office must salute the Italian flag She must

fill the Italian coffers with blood money Or, the Fascismo will let loose her terrible forces both secret and open for the speedy destruction of this impertinent chief Mussolini is "Roman" in his greatness Cavour was to him a pigmy "*L'etat c'est moi*"

Has Afghanistan any right ? Certainly not The white nations alone have rights They are the superior races They have intelligence, they have courage and resourcefulness Why should they not possess extraordinary rights ? No Eastern power must be allowed to go against the interests of the Western powers Persia, till the other day a victim of Britain, has become "free" But the Persian Gulf must be an English preserve The League of Nations has the right of search in Persian ships. Persia is independent ! She does not possess the right of free importation of arms The Persian representative withdrew from the Arms Conference in disgust The "resolution" of the League is no scrap of paper Respect it, obey it, or you are doomed The Great Powers know only too well how to command a "majority" Had Persia been strong, she could have like Italy in Greece turned a deaf ear to this dictation Persia is not Italy. The Great Powers have enough weapons in their unscrupulous armoury to curb Persia, "*Divide et impera*"!

The Islamic powers have been disillusioned For so long a time they have been outwitted by the Christian powers The ferment in the East began with the Russo-Japanese War So the historians say Japan triumphed and the glory of Japan is the glory of Asia For the first time in history an Asiatic power overwhelmed a non-Asiatic giant The hand of autocracy fell everywhere Everywhere there is awakening and the Islamic powers, benumbed till the other day with dizziness, have at last awakened How can the West tolerate this new awakening ? She is continually forging newer and newer fetters for the enslavement of the East

If Britain has any enemy, it is Russia And there is every possibility of a world-wide alliance of Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt and Russia This would be a supreme menace to Britain Her empire would be imperilled Her splendid navy would fail to save her, her heroism and inexhaustible resources would not do, and even her diplomacy would be futile What can save her is her supreme common-sense

What is France doing ? Her policy of aggression is manifest everywhere She is dreaming of a world empire Already she has begun a war in earnest It is in Morocco Abdel Krim began the war first against Spain Spain, in spite of the dictatorship of De Rivera, has been continually worsted The Moroccan chief is now fighting against the combined forces of Spain and France France, her politicians declare, has no "ambition". She is fighting in self-defence Adbel Krim is a "rebel" chieftain He has splendid resources He has German, Turkish, Egyptian and Indian advisors "Down with the rebel" has become her cry But once more a noble band of rebels is triumphing over the most determined nation in the world Abdel Krim must be starved Morocco must be blocked, so did the French imperialists declare But the blockade in Morocco must mean naval supremacy on that side of the Mediterranean And France has no considerable naval forces She is desirous of bringing England on the field Britain is clever She cannot tax her exhausted energy for the victory and glory of France To gain over England, France is evacuating the Ruhr, supporting the English policy in the Chinese "Treaty Ports" -- singing the praise of Downing Street, and has expelled even the Chinese 'intruders' from France And France is obviously the nursery of freedom !

But Britain cannot yet be gained over She is too clever to be duped Britain is giving a 'moral support' and that support, too, is secret Abdel Krim cannot be starved France is experiencing disasters She would sooner or later concentrate all her resources for the speedy destruction of this rebel chieftain But she wants the support, the moral support of the Great Powers For this she is offering peace terms to the Riffians And the offer is "liberal" Abdel Krim has no right to live like a free man He must respect the white man's right He must surrender some of his arms, for the prestige of France demands it He must not enjoy absolute sovereignty, but, "full freedom of development under the nominal sovereignty" of the Sultan in Morocco Between full freedom and absolute dependence there is a *via media* and that is "full freedom of development"

Obviously the Riffians would reject the "liberal" terms And France knows how to crush an eastern people. Morocco is engaged in a "hopeless struggle". The struggle is between nationalism and imperialism It is the prelude to a world struggle, the struggle between the East and the West, between the

right to live and the right to govern It will go down to history as an epoch-making event Folly there is, disaster there may be, but the crown of martyrdom Abdel Krim will win Kemal Pasha was also a "rebel" and the Riffians are also rebels History repeats itself From Morocco to Shanghai, from Kenya to Singapur, everywhere there is ferment. In some regions there is calmness (viz Turkey and Japan) but it is the same calmness before the storm The West has hitherto driven her triumphal car over the corrupt and vapouring East But now she is in commotion Europe knows that in war and war alone lies the supreme talisman of statesmanship Peace would imperil their destiny! And Asia knows how to meet the approaching peril with robust confidence Sooner or later the forces of the East and the West will meet and meet in a clash It is inevitable and it is impending

July 14, 1925

THE NEW MYSTICISM

A DEFENCE OF IDEALISM by May Sinclair (Macmillan & Co, 1917) is a philosophical work which contains a chapter with the above heading We propose to give below some extracts from the above chapter which are likely to be of interest to the Indian reader. Before doing so, we should like to quote the authoress's apology for introducing the subject Referring to critics who 'might protest against the appearance of an essay on Mysticism' in a volume professing to deal seriously with serious problems" she says

I agree that mystical metaphysics are an abomination But metaphysical mysticism is another matter I would remind my readers that some psychological questions were part of the programme too, that mysticism is of immense interest and importance in Psychology, and that I have criticised certain aspects of it as severely as its bitterest opponents could desire I am as much repelled by the sensuous variety of mysticism as I am attracted by its austere and metaphysical form. I am as conscious as any alienist that its more abhorrent psychological extravagances are the hysterical resurgence of natural longings most unnaturally suppressed These exponents are worthy only of the pity we give to things suffering and diseased

But there is another side even to what may be called the Saints' Tragedy There is a passion and a strain and a disturbance of the soul, born of its struggle between religious dualism and its unconscious longing for the Absolute

And there is also a pure and beautiful Mysticism that springs from the vision or the sense of the "Oneness" of all things in God It knows nothing of passions, disturbance and its strain. Its saints are poets and its counterpart in philosophy is Spiritual Monism."

According to the authoress, western saints and religious mystics, especially of the Catholic world, come under the second of those classes and Indian mystics like Kabir and Rabindranath Tagore come under the third class, and it is mysticism of this type that she calls the new mysticism in which the mystic genius has reached its perfection

In the Jew, the passion for oneness with the Divine "never rose to the metaphysical conception of the Absolute To the very last Jehovah retained some of the old ways of the tribal deity He was a struggling and a battling God, full of mercy when he got his own way, and of vengeance when he didn't"

The moments of certainty due to contact with Reality, when ultimate Reality is discerned, the positive ecstatic vision of reality—this is the essence of Mysticism There is no certainty that life can give which surpasses it or even comes anywhere near it

"This is the kind of certainty we want to tide us over the straits where Western Mysticism often leaves us floundering

"I say Western Mysticism, because in the Buddhist Sacred Books and in the Upanishads and the Vedanta, and in the Mysticism of Kabir, you do not find anywhere the same repulsive qualities You enter a purer and a subtler air, and the Light of Godhead does not flow, it is strong and very still.

"There are reasons, as we shall see for the difference The Western mind comes to Mysticism by a peculiarly dangerous and difficult path For one thing, it came to it a bit too early The art and science of it were perfected in Asia, if not before the first principles had been discovered in Europe and Asia Minor, at any rate long before they had had a chance to develop The Christian

Mystics seem never to have quite perfected the technique of the thing; and seldom to have achieved a perfect and a safe detachment. Admirable psychoanalysts as they were, they lacked that minute psychological theory and practice which the Indian seems undoubtedly to have possessed. They plunged into the dangerous adventure without adequate preparation, as one who should jump into the Atlantic without a safety-belt. In the language of modern psychology, they had not learnt how to sublimate their libidos.'

"And this apparently was what the subtle Indian had learnt before ever he set out on the adventure. The Western Mystic did not know or had forgotten that the desire of life, even physical desire, is an indestructible and holy, though a dangerous thing. He suppressed physical desire, he stamped it down into the unconscious, and then in a state of passivity or trance, he went down there after it and was met by the resurgence of all his savage and ancestral memories. He retrogressed. He did not know that this would happen to him (he knew nothing at all or very little about the Unconscious) and every time it did happen he was agonised and astonished. But the Indian Mystic knew very well what would happen, and why it happened; and when *he* went travelling in the untrodden country he took good care to close the gates of the path that led downwards. Sometimes they swung to of their own accord and the Christian mystic was safe.

'We are very near the secret of the psychic backsliding and spiritual torment of the Christian mystic. They are due not only to imperfect psychological technique but to imperfect metaphysics. In spite of the refinements of the schoolmen the Christian idea of God was never wholly sublimated by thought. It rests on a naif and obstinate dualism that resists the process.

'It is to the East that we must turn to find the highest and the purest form of Mysticism, a mysticism that has passed through the fire of metaphysical thinking, and is itself sublimated.

But before we compare Western with Eastern mysticism, as I am going to do, to the disadvantage of the Christian variety, three things must be kept well in sight.

"First, that the final goal of Christian Mysticism is not 'experience,' not vision, not ecstacy, but the Unitive Life, the life lived in union with Reality. Life *lived*, not merely contemplated, a life of 'fruition and activity,' lifted for ever above the powers of the subconscious.

"Again, the Christian saint brings to the quest for Reality something that is not always found in mysticisms that have been highly sublimated by thought.

'Lastly, Mysticism itself is a thing of gradual development, and the Eastern and the Western forms of it are tending to approach, with the result that Pantheism is absorbing Christian Humanism to Humanism's great gain.

This tendency is so conspicuous in the modern literature of East and West, that it may be fairly called the New Mysticism. It has been, I think, not only an affair of influence, but of the slow yet inevitable maturing of the Western mind. It is no food for sick souls; it has put the disease of asceticism behind it; it is a robust and joyous mysticism, reconciled to the world.

"When Sir Rabindranath Tagore was over here, in the years before the War, he told us that the destiny of the East was 'to spiritualize the West.' Complacent westerners smiled at the saying, as if the great poet had been offering to teach his grandmother an art that she had perfected before he was born. Yet this was simply the calm statement of a truth.

'Still, if some of our poets and mystics had not gone before him, we should not have been as ready for him as we were.

"Before publication of his translation of the *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*, his own *Gitanjali* stood almost alone representing for many of us all that is purest and highest in Mysticism. Therefore I venture to repeat here what I wrote of it four years ago.* There is hardly a word of it that will not apply equally to the work of his forerunner, Kabir.

'To the Western mind there is a gulf fixed between the common human heart and Transcendent Being. The European and the American, in their quest of Reality, are apt to be taken in by appearances; they do not readily make the great distinction. That is partly why, with the exception of the classics of Mysticism, the devotional poetry of the West, Catholic and Protestant alike, is so unsatisfying. Most of it is written by people who are not poets. But the worst of it is that it is not supremely devotional. It does not deal directly with the Transcendent, but proceeds, fervently indeed but always by way of dogma and tradition, as it were by perpetual makeshifts, and through the most horrible tangle of carnal and material imagery, to a visionary Throne of Grace. You never seem to arrive. Your heart may be soothed by the assurance of atonement, but your finer metaphysical hunger is left for ever unappeased.

But take those songs of Divine Love from the *Gitanjali*.

In the deep shadows of the rainy July, with secret steps, thou walkest, silent as night, eluding all watchers.

•

The woodlands have hushed their songs, and doors are all shut at every house. Thou art the solitary wayfarer in this deserted street. Oh my only friend, my best beloved, the gates are open in my house—do not pass by like a dream.'

It [illegible] the shadow is upon the earth. It is time that I go to the stream to fill my pitcher.

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I know not if I shall come back home. I know not whom I shall chance to meet. There at the fording in the little boat the unknown man plays upon his lute.

'In the poems of this mystic the world appears no longer in its brutality, its vehemence, its swift yet dense fluidity; it is seized in the very moment of its passing, and fixed in the clarity and stillness of his vision. It is always the same everyday world, the dusty road, the deserted street, the solitary fording, 'the bank in the shady lane' where 'the yellow leaves flutter and fall.' At the coming of the Unknown Traveller "the leaves rustled overhead, the cuckoo sang from the unseen dark, and perfume of *babla* flowers came from the end of the road." A world vivid to every sense, yet the stage of a supersensual drama, the scene of the divine adventure. So vivid and so actual is it, that only its strange fixity stirs in you the sense of the supersensual.

"And through this fixity, this stillness of rhythm and of mood, there is a mysterious trouble and excitement, an awful tension of ex-

* [In the *North American Review*.]

expectancy It is the stillness of intense vibration, of life inconceivably living, the ecstasy of supreme passion consummated and consumed

"There is nothing in the Western world to compare with these poems, but the writings of those mystics who were also saints St. Augustine, St Thomas a Kempis, St Francis of Assisi, Julian of Norwich St Teresa, St Catherine of Genoa, who said, 'My Me is God, nor do I recognise any other Me, except my God Himself.' Above all St John of the Cross in *The Dark Night of the Soul*

All these impassioned lovers of the Godhead use the same language, telling of the same unique experience and it is invariably the language of human passion for the simple and sufficient reason that there is no other At the same time with the exception of Dante's *Paradiso* and *Vita Nuova*, it would be hard to find in all the poetry of Western mysticism a perfect parallel to the passion of the *Gitanjali* There are few Western mystics who do not somewhere betray the restlessness that lies around their rest Until the final attainment of the Unitive Life their peace would seem to have been harder won, to be held more precariously to be always on the point of passing. vivid is the sense they give of effort of struggle of frantic desperation There is a [illegible]ing vehemence and violence in their [illegible] St Teresa says of the state of the [illegible] soul

> [illegible]solation reaches it from heaven, and it is not there it [illegible] w[illegible] for none from earth and it is not there either [illegible] it were crucified between earth and heaven enduring

St John of the Cross speaks of an 'intense amorous impetus' answering to St Teresa's impetuosities

For, as we have seen, the language of the Catholic mystic is often the language of sensuous most of sensual emotion so voluptuous that it [lends] itself very easily to the interpretation of the [illegible] But it is impossible to doubt the 'spirituality' of these Bengali songs of Divine Love. They are at the very highest level of attainment in their [kind] They have the serenity and purity of supreme possession Mystic passion embraces while it [transc]ends the whole range of human passion Like human passion it works through body, heart and soul. It is the soul and the heart of passion that you find in the *Gitanjali*, its secret and invisible things, small and great, all in it that is superb, inviolate, [and] [illegible] all that is lowly and most fragile, its impalpable incommunicable moods its evanescences, its dreams, its subtleties, its reticences and [illegible], its fears and delicate shames.

> I asked nothing from thee, I uttered not my name to thine [ear] When thou to[ok]st thy leave I stood silent '

There is no querulousness and no grossness [no] impatience no restlessness in this passion of the expectant soul

And on the part of the pursuing God there are none of those impetuosities that overwhelmed St Teresa He comes 'with silent steps'. He is the lover waiting in the shadows He is the watcher by the bed, the solitary wayfarer in the deserted street, the traveller at the well; he is Krishna, the lute-player, the 'unknown man' playing in the little boat at the fording I know nothing so persuasive as the glamour of this Eastern stillness, nothing that evokes so irresistibly, so inevitably the sense of the Unseen

> 'There, where spreads the infinite sky for the soul to take her flight in reigns the stainless white radiance There is no day nor night, nor form nor colour, and never, never a word

'Before this austerity and restraint, all foregoing comparisons break down. There is through all their likeness, an unmistakeable difference between those great Western mystics and Rabindranath Tagore.

Their passion utters a more lyrical cry. They experience a more violent rapture in union, and a deeper tragedy in separation Nothing could well be further from his spirit than their emotionalism Individual temperament has no doubt something to do with it, but it is not the whole secret This tumult and tragic pain of theirs has its own law It displays itself in proportion to their asceticism to the violence of their rupture with the divine visible world It is the outcome of the dualism inherent in Christianity There never was a religion that promised so much and gave so little that kept man's soul in such an awful poise between heaven and hell that left his passion for God so agonised and unappeased Its dualism, its asceticism, frustrates the longing of its saints Their holiest ecstacies are troubled with the resurgence of the source it has polluted.

To the devotee of a creator inconceivably different infinitely remote and separate from his creation, the visible world is necessarily undivine, abhorrent, and unholy In renouncing the world the Eastern ascetic denies its reality. But the Christian in the very act of renunciation, affirms its shocking independent entity. Thus his deliverance is never either physically or metaphysically complete. That is the Christian's tragedy He cannot, without an agonising struggle, get rid of the world that weighs on him, whereas, it is comparatively easy for the Oriental to divest himself, as it were of his cosmic clothing It is doubtful if any Eastern ascetic, Brahman or Buddhist could feel the same furious hatred and horror of the world, seeing that to him the world, the whole visible universe is at its worst no more than an illusion You may refuse to become attached to an illusion, you may withdraw from it with every circumstance of profound repudiation, but you cannot furiously hate and abhor a thing which, for you, has no real existence of its own

In the *Gitanjali*, you will find none of this hatred and abhorrence, none either of this serene indifference and denial.

> 'Deliverance is not for me in renunciation' 'I will never shut the doors of my senses The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight '

> '*What divine drink*,' he cries "*wouldst thou have, my God, from the overflowing cup of my life*' And again [illegible]

> The same stream of life that runs through my veins runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures'

> 'It is the same life that shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass, and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers '

'Is it beyond thee', he asks 'to be glad with the gladness of this rhythm? to be tossed and lost and broken in the whirl of this fearful joy?' To him the life of God is an "a bounding joy that scatters and gives up and dies every moment." The whole complexity of things, the veil of Maya, the illusion of the world, is simple

and translucent to him so simple and so translucent that reality is neither hidden by it nor obscured. That wearing of the veil of illusion is the jest of the Divine Lover holding himself from his beloved that he may be the more passionately desired.

It is he who weaves the web of this Maya in evanescent hues of gold and silver, blue and green, and lets peep out through the folds of his feet, at whose touch I forget myself.

"Everywhere in these poems there is this acceptance of humanity, this ecstasy of joy in movement and in beauty, this adoration of life.

"Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last song—the joy that makes the earth flow over in the riotous excess of the grass, the joy that sets the twin brothers, life and death, dancing over the wide world, the joy that sweeps in with the tempest, shaking and waking all life with laughter, the joy that sits still with its tears on the open red lotus of pain, and the joy that throws everything it has upon the dust, and knows not a word."

'It looks at first sight as if this all-embracing mysticism were different in its very nature from the view of the Catholic recluse prisoned in his cell. And it has apparently even less affinity with Indian mysticism of the Pantheistic type. And this is a little disconcerting. Surely, you say, there must be things in the Upanishads from which some at least of these poems are descended. You take down your Upanishads and hunt through them excitedly for those things but in vain unless you are prepared to accept wholesale the interpretation of the ingenious Ramanuja, who contended that even in union with Brahma the individual self maintained its separate identity. And it is only now and again in the *Gitanjali* that there comes any reverberation of the mystic words, "Tat tvam asi, Thou art it" of those resonant and resplendent passages which proclaim the absolute, inseparable identity of all things, of all selves, in the great self.

'Now the metaphysician may deny or affirm that identity as his appetite or his instinct prompts him. Nothing can be more certain than that, for some mystics, the personal relation is an experience, a fact. All the same, it and the separation it implies is an experience and a fact that begins and ends in their individual consciousness. It is irreducible, indescribable, incommunicable. Metaphysically, it stands for nothing more nor less than that moment in which the human soul becomes conscious of itself in God. The thing is duplex only in one aspect. Around it, continuing in it, and transcending it are all the unity, all the identity you can desire. The separation is not real, not absolute any more than death or birth is. It is part of the illusion, part of the great game, the hiding and seeking of thee and me.

It is the pang of separation that spreads throughout the world and gives birth to shapes innumerable in the infinite sky.

It is this sorrow of separation that gazes in silence all night from star to star and becomes lyric among rustling leaves in rainy darkness of July.

It is this overspreading pain that deepens into loves and desires, into sufferings and joys in human homes; and this it is that ever melts and flows in songs through my poet's heart.

"To find Rabindranath Tagore's true sources and affinities you must go back first of all to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to Kabir the mystic, to the great Vaishnavists who were the Humanists of India, to Chandidas the poet, to Chaitanya Deva, the God-intoxicated saint and seer. But going back farther still, as far back as you can go, you find this naif personal attitude in the Vedic Hymns. The ancient Rishis, as lamentably as any Christian felt 'self' to be separated from their deity or deities by the fact of sin. It was those who came after them, the more philosophic Rishis of the Upanishads, the Buddhists who came after *them* and the expert metaphysicians of the Vedanta who reversed this view and found sin in the illusion of separation. And all the later mystic poetry of India from Kabir onwards, springs from the conflict and reconciliation between that immemorial feeling of separation and that profound and supersensual certainty of oneness. This indeed is the source of all the mysticism that ever was. Only in India the feeling of separation is the baffling thing. The supersensual certainty is taken for granted while in Christianity it is all the other way. In India it is simply a question of whether you are going to agree, say, with the ingenious Ramanuja that the individual preserves its identity in union, or with the learned Sankaracharya that it had never any separate identity to lose, or with the poets who are the seers of Reality that it may have identity and lose it and recover it and lose it again. For there is always this third alternative.

'It is clear that what the mystics are seeking is transcendent identity. There are three who, by their double genius of passion and of insight, have the right to speak for all of them. One is Julian of Norwich. One is Rabindranath Tagore. And one is the greatest of them all—Kabir. ... the repudiators of Pantheistic Monism have used Kabir freely as a proof that Christianity had 'spiritualised' India. ... He is closer—far closer than Tagore—to the pure metaphysical Monism of the Svetasvatara Upanishad. His mysticism is only free from metaphysics because it has passed through the last fires of thought. It is utterly sublimated. ... I confess I don't see how the haters of Monism can without blushing quote Kabir any longer in support of their contention. In his world discussions as to individuality lost or individuality preserved, have little meaning.

'Now it is quite clear that in the classics of Mysticism we are dealing not only with a peculiar kind of experience, but with a peculiar kind of genius. And again, having made all allowance for the influence of 'mystical ill-health,' the lover of literature must protest against the grossness of the interpretations that have been brought to these texts. The writings of the great mystics are not *all* charged with unsublimated libido'. To bring nothing but the literalism of the pathologist to bear on her [Julian of Norwich's] Revelations is absurd. Professor Jung finds resurgent lust in the Brahman vision of the Absolute. At this rate there is no reason why he should not find megalomania and resurgent lust in Dedekind's and Cantor's theories of the infinite, or in Mr. Bertrand Russel's pursuit of the Fourth Dimension on the grounds that they involve 'generation of series'.

'We have admitted that psycho-analysis had much to say, but when it has said it, the secret of mystic passion and of mystic certainty remain alike insoluble. Its criticism rests on the assumption that ends have the same form as origins

which is contrary not only to evolution, but to the psychoanalyst's pet theory of sublimation

But this arrangement of mysticism need not concern us any more. It only applies to those manifestations that belong to the transition periods of its childhood and its youth. Where they persist they persist by way of survival or reaction or disease, and they are doomed to disappear

For if we are right in supposing that what is supernormal consciousness now will be normal consciousness some day, we may expect its perfection to be reached by forgetfulness of its old labour and effort, unconsciousness of the very practice that will have made it perfect Pantheistic Mysticism begins where Mysticisms that are not pantheistic end It takes for granted that as between God and the world, the Absolute and the finite selves there is no separation

Thus, though we cannot say what the Mysticism of the future will be, we may be pretty sure what it will not be It will not be sickly, it will not be morbid and hysterical or sentimental In exchanging God the Father for God the Absolute it will have lost that irresponsible dependence which has kept men and women for centuries in a pathetic infancy Sooner or later the mystic has to grow up like other people He will know that he fulfils the absolute purpose best by trying to become, as far as possible, a self-determined being ..

"And he will not be violent. That was where the imperfect mystic made his great mistake Just as primitive man desired to get by magic physical things that would have come to him of their own accord, in due season, so the imperfect mystic desires to get spiritual things by mysticism that will come to him without it of their own accord in their due season. The savage is trying to force Nature's hand The imperfect Mystic is trying to force God's hand

"Not so the accomplished lover of the Absolute. His passion may be overpowering and importunate but not its method He will not forestall its perfect consummation by one hour. The more certain he is, the more he can afford to wait

"Kabir says stay where you are, and all things shall come to you in time"

INDIA'S CASE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

(A Phase of the Problem of Greater India)

By Dr TARAKNATH DAS, M A, Ph D

ON January 20, 1926, Earl Reading, in the course of his speech delivered in opening the Indian Legislature, made reference to the position of Indians in South Africa It has been reported that the Viceroy of India among other things, said

> There has been continuous progress in the legislation of South Africa prejudicial to the position of Indians and tending to make it increasingly difficult for them to prosper or even exist in the Dominion, and further anti-Asiatic legislation had been recently introduced and was now pending before the Union Parliament.
>
> The Township Bill (the Viceroy continued) contains what appears to my Government to be a radically objectionable principle, We could not accept a conference whose main object would be to reduce considerably the number of Indians in South Africa "

In short, the policy of the South African Government is to drive out by some means or other the Indians who have developed the land, who are engaged in business and settled in that country as permanent residents If any such policy were ever adopted by any Government against Englishmen, the British Government would have taken vigorous steps to preserve its national honour, even by going to war Earl Reading has publicly declared that India cannot accept any settlement whose principal object would be to reduce the Indian population in South Africa. However, it is wise for Indian statesmen, particularly members of the Assembly, to demand the publication of the correspondence between the Government of India and the South African Government on the question of preserving the rights of Indians, so that the Indian nation may be able to judge for itself the exact position of the two Governments and be able to take necessary steps to protect Indian interests.

According to the press reports, Dr Abdur Rahman, the head of the Indian Delegation from South Africa, who is now in India, proposes that a strong representation be made to the Imperial Government so that it may oppose the enactment and enforcement of the Anti-Asiatic Bill by the South African Government It is very desirable that an Indian delegation be sent to England

to present India' point of view before the British Government and public It is well to consider that this may not stop the South African Government's high-handed action against the people of India and other Asiatic people The South African Government can politely refuse to accede to any such request from the Imperial Government, and for this reason the British Government may very well refrain from making any such request, on the ground that the Self-governing Dominions within the British Empire have full right to conduct their internal affairs without any interference from Imperial authorities It has been reported that lest the representatives of the Government of India may raise the question of rights of Indians in South Africa, in the next Imperial Conference, the South African Government is not anxious to participate in it The Governments of India and Great Britain seem to be absolutely powerless to protect Indian interests in South Africa, a part and parcel of the British Empire However, the Indian nation cannot very well quietly submit to the legalised persecution of Indians by any Government

It is apparent that the Indian nation is alive to the gravity of the situation, created by the ill-treatment accorded to the Indian-settled abroad Mrs Sarojini Naidu, the President of All-India National Congress has made, in her Presidential address, the following reference to it

> Never before has our duty to our kindred in foreign countries been so vividly brought home to our minds nor the necessity of establishing a close and living contact with all their changing fortunes We should not lose a single moment in forming an Oversea Department in the Congress manned by those who can keep themselves vigilantly aware of all the legislation and enactments that adversely or otherwise affect Indian settlers abroad "

Mrs Naidu went further than any of the former Presidents of All-India National Congress when she formulated the sound principle of representation of India in all foreign countries and presented the following proposal

> "Above all, a reliable foreign news service should be established to transmit to all the chief centres of the world the correct version of Indian affairs, *and friendly embassies appointed to foster feelings of goodwill and understanding between India and the people of other lands"*

India has a serious case against South Africa; and if Mrs. Naidu's suggestions quoted above are to be carried out in practice, then no time should be lost to bring the Government of South Africa before the Court of International Public Opinion The Indian National Congress, with the aid of competent advisers and lawyers, should prepare the case of India against South Africa It should ask the Government of India through the members of the Assembly, to present India's case against South Africa, before the coming session of the Assembly of the League of Nations

It might be regarded as a foregone conclusion that the Government of India would refuse to carry out the above demand of the Indian National Congress, so it is necessary that Mrs. Naidu herself, the President of the All-India National Congress, Pandit Matilal Nehru, the President of the Swarajya Party, assisted by men like Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr M Jinnah and others, particularly the Indian representatives from South Africa, should form the Indian National Delegation and go to Geneva to present India's case individually and collectively before the representatives of 54 nations represented in the League of Nations

The Arabs, Jews, Armenians, Haitians and all minority groups in various lands are seeking the assistance of the League of Nations to secure justice for their nationals Only the other day the League of Nations appointed a special committee to investigate the grievances of the Christian community in the disputed area of Mosul Nationalist India should send her duly accredited embassy to the League to present India's case against the Government of South Africa as well as that of the Kenya Colony I do not mean to say that the Indian Delegation to the League will be able to secure justice at once, but I venture to say that this action on the part of Indian nationalists will force the British and South African Governments to pay more attention to solving the question of India's rights in South Africa with greater consideration and sympathy However, this idea may not appeal to some of the Indian political leaders, particularly Mr Gandhi and his no-changer followers, but *it is expected that Mrs Naidu, as an idealist, will grasp the vast significance of this move, and carry it out and thus make the Indian problem a factor in international politics and diplomacy*

During the Peace Conference at Versailles, Japan as the champion of Asian people and supported by Hon. Dr Wellington Koo of China, demanded racial "equality". Although the majority of the nations assembled in the

ference voted for the just proposal of ...n, it was due to the stubborn opposition the United States and the British Empire, ...ticularly of Australia and South Africa, ...t the just principle was not accepted Now, ...der the pretence of racial superiority and ... plea of the solution of domestic problems, ... South African Government, the Govern-...nt of the Kenya Colony and other States ... persecuting the Indian people, and it is ... to India to expose these acts of civilized ...barism of these nations, and to take steps ...right the wrong done to her people, in ...peration with other nations which have ...mmon interests to side with India The ...called Asiatic Bill of the South African ...ernment is primarily directed against the ...Indians in South Africa, but all Asia has ...et concern against such an abominable ...asure

After careful observations of the atmos-...ere of the League of Nations, during my ...cent visit to Geneva, it is my impression ...at an Indian nationalist delegation composed of Indian leaders and headed by Mrs Naidu ...self will recieve sympathetic hearing and ...al support from the representatives of ...ina, Persia, Japan, many of the South American States and some of the European States represented in the League *Whatever ...y be the result of sending a delegation to League of Nations, it will at least achieve one thing—international contact of nationalist India with the outside world, not in the form of secret conspiracy, but in the form of direct negotiations with the knowledge of the whole world*

The problem of protecting the rights of Indians in South Africa and the right of all Indians to travel and settle in any country in the world is merely a phase of the tremendous problem of Greater India, which must be considered with sympathy by all far-sighted Indian nationalists It means that the 320, 000, 000 people of India must not accept such unjust dictation from any nation, to be cooped up within the border of their homeland It means that the sphere of activity of Indians must expand all over the world, as the other peoples, possessing strength, stamina and culture are doing today There cannot be any compromise in this issue, if the Indian people are to live with self-respect and possess any vision for the future India must adopt all possible means in her power, even in co-operation with other nations and world public opinion, to enforce her demand effectively so that her children should not be discriminated against by any people and in any country The situation in South Africa is nearly an incident and the real problem is the problem of a Greater India

Cannes, France
January 28, 1926.

SIR ABDUR RAHIM AND HINDU-BAITING

By "HINDU"

It is time that serious attention was paid by the Hindu public to the activities of Sir Abdur Rahim. With ... sections of Mussalmans, Hindu-baiting ... become a pleasant pastime and the ...t passport to leadership The glory and ...ige of office having gone, Sir Abdur is ... catch votes and he knows how to do Hence, in a recent utterance addressed ...is Mahomedan admirers in the metro-...tan suburb of Bhowanipur, he dotted the ...nd crossed the t's of his notorious Aligarh ...ech and urged that communal electorates ...uld be recognised on principle, and appealed to his audience for a nucleus of workers to organise a party for safeguarding their vital interests and securing their advancement as a community Had he stopped there, no Hindu would have reason to quarrel with him, for we know by this time that the communal bump is unfortunately so abnormally developed among most Indian Moslems of all ranks that even the most liberal culture cannot give their leaders the wider outlook of statesmen

But Sir Abdur Rahim did not stop there Though the Hindus have just begun what the followers of the Prophet have been doing

all along, and what Sir Abdur again urges them to do, viz., to organise with a view to safeguard their vital interests and secure their advancement as a community Like a clever tactician, he professes to take alarm magnifies and exaggerates the Hindu movement, and, as nothing was more calculated to rouse up his audience than a song of hate, he launched a few more attacks on the inoffensive Hindu in his Aligarh vein, and explained that 'his criticisms were directed solely against certain Hindu movements such as the *Shuddhi*, Mahasabha and *Sangathan*, and he took this opportunity to repeat with emphasis that these movements had set up a conflagration in India which, if the leaders of these movements did not take care, would lead to dire results' (quoted from the *Bengalee*)

A fire-eating speech like the above shows that if the Hindu movements referred to had set up a conflagration anywhere, it was certainly in the chambers of Sir Abdur Rahim's brain. He has not only forgotten the dignity of speech expected of one who has held high office, but he seems to have lost the capacity of weighing his words, and his reckless and sweeping generalisations will fall absolutely flat on those for whom they are intended And it is well that this should be so, for, had the Hindus as a community been as inflammable as he pretends to consider them to be, Sir Abdur's threats might set up a conflagration indeed, the dire consequences of which would have staggered every well-wisher of a united Indian nation

The present writer in the pages of this **Review** was among the first to applaud Sir Abdur Rahim for his able, courageous and patriotic work in connection with Lord Islington's Public Services Commission Since then, it has been rumoured that his celebrated Minute of Dissent was really the work of Gokhale, whose untimely death prevented him from finally putting it into shape We do not know if there is any truth in the rumour,* but the performance was entirely worthy of that great statesman, and in that sense, rumour has paid Sir Abdur the greatest compliment that he could expect If he be the author of that document, which is pervaded by a spirit of genuine statesmanship and nationalism as opposed to mere sectarianism, a Hindu might be pardoned for crying out at his latter-day metamorphosis—lo, how are the mighty fallen!

From the man, with whom we have dealt only incidentally, let us now turn to the propaganda he has identified himself with As we have seen, the *Shuddhi*, *Sangathan* and the Mahasabha are his pet aversions We do not know what they have done to provoke such 'dire' threats from Sir Abdur, except that, as he says, they are trying to convert Mahomedans back to Hinduism It is passing strange that to a follower of an aggressive proselytizing religion like Islam this should seem so objectionable But perhaps he believes, with the bulk of his co-religionists, that this is a game which only one should be allowed to play at and that what has always been sauce for the Moslem gander should not be so for the Hindu goose But in the name of common sense and fair play what earthly reason can he have to complain against those who refuse to believe that it is the Mussalman's exclusive privilege to convert the *Kafir*? True, during the past few centuries Hinduism has not cared to assert this prerogative, at least openly Nevertheless, men like Lyall and Hunter have pointed out the silent assimilative tendencies of this ancient religion, and in the past, before Islam obtained a foot-hold in India, Hinduism is supposed to have taken a more active part in ousting Buddhism from the land Historians like Professor Habib of the Aligarh University are rightly of opinion that even Moslem culture in India is redolent of the soil and has assimilated many important features of Hinduism Sir Abdur ought to know that every action is followed by a reaction, and these Hindu movements have not arisen without a cause They are the outcome of a natural instinct of self-preservation on the part of Hinduism against the fierce communal onslaughts of Indian Mahomedanism One so fond of the communal principle as Sir Abdur Rahim should not be sorry to see the same principle being laid hold of by the Hindus with a view to organise themselves communally The communal Frankenstein is a Mahomedan creation pure and simple, and it will not do for a Mahomedan leader to be scared by it when it rears its head among other sections of the people Almost the last act, the parting shot so to speak, of Sir Abdur before he resigned office was to enunciate the communal principle in a Government *communique* on the

* We, too, have heard it from the lips of one who knew Mr. Gokhale very intimately. —Editor, *M. R.*

* *Vide* our Note on the subject, Editor, *M. R.*

Public Services. Therein 45 per cent of the appointments in Bengal were reserved for Mahomedans, and 55 per cent. were to be distributed among non-Mahomedans, including Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Buddhists, Animists, and Hindus, without regard to the respective proportion of the educated classes as opposed to the agriculturist masses, who alone would compete for service, and without any special reservation for Namasudras and other depressed classes, who on the communal principle and if fitness and capacity are no longer to be the sole tests of selection for the public service, need protection much more than Muslims. The sense of justice of the ex-Chief Justice of Madras betrays the same partisan bias when he complains against the nascent communal organisations of the Hindus in the very same speech in which he calls upon his followers to organize for communal purposes. The Hindu movements referred to by him ask nothing more than what he himself pleads for. As for communal electorates, the Hindus would be ashamed of advancing a brazen-faced scheme of the 'Heads I win, tails you lose,' type which some Mahomedan leaders, emboldened by success, have not scrupled to formulate.

We use the expression 'emboldened by success' advisedly, for with Mahomedans it has simply been a case of a mere walk-over, especially in Madras, where the forcible conversions by the Moplahs and the overwhelming preponderance of Hindus would make one suppose that the Government would be sympathetic towards the latter. But the contrary is unfortunately the fact. In a recent *communique*, the Madras Government has prohibited its Hindu officials from joining the Mahasabha, on the ground that the society may cause trouble with the Mahomedans. So long as the Hindus were utterly disorganised, everything was plain sailing and no Government interference was deemed necessary. Now that they have begun to organise themselves for social protection, they are actively discouraged. This is not playing the game. It is the Madras Government, again, which has recently issued a Circular discouraging the study of Hindi in state-aided schools. The objective seems to be the same—to stamp out the communal self-consciousness of the Hindus. We could have given the Government credit for its anti-communalism, had it not been confined to Hindus, and had it not, in the words of Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State, to Lord Minto, itself "started the Mahomedan hare." It is an open secret that it has done nothing to check the growth of communal feeling among the Mahomedans, rather by recognising the communal principle in representative institutions and the public service it has actively fostered it, and it ill befits it now to suppress its development among the Hindus. But we forget. The story runs that once upon a time the goat approached Vishnu, the preserver, and asked why, though entirely herbivorous and harmless, it should be killed and eaten by man. The Lord forthwith ordered it to leave the divine presence, as otherwise He too might be tempted to eat it, so harmless it was. To be weak is miserable, doing or suffering, and the Hindus are tolerant, mild, unorganised, and therefore weak. Hindu-baiting is thus not only a pleasant pastime, but a safe one too, for the Hindu has no friend or ally outside India, whereas it may be highly politic, in view of the delicate negotiations going on about Mosul, and the hundred and one perplexities of the Anglo-Iraq treaty, of the happenings in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of the Near Eastern region generally as the gateway to India and the proposed naval base at Singapore, not to rouse the Pan-Islamic proclivities of the Indian Mussalmans, by keeping them in good humour.

Not that we are in entire sympathy with all the activities of the *Shuddhi*, *Sangathan* and the Mahasabha movements. Proselytizing organizations, whether among Hindus or Mahomedans, proceed on a credal basis which is antagonistic to the development of a larger national life, and to that philosophic breadth of vision and freedom of thought which is the goal of civilised humanity. There are aspects of these movements among the Hindus which may possibly be dictated by prudential considerations and the exigencies of practical politics, and like all communal movements, they have their reactionary tide. Moreover, the movement for the uplift of the depressed classes of Hindus is as necessary as that for protecting Hindus as a whole from the aggressive cultural attacks of other communities. There is just that grain of truth in Sir Abdur Rahim's taunt that Mahomedans were being converted into Hindus 'to swell the ranks of the untouchables' which makes it dangerous, and those who are keen about these conversions, should see to it that the converts have an honoured

place in the Hindu social order If they cannot assure them such a position in their scheme, they should not try to win them over from the comparatively more democratic organization of Islam A Moslem missionary, we know, would not show any such consideration to those who embrace his religion, not from any real change of heart but on purely material grounds, and it would be easy for a Hindu leader of the *Shuddhi* movement to meet him with a *tu quoque* But that would not solve the problem for good, or in a manner worthy of such a sacramental resurrection as the change of one's faith The question would recur—what is Hinduism going to do with its converts, or for that matter, with its untouchables and depressed classes? To be quite consistent and logical, all prejudices against intimate social intercourse must be abandoned Otherwise the unity and solidarity which is the primary aim of these movements to promote, will never be brought about As a matter of fact, we have seen quite recently how the non-Brahmins of Madras in Conference assembled, preferred the sympathy and co-operation of the Moslems to those of certain sections of their own community, actuated as the latter were supposed to be by motives of exploitation, as opposed to purely humanitarian benevolence

As to Sir Abdur, let him not feign such alarm or imagine such a dire conflagration as a result of these Hindu movements Or possibly he was thinking of the conflagration in his own community which any revivalist movement among Hindus, however innocuous, might produce in the present state of tension If that be so, the proper course for him is to allay the misunderstanding of his followers by sage counsel, and not to emphasise the communal principle and at the same time hold out threats to the Hindus for doing precisely what he preached and what Indian Muslims have practised ever since they began to organise themselves Fanaticism, it may be admitted, easily catches fire, but tolerance is the badge of the Hindu, and he has never throughout the ages sought to qualify as a fanatic—his whole philosophic temperament is against it And what are the real facts, so far at least as that part of India, which is the native land of Sir Abdur Rahim and the present writer alike, is concerned? There, not the slightest ripple has been caused in the placid bosom of Hinduism by these movements The activities of the Bengal branch of the Arya Samaj, suffering from particular lack of funds and unable to make headway against popular apathy, are confined to the metropolis and its neighbourhood whereas the writer can from his personal observation give Sir Abdur Rahim the cheerful assurance that in the outlying parts of all the East Bengal districts, the population is being fast Mahomedanised Unless both the Hindus and the Moslems are more moralised, and the former are ready to marry their widows and the latter cease to indulge in a plurality of wives, the Hindu cannot keep pace with the Mahomedan in the increase of population Unless Hinduism is better organised and is more sincerely actuated by a desire to treat the lower classes on terms of social equality, and unless it can offer better protection to its widows and orphans and make adequate provision for their leading a worth-while life, unless again it is prepared to relax its rules as to food, drink and marriage, in a word, until it gives up its *tamasic* torpor and apathy and cultivates the *rajasic* virtues of the cohesive and agglutinative Mussalman, it will not be fit to take its part in the competitive struggle But to succeed in the struggle, Hindus must also shed some of the noblest fruits of their philosophic culture, they must allow their freedom of mind to be crushed by the dead weight of soul-killing credalism in order to qualify for the communal game By introducing the communal factor, Mahomedans, even of the front rank, have degraded the level of national life and unless Hindus can climb down to that level, the only other way to success for them, both as individuals and as members of a united nation, is by way of raising the Mahomedans to their mental and spiritual plane The Aligarh Debating Society is said to have decided against communalism by a majority of votes; and in that truly noble work of planting the seed of a common notionalism it is the patriotic youths of the premier Muhammadan University who must lead the way, and we call them, with all the earnestness we can command, to that glorious task, though knowing full well that such good seed will take time to germinate and fructify, for in this imperfect world, knowledge may come but wisdom lingers Turkey, rejuvenated and shaking her mighty locks, is on the way to become a puissant nation once more She has definitely cut the painter, and drifted away from her ancient moorings, and looks for inspiration

"Not to the crowded East,
Where, in a well-worn groove,
Like the harnessed wheel of a great machine
The trammelled mind must move."

but to countries where theocracy has had her day and religious wars are like an evil dream of the past Shall the Indian Moslem alone lag behind ? The Hindu is willing to meet him more than halfway as the communal consciousness is foreign to his cultural heritage But if this appeal to the nobler side of enlightened Islamic culture fails, as fail it may, surely the fault will lie, not on the tolerant and philosophic Hindu, but on those Moslem leaders who do their best, in season and out of season, to preach the communal doctrine to their coreligionists, and they should be the last persons to lay the blame on the shoulders of those Hindus who, from the sheer instinct of self-preservation, borrow a leaf out of their books and start defensive organizations like the *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan*, which seem to have thrown Sir Abdur Rahim into such a paroxysm of rage.

GLEANINGS

Teeth of Iron

He calls himself the "man with the iron teeth" because he can bite through chains His real name is Ben Darwin and he comes from Texas Recently he helped a ship's engineer out of a difficulty by chewing through a chain that had become tangled



Teeth of Iron

He Drives Nails By Hand

No need of a hammer when A. S. Zass is around. He is a Cossack, from southern Russia, and so great

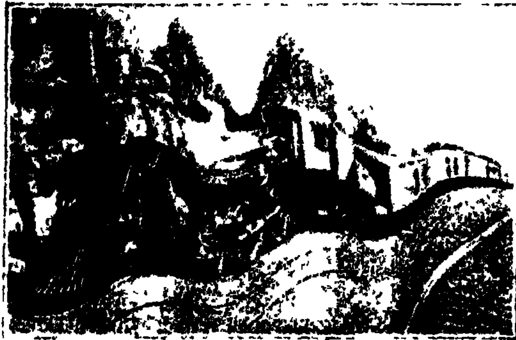


He Drives Nails by Hand

is his strength that he can drive a nail into a thick beam of wood with one hand while supporting the great heavy beam with the other

Trick Photography

Don't believe all that you see. Here is a train apparently shimmying into San Francisco. But although it carried Gilda Gray the queen of shimmy dancers, the passengers will tell you that it proceeded along its way in an orderly everyday fashion.



Trick Photography

Its seeming wiggle and the tracks undulating in the most approved cabaret fashion are a curious product of trick photography.

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A Tamer of Crocodiles

Captain H. Wall, a former German sea captain, claims the distinction of being the only man in the world to succeed in taming crocodiles. He exhibits his trained pets in the circus the year around.



A Tamer of Crocodiles

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Bottles Hold Big Elephant in Glass Strength Test

The strength of empty, half-pint glass bottles was demonstrated recently when four of them were used to support a wooden platform upon which a 13000 pound elephant sat. None of the bottles was broken, although one of them was driven half an inch into the boards because of extra pressure at that point.



Bottles Hold Big Elephant in Glass Strength Test

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Is Sleep Just a Useless Habit?

Practically a third of our life we spend in the blank unconsciousness of slumber. Is this really necessary as physicians long have believed to rest our tired body and mind and restore our nervous energy? Or is it simply a useless and tragic waste of a third of the precious hours of a lifetime?

A few weeks ago eight students of George Washington University—four men and four women—under the supervison of Prof. Fred A. Moss head of the university's Department of Psychology voluntarily submitted themselves to a test of 60 continuous hours of wakefulness. One purpose of the experiment was to answer this very question—of whether sleep actually is vitally necessary. And while the answer was in no way conclusive, it seemed to tend to corroborate the conclusion reached by other scientists in recent months:

That sleep, instead of being a "blessed thing" really may be a wasteful habit handed down to us by our primitive ancestors.

While Professor Moss declares his experiments are just beginning, his findings in the first test with the eight university students reveal these surprising discoveries.

Sleep really is a kind of intoxication. Like drunkenness, it has to be slept off. Too much sleep, like too much intoxication, actually may be harmful, deadening the activities of mind and body.

In the last three years Professor Moss has reduced his own period of sleep to six hours without impairing his efficiency.

While prolonged wakefulness causes extreme drowsiness and irritability, apparently it does not result in any harmful effects on the body. At the end of their long vigil the eight students declared they felt "in fine shape." Indeed, two of them, Watson Monroe, 17 years old, and Lester Petrie, [illegible] were not satisfied when they reached the 60-hour goal, but extended their sleeplessness to 80 hours. And even then they expressed their willingness, when they were ordered to bed, to keep awake indefinitely.

Among notable scientists who have been studying the mystery of sleep there is one, Dr. H. L. Hollingworth, Professor of Psychology at Columbia University—who has gone so far as to advance the astonishing theory that it may be possible to develop a sleepless race. He declares that eventually we may eliminate sleep entirely by scaling it down gradually and getting accustomed to going without it. A way to do this, he suggested, is to reduce our sleep five minutes every two months. At the end of 16 years, provided we start at eight hours a night, the stupor of sleep would be banished—if it could be."

Doctor Hollingworth calls sleep a "tragedy to which we should give the same consideration that we do to other human ills." His theory is that our deep-rooted desire for slumber is inherited from our remote ancestors who, when night fell, were hemmed in by a wall of blackness. Without lanterns and without electric lights it was impossible for them to carry on the activities of the day. They had nothing to do, and naturally when night came they fell into a sort of blank stupor which continued until daylight returned.

That, says Professor Hollingworth, is why so many of us begin to feel drowsy when night comes and why we nod and go to sleep before our fireplace at the end of the day.

Other scientists, notably Dr. Frazer Harris, Dr. A. W. Crile, and Prof. Arthur Cotton are endeavoring to find a substitute for sleep. Believing that the need of slumber is caused by electro-chemical reaction in the brain cells, which drains them of their vitality, Professor Cotton has been working on an electric apparatus that he believes will recharge the worn-out cells by direct electric current instead of by sleep.

Whatever may be the final solution to the every-day mystery of sleep, the fact remains that some men can do without sleep to a very large extent and still achieve great things. Thomas Edison, for one, has given striking demonstration of his pet theory that sleep is largely unnecessary. Such men as Napoleon, Frederick the Great, Schiller, and Tesla have been satisfied with from three to five hours sleep daily. If they can do it, why not everybody?

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Flower Baskets on Lamp-Posts Adorn Streets

Appearance of streets in a Pennsylvania city has been improved by baskets of flowers and vines attached to the lamp-posts. The plants are supported high enough above the pavement to be protected from vandals and do not obstruct the vision or interfere with the lights. Hundreds of these "hanging gardens" give some of the streets the appearance of well-kept parks.



Flower Baskets on Lamp-Posts Adorn Streets

I KNOW NOT

SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI

Translated by SRIMATI INDIRA DEVI CHAUDHURANI

I know not if I love, I only know
Some force mysterious checks my speech's flow,
At one soft touch I dream eternal dreams,
In one heart lies the universe, meseems
In two eyes beautiful Heav'n's light doth shine,
In one dear face doth dwell God's love divine.

In every soul I see her glory bright,
Truth, goodness, beauty, unconfined delight
In finite flesh here lives infinity,
All fruit of former births, all things to be
If this be love, to love I must confess,
In joy or pain which never will grow less.

NOTES

The "Indian" Navy in Embryo

The Viceroy stated the other day in the Council of State in a magniloquent manner that India was going to have a navy But after examining the scheme we find that the main thing that is Indian about it is that Indian money will pay for its construction and maintenance We have no doubt the incredibly generous promise that *one* (not *a half* or *a quarter*, but an entire human being, mind you!) Indian cadet will be trained in it annually, *provided he can be found* We are old that it is, likely that several years will elapse before any Indian cadets enter it from he Prince of Wales' College, Dehra Dun A ope is, however, expressed that some of the ndian boys at *English* public schools might be attracted towards service in the "Indian" navy 'he brilliant prospect of one *possible* admis-ion per annum may attract an embarrassing umber of candidates One admission in wenty-five years would be, therefore, a more onvenient proposition We are overjoyed at the rospect of India having a full-fledged navy 1 A C 2526, by which time it is hoped aval warfare will have become obsolete wing to the greater vogue and efficiency of erial warfare, and navies will have become bjects of curiosity fit to be kept in quatic museums. That has given rise in our inds to the brilliant idea that in A. C 526 Indian young men should begin to be ecruited for the aerial force at the rate of ie admission per century

Proposals have also been examined and ported on for recruiting lascar combatants ie lascars will certainly "Indianise" the ndian" navy as the sepoys have Indianised e "Indian" army.

Lord Reading has told us that it would a great honour for the "Indian" navy be allowed to fly the British white sign from the very beginning Certainly would be as great an honour as it is for to fly the Union Jack What greater glory n there be for India than to lose her lity and identity entirely in the British npire? No price can be too high to pay such a glorious destiny Why should grumble even if the "Indian" navy be part of the Singapore Base idea in guise?

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Sivaji's Navy

It may be mentioned here incidentally that Sivaji began to build his navy at Malavan in the Ratnagiri district in the year 1661 A D By the year 1665, that is in the course of four years, he was able to extend his sea-power down to Karwar The English and the Portuguese tried to destroy Sivaji's navy and plotted with the Janjira State for that purpose But they could not gain their object He faught at sea with the Portuguese and defeating them near Daman, captured one of their war vessels and brought it to the harbour of Davol Sivaji died in 1680 At the time of his death his navy was so strong that the English, the French, the Portuguese and the Dutch were kept in check and could not become masters of the Indian seas *And this result was accomplished in less than twenty years without sending for Indian cadets at English public schools, at the rate of one per annum as the maximum*

Indians are powerless at present, but Lord Reading should know that they are not exactly fools, they understand what is what

Those who read Bengali are referred to Major B D Basu's article on the Maratha Navy in *Prabasi* for Agrahayana, 1311, B E, which appeared 21 years ago

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The Spread of English Education in India

To consolidate their power, the British rulers of India thought it expedient to spread English education here They remembered what Macaulay had written in his famous minute

"We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, words and intellect

According to many Britishers, the spread of English education would prevent the growth of nationality in India. The well-known Christian missionary, Dr Alexander Duff, wrote

"The vast influence of language in moulding national feelings and habits, more generally if fraught with superior stores of knowledge, is too little attended to, and too inadequately understood."

Then he re'erred to the Romans and the Arabs who "Romanised" and "Saracenised" the peoples they conquered. (See 'History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company", pp. 107-108)

Since the time of Macaulay, it had been the policy of the British authorities in India to do all that lay in their power to encourage English education, mostly at the expense of the Vernaculars. But this was not considered enough So, after the outbreak of the Mutiny, a British member of the Bengal Civil Service, named Mr Henry Harington Thomas, wrote a pamphlet entitled, "The late rebellion in India and our future policy," published in 1858, in which he said —

"The natives must be taught the true meaning of the words Progress' and 'Improvement,' and 'earn to reach our level

The general introduction of our own language seems to my view, the most certain way to bring the natives nearer to the Government Once let them speak and understand English, and they will begin to think in English, and to have English aspirations They will discover in due time, that the British Government though vexatious, and unintelligible to common Oriental minds, is superior to the Mahomedan, after all and the rising generation might yet appreciate those advantages of our administration, to which their fathers had been obstinately blind. To this day, the Government has offered no sufficient encouragement to the study of English in our schools and colleges, and little progress has been effected, except in Calcutta, where the students mostly belong to the wealthier 'asses, and learn English as an amusement, or an 'gant accomplishment. The general diffusion of language throughout India seems to be the remedy for that estrangement between the vernment and the people, which all other pre-us attempts have failed to soften Why should language of the conquerors any longer remain a d book to their subjects? ... I think that tter opportunity for introducing this measure likely to be found, than tnat which the present affords The natives cannot but feel con-us that their recent excesses are 'sure to be lowed by many stringent acts on the part of Government, and 'An order to learn English', they will term it, will be received without tonishment, but rather regarded as a very tural consequence, Their growing familiarity th our language, and their acquirement of our ature would render their relapse to barbarism possible; their predilection for torture and ssacre would be soon eradicated, and in a igious point of view, their inquiring minds uld not be long in leading them to 'Search the riptures' for Gosp l truths, which they will not present receive from the Missionaries" (Pp. 24)

The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny eply impressed the stay-at-home people of ngland with the truth of the observations of r (afterwards Sir Charles) Trevelyan, when a witness before the Parliamentary Committee of 1853, he submitted a paper on "The political tendency of the different systems of Education in use in India", and said regarding the spread of English education in India that "the spirit of English literature cannot but be favourable to the English connection" with India. He had spent several years in Delhi before he came to Calcutta. Mentioning his experience of the Moghul capital, he said —"There high and low, rich and poor, had only one idea of improving their political condition." But in Calcutta, he "found quite another set of ideas prevalent among the educated natives. Instead of thinking of cutting the throats of the English, they were aspiring to sit with them on the grand jury or on the bench of magistrates" (See "History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company", pp 74-80)

The truth of those observations was brought home to them by the occurrences at Delhi in May, 1857 So they became very ardent advocates of the diffusion of English education in India

B. D B.

A Letter from a Japanese Statesman

We publish the following extract from a letter written to Dr Taraknath Das by a Japanese statesman, expressing his feelings regarding the injustice done to the people of Asia The letter gives expression to the true Japanese spirit—the spirit of the Bushido, the spirit of a Samurai and it may serve as stimulus to those in India who are engaged in the struggle for freedom as a fight against injustice and not one of race-hatred.

"According to your letter, you left America which canceled your citizenship and are now in Europe. This is indeed a surprising news for me and I cannot but sympathize with your fate. You have lost your citizenship of India when you were presumed to have secured the American citizenship. You are a landless person. But Mr Das! what is this world? A small ship of revolving universe Everything is changing and very quickly Don't be discouraged by the incident! Go straight ahead on the road on which you started out, I believe the time will come when fortune will smile upon you I am also struggling against all kinds of injustice. I think, however there is no hower work than to fight injustice. The human life might be regarded as a great drama A man who can fight injustice is assuming a happy role in this drama. Though you are undergoing all forms of hardships which are the outcome of the present unreasonable and selfish atmosphere of the world, I might congratulate you on playing a happy and

holy role in the play of human life God is after all fair, so I believe. One who believes oneself unfortunate simply lacks a penetrating vision to find a better and brighter side of this life We should be wise and then we can find that God is all fair. I am determined to continue the present holy war until I die We are fighting on the common ground Mr Das I am sorry to have noted the other day that a prominent leader having the same name (C. R Das) passed away I hope that on the ruin of this man, thousands of vigorous young men will arise to carry out the holy war"

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Some Important features of Japanese Budget Estimates

Mr. Hamaguchi, the Japanese Minister of Finance, gave a broad outline of the Japanese budget estimates and the new plan of taxation in the general meeting of the Japanese Clearing Banks held on November 19, 1925

"The main features of the plan were reduction of income tax, land tax, and business tax *the abolition of Excise duty on cotton textiles* and travelling tax, as well as lesser taxes, the *establishment of a new tax on the interest arising out of capital* and an increase in the duties on spirits and higher death duties."

"The estimates of expenditure for 1925-1927 showed an increase of about 18 000 000 yen as compared with those of the previous year, the principal items of fresh expenditure being as follows —

	yen
Increase in the grant to local authorities for salaries of primary school teachers	10,000,000
Construction of auxiliary vessels for the Navy	8 000,000
Relief to the Industrial Bank of Japan, the Bank of Taiwan, and the Bank of Chosen in connexion with their loans to China	7,000,000

Japan has suffered very seriously by awful earthquakes and floods and her industrial and economic prosperity has received a setback. However, the Japanese Minister of finance has adopted a plan by which, land-tax will be reduced and Excise duty on cotton textiles will be abolished He has also adopted the policy of taxing the interest on capital. The fundamental idea at the back of this plan is to graduate the burden of taxes according to the ability to pay This plan will relieve the Japanese peasants from a high land tax, and aid the Japanese textile industry to hold its own in home and foreign markets, while the rich will have to pay a special tax on the interest derived from invested capital.

The Japanese Government proposes to spend during 1926-1927 under the heading of fresh expenditure no less than 4 crores to aid the local bodies so that the salaries of primary school teachers may be raised, and at the same time extends as aid to the Japanese (not foreign) banks the sum of 1 crore and 40 lakhs of rupees, and a sum of 1 crore and 60 lakhs of rupees will be spent to strengthen the Japanese navy—a vital arm of national defense

We wish to draw the attention of the Indian members of the Legislative Assembly to the above facts and hope that they will formulate a policy regarding the Indian budget which will contain the features mentioned above The Finance Minister of India should adopt a course by which (1) *the excise duty on Indian textiles should be abolished* permanently, (2) the land tax on poor Indian peasants be reduced and (3) a tax on interest derived from invested capital be imposed

As the Japanese Government is aiding the local bodies with 4 crores of rupees to increase the salary of primary school teachers in order to increase their efficiency, similarly we think that the Indian Government during the year 1926 27 should aid the local Governments with a sum of no less than 4 crores to promote primary education We also suggest that the Indian Government should sanction an initial outlay of 2 crores of rupees to further the military education of Indians by establishing a National Military College in India and aiding Indian Universities and Colleges so that they may be able to undertake the task of imparting military education to College students We also suggest that the Indian Government should adopt a policy of building up an Indian national merchant marine by extending preferential treatment to Indian shipping in all Indian coast-wise trade

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South African Nationalists Propose to Reorganize National Defence

The London *Times* publishes the following news item, which will be of interest to all Indians who are engaged in studying the question of Indian national defence.

A Nationalist deputation has submitted proposals to the Minister of Defence for the reorganization of the Union defence system. They suggest the abolition of the General Staff, the Permanent Force and the Active Citizen Force, and the substitution for them of a Commandant-General and a burgher force, *schoolboys to be trained as cadets on a new system and rifles to be provided for all burghers at one half of the cost price.* The deputation represented the Transvaal and Free State Nationalists.

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Civil Justice in Bengal

Civil litigation in Bengal continues to run in its old grooves despite the appointment of the Civil Justice Committee and its voluminous report. The committee has made many suggestions for hastening the pace of litigation, which, for its tardiness, had in the past been the subject of severe criticism by their Lordships of the Privy Council The committee, however, failed to lay its fingers on the sore spot in the system, with the result that, despite all its tinkering reforms, Civil Justice still continues to run very much the same course as in the past And if the state of things in the Alipore Civil Courts existing today is symptomatic of the course of litigation in Bengal, the sooner these courts were abolished the better An ordinary ejectment suit in which no question of title is involved, filed by a landlord against a defaulting tenant in the beginning of 1924, was still pending in the beginning of January 1926! This, I was told, was the normal course of things in these courts and the judges who saw the injustice of the whole thing were powerless to redress the wrong I would feign believe it to be true, but I think it is not so The judges, as remarked in the Civil Justice Committee's report, are too prone to surrender themselves to senior pleaders and allow the trial to drift as they list The result is that adjournments are granted on the flimsiest of grounds and grave injustice is done to parties who want a quick decision of their suits There can be no earthly reason for an ejectment suit filed by a landlord against a defaulting tenant to last more than one or two hearings after summons is served on the defendant Yet the thing has been pending for two years and is not yet over Consider the plight of the poor landlord in the case in question, supposing he gets a monthly rent of Rs 150 for his house The tenant has not paid rent for two years and for some time prior to the institution of the suit By the time his case is over the arrears due against him would probably come to something like Rs 4000 But what can one expect to recover from a tenant who is being sued in ejectment as a defaulter? At the end of the suit he one day quietly disappears in the city of Calcutta leaving the landlord to pursue such remedies as the law gives against unscrupulous debtors! The landlord loses his 4000! But what of that? The Government has got its court-fees and the pleaders have earned their daily fees. And the judge goes on drawing his salary of, say, 1000 p. m, whether he takes 6 months or 2 years to decide the simple case And British Justice is still the boast of all of us!

January 25, 1926 B C.

Reports of Re-marriage of Widows

The honorary secretary, Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha of Lahore states:—

Reports of 213 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India in the month of January, 1926.

i According to caste:—

Brahman 56, Khatri 21, Arora 10, Kaisth 10. Aggarwal 31, Rajputs 15, Sikh 29 Misc. 38, Total 213

ii. According to Provinces —

Punjab and N-W F P 141, Delhi 8. Sindh 3, U. P 16 Assam 2, Bengal 5, Madras 1, Bombay 1, C I 6 Total 213

iii Voluntary donation received during the month of January 1926 is Rs 37-10-0.

An American Professor on India and America

Professor J H Holmes, Professor of Philosophy, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania (U S A) and Associate Editor of "Unity" and member of the Society of Friends and one of the leaders of the Peace Movement in the United States of America who attended the recent session of the Congress at Cawnpore, interviewed, said to a representative of the Associated Press that what struck an American most particularly was the evident poverty that was so widespread in this country, the more so as it was contrasted with the extreme luxury of a few who naturally included some foreigners Referring to education in India, he said that while there were many Colleges, some of which were exceedingly well equipped, there was hardly even the beginning of primary and secondary education This fact must be closely associated with the general poverty

Questioned regarding Anti-Asiatic Legislaion in the United States the Professor said, "I deeply deplore the recent Anti-Asiatic Legislation in the United States and I am ashamed of our record in dealing with our own Negro problems" He said that there were, however, millions of thoughtful people in America who were labouring to get rid of race prejudice and race discrimination India and America had much to give one another He concluded by saying, "America can contribute her energy and her inventive capacity and her century and a half's experience in self-government, while in our turn we may hope to receive from India her great capacity for self-control, her patient philosophy of life and above all the new interpretation of our own religion which we profess without really

believing it, for our religion condemns love of wealth and love of violence and yet our people have been guilty of love of wealth and of imperialism, having almost destroyed themselves in the Great War."

India should not rest content merely with receiving from abroad the result of the inventive capacity of foreigners Indians, too, possess inventive capacity Every effort should be made by the people of India and its Government to develop this capacity So long as our country remains the market or the dumping ground, as the case may be, of foreign inventions, it will be mercilessly exploited by the West

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Wild Animals Born in the Calcutta Zoo

It is generally thought that wild animals do not breed except when *ferae naturae* But there are exceptions. During the year 1915, 4 lions, 5 black leopards, 1 barking deer, 5 Indian antelopes, 1 great kangaroo and 1 Bengal porcupine were born in the Zoological Garden at Alipore, Calcutta

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Germany's Great Novelist Looks towards Russia and the East

The present tendency of the practical politics of German statesmen in power, is to forge closer political relations with Great Britain and the closest possible economic relations with America and to achieve equal status for Germany as one of the Great Powers of the world, by entering the League of Nations and securing a seat in the council of the League

However, Herr Thomas Mann, who is regarded widely as the greatest living novelist in Germany, author of "Buddenbrorps", "Tristan", "Death in Venice" and "Enchanted Mountain", and whose "Observations of a Non-Political Thinker" which appeared originally in the 'Neue Rundschau" some years ago and is considered by experts all over Europe as one of the profoundest studies on political tendencies written in recent times, thinks that "whatever cordial relation with Western Europe may be, Germany must continue her close friendship with the East and notably Russia."

During his recent visit to Paris, where he spoke before the Carnegie Foundation on "the cultural relation between Germany and the rest of Europe", in an interview **Herr Mann** has been reported to have said :—

"The bond between Russia and Germany is very intimate, and the intellectuals of Germany must do their best to uphold this bond. The political system of Russia cannot, to be sure, be adopted by Germany but sympathy with the aspirations of Russia will always be extended by the intellectual forces of Germany, who are, as you know, responsible for the democratic form of government. I realise that Germany belongs to the West Our language is easily rendered into Western languages such as English My books have been translated into English. My books, I imagine must be hard to translate into Russian. Yet I hold despite this that we must retain the closest possible relations with Russia and the deepest East."

Whatever may be the creed of the political opportunists of any country, it will always and ultimately depend upon the persistent efforts of the "intellectual forces" of a nation to formulate a policy of far-reaching consequence This is fully evident when Herr Mann advocates, that in spite of all things, *Germany must retain the closest possible relations with Russia and the deepest East,* This, in plain words, means that Germany while remaining friendly towards France, England, Italy, America etc, should be in the closest friendly relations with Russia, China, Japan, India and other Asiatic countries To us, it is self-evident from the standpoint of culture, material resources, man power and political posibilities that the deepest East embraces China, Japan and India, more than any other part of Asia

The intellectual forces of India, upon whose sagacity depends the future of the nation, of Asia at large and world peace, should formulate a world policy for India, which without antagonising any nation of the West, will bring about closer co-operation between India, China, Japan and those nations of the West and the East which are sincerely in sympathy with the aspirations of the people of the Orient T D.

Herr Mann may have been influenced in his utterance by the fact that industrially undeveloped Russia, China and India are more likely to buy German goods than European countries in general Editor,—M R

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Italy's Trade with India

In the field of Science, Italian savants have made considerable contributions ; and to-day Italy, although handicapped by the lack of

raw materials, is making immense progress industrially, The following news item will be of interest to those in India interested in commerce and industry .—

'Imports into Italy from India during the first eight months of 1925 were valued at approximately 1,187,000,000 lire, while exports from Italy to India were under 179,000,000 lire in value. Among the principal goods sold by India to Italy during the period mentioned were raw cotton (44 800 tons, value 473 000,000 lire), oil seeds (128 800 tons, value 145,500 000 lire), and grain (41,000,000 lire) Among the principal Italian exports to India were textiles and other manufactures of cotton (1 300 tons, value 41,500,000 lire), textiles and other manufactures of wool (800 tons, value 23 000 000 lire), rubber tires, &c (500) tons, value 17,500,000 lire), and artificial silk and waste (300 tons, value 17,5000,000 lire)

Will India always remain a supplier of raw materials to other nations, who will sell finished products to her children ?

T D.

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German Traders Gaining in China

The Peking correspondent of "Berliner Tageblat" has recently published an article on the rebuilding of German trade in China

War losses and the subsequent expulsion of the Germans seemed at the time to destroy German trade in the Far East indefinitely, but the financial rash in 1921 ruined other foreigners as well and presently the Germans began to come back to something like even terms Actually more German firms are now doing business in China than before the war and the present turnover is greater, although the correspondent does not believe the net profits are as great as before the war

The great lack of capital in Germany itself is also felt abroad, the correspondent believes, and many businesses resumed operations on ridiculously small capital

This success of German traders in China is mainly due to two factors , (1) unbelievably hard work on the part of German business men and (2) the political situation in China. In 1916-17, when I was in China to study the international political situation, I found most of the Germans who were interned in China were studying the Chinese language, as a preparation for their efforts to secure Chinese trade With the end of the world war, Germany was eliminated from holding any special "spheres of influence" in China and she had to give up extraterritorial jurisdiction in China. The Chinese people, particularly the Chinese nationalists, fully realise that Germany has no political ambition in China and so they are friendly and sympathetic to the German merchants, who are very anxious to do all that is posible to please their Chinese customers.

German business men, through their initiative, hard work and far-sight, are engaged in building up a profitable market for the future, altho they are not making a very large profit. In the field of international commerce, like that of science, something worthwhile cannot be achieved without serious efforts What have the Indian business men so far done to secure a standing in the international commercial world ? They can learn a great deal from the Jews all over the world and the German merchants now engaged in securing their place in world commerce

T. D'

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American Naturalization Law Is Against the Chinese, Japanese and Hindustanees

American naturalization law is not directed against all the Asiatic peoples This is self-evident, because the Jews from Palestine, Syrian Christians and others are allowed to become citizens of the United States by naturalization The following news item shows that, although the Armenians are Asiatic people, they can also naturalize as American citizens —

Washington, Jan 6 (U P).—Armenians are eligible for naturalization as United States citizens, Attorney-General Sargent decided to-day after conferring with officials of the Department of Labor

The question arose in Portland, Ore, where the United States District Court declined to cancel a naturalization certificate granted to Tatos Osgihan Cartosiam, an Armenian.

Investigations into the racial and ethnological problems involved in cases decided by federal courts showed that Armenians were entitled to become American citizens, Mr Sargent said.

We understand that Persians can also naturalize as American citizens Thus it is apparent that the American naturalization law has been so applied as to bar the Chinese, Japanese and Hindustanees from becoming citizens of the great republic of the United States According to the present laws of the United States a man of the position of the late Dr Sun Yat Sen of China, men of such eminence as Dr Nitobe or Dr Anazaki of Japan and savants and scholars like Rabindranath Tagore, Gandhi, Jagadis Chunder Bose or P C Ray cannot become citizens of this country. On the other hand "all alien *white-persons* and persons of African birth

and nativity can become citizens of the United States by naturalization" Those who cannot become citizens of the United States by naturalization are also debarred from emigrating into the United States and cannot own or lease any land in certain States of the U S A. owing to the existing anti-alien land laws India, China and Japan form the heart of Asia, with a population of no less than 800,000,000 souls The policy of the British Empire and the United States is that these people should not be allowed to enjoy the right of emigrating into their territories We are often told that the United States is friendly to China and India, and this may be true But it cannot be denied that the Chinese, Japanese and Hindustanees are equally discriminated against within the British Empire and the United States Thus China, Japan and India should have a common policy so that in future the people of these countries may not be discriminated against by any nation

T D

Why Spanish Should Be Studied

Oxford University is raising an endowment fund of £25,000 to establish a chair for the Spanish language *The Observer* (London), Jan 17, 1926, editorially makes the following comment on the importance of the study of Spanish from the standpoint of cultural and political interests —

To establish a Chair of Spanish at Oxford is, in every way, a most fitting sequel to the Prince's South American tour That language has claims as the key to wide areas of history and to a literature of peculiarly individual quality, which in themselves press for recognition But from the standpoint of commercial importance the case is overwhelming Spanish stands second only to English as a vehicle of the world's business As the development of South America proceeds it will become still more necessary to trading nations and quite indispensable to the maintenance of our own position in those markets"

Recently Mr. C F Andrews, in a special article in the *People* (Lahore), has rightly pointed out that ambitious young Indians should go to South American countries, where they can find greater opportunities for their advancement than in British India or within the British Empire, where anti-Indian color prejudice prevails We hope that Indian Universities will follow the example of Oxford University by establishing a chair for the Spanish language T D

Sir Reginald Craddock on a Royal Commission on Agriculture

In a note on the Royal Commission o Agriculture in our last issue, we repeate some of the reasons for opposing the appoint ment of such a commission. Sir Reginal Craddock's article in the *Asiatic Review* o "Two Indian Landmarks" gives expressio to opinions which go to support two of ou main objections

We observed in our last number that "th principal causes of India's backwardness i agriculture are wellknown," and enumerate them Sir Reginald Craddock, who has rule over two provinces of the Indian Empir *viz*, C P and Berar, and Burma, and, accord ing to the *Asiatic Review*, "after a long ex perience as Revenue and Settlement Office has had the advantage of developing a Agricultural Department in two provinces, writes in t' at review —

"There is, indeed, little that a Royal Commissio can find out that the Government does not kno already, or cannot collate from the abundan material available in the settlement and revenu reports and the recommendations of numerou committees and conferences held annually or fro time to time In fact, for years past the Govern ment has been much more active and much bette equipped with reference to rural economy tha to urban and industrial problems—witness th remarkable success of its efforts in coping wi successive famines"

So, Sir Reginald Craddock's observation go to show that a Royal Commission on ur ban and industrial problems is a greate necessity than a royal commission on agri culture

We also wrote last month —

"The terms of reference show what the Com mission will not have the power to do But wha is excluded is of vital importance. The problem o India's agricultural poverty cannot be solved with out a radical reform in the existing systems o land revenue assessment, of land ownership an tenancy, irrigation charges, etc But it is thes things which 'it will not be within the scope o the Commission's duties to examine'"

We read in Sir Reginald's article —

"Before it could be decided whether ther should be a Commission, and what should be in cluded in or excluded from the terms of referenc of such a Commission, one requires to have som sort of preliminary diagnosis of the malady, if any from which Indian agriculture suffers."

Then Sir Reginald plainly says —

"If you exclude land-tenures from examinatio you will be excluding matters which have a vita influence upon agriculture and if you pay puncti

tions attention to the susceptibilities of provincial Governments and provincial ministers, you may be debarred from recommending action by the Central Government, which was extremely advisable in the best interests of agriculture, though tending *pro tanto* to limit the discretion of provincial ministers."

It is not necessary here to examine the correctness or otherwise of the writer's latter observation, but it is noteworthy that the terms of reference of the Commission state that "it will not be within the scope of the Commission's duties to examine the existing division of functions between the Government of India and the local Governments"—such is the British Government's *zid* to maintain diarchy, increased by the unanimous condemnation of that system of administration by all shades of Indian political opinion. Summing up, Sir Reginald observes —

"It would be singularly unfortunate if its terms of reference laid down any forbidden ground upon which it must not trespass, even though the interests of agriculture were vitally affected by the prohibition"

But "forbidden ground" has actually been laid down.

The "Conservatism" of the Indian Ryot

Some people suppose that he backward condition of Indian agriculture is due to the conservatism of the Indian peasants and farmers On this point Sir Reginald Craddock bears the following testimony to the sound common sense of the Indian ryot in his article, referred to in the previous note —

"The Indian ryot is no fool he has long inherited experience, and though if left alone he is very conservative, yet once let him be convinced that a particular crop or a particular method is within his means and is going to pay him, he will adopt it. But he has no use for an itinerant lecturer with a science degree who merely lectures and passes on Long before scientific agriculture was heard of in India particular improvements and more advanced practices came into use The ryot must know that you know all that he can teach you before he will begin to learn from you The way to convince the Indian ryot is not by publishing the results obtained on some distant farm, but by demonstration *in situ*."

Appeal for Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

The appeal for funds issued by the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona should have the whole-hearted support of all lovers of the ancient Indian culture It is signed by Mr. V G Paranjpye, the Secretary, and states :—

All the energies of the late Sir Ramkrishna's mighty intellect were spent in a singleminded devotion to truth as manifested in Sanskrit literature, philosophy and religion His own life was the best illustration of the religious truth that he maintained It is the duty of all true sons of India that there should be a fitting monument to the great son of India who has recently left us, and that the torch of learning and of the quest of truth that he has lighted should burn with an ever-increasing lustre

What better monument could there be to commemorate the life of Sir Ramkrishna than the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, inaugurated in 1917 by Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay ? It is in the fitness of things that the institute, founded during the lifetime of the great scholar and under his inspiration, should now find redoubled support at the hands of the public I have to bring to your notice the useful work done by the institute since its foundation and to its urgent need for more funds, which has proved a serious impediment in the way of its progress

The following brief chronological summary of the work of the institute during the last eight years will give some idea of its usefulness —

1917 Inauguration of the institute at the hands of Lord Willingdon A commemoration volume presented to Sir R G Bhandarkar. Completion of the main hall of the institute

1918 The Deccan College Manuscript Library together with the manuscripts grant and the Bombay Sanskrit Series with the publication grant handed over by the Bombay Government to the institute

1919 The Mahabharata edition undertaken by the institute Manuscripts collation inaugurated by Sir R G Bhandarkar The Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute started The first Oriental Conference held under the auspices of the institute

1920-22. Organisation of the institute and of a colony of sympathisers Addition of two wings to the main hall Publication of proceedings of the first Oriental Conference, Vol. I and II. Annals, vols I III

1923-25 Publication of the Viratapsrva, Sarvadarsana-samgraha Rigveda Selections, Vols. I and II, Prakrivakaumudi, Part I, Kavyalankarasarasangraha, Naishkarmyasiddhi, Anubhasya (besides two more works nearly completed and several more in the press) and Annals, vols IV-VI.

Besides this, the institute has done a good deal of Mahabharata collation. It maintains a staff whose total emoluments come now to close on Rs. 1,500 per mensem

The appeal adds:—

Besides its magnificent collection of books and manuscripts which it owes to the generosity of Government and the late Sir R G. Bhandarkar, it has on its library table practically all the journals dealing with the ancient culture and history of India.

The institute has started well and yet it must achieve a good deal before it can claim to be a real memorial of the great departed whose name it bears In order to accomplish its real purpose, it must be a school of post-graduate studies in oriental subjects for university students as well as Shastris, affording the necessary facilities for study by means of properly endowed lectureships and fellowships. It must be a centre of scholarly activity with a library and a guest-house for scholars. It must have a press of its own

A rough estimate of the expenditure necessary for the materialization of these ideas is given in the appeal, the total coming up to four lakhs of rupees All donations are to be sent to the secretary.

"Vegetable Ghee"

We read in *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* which, by the by, has proved a very useful weekly and has belied the anticipations of the opponents of its foundation—that at a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation held on the 3rd February last, the Chief Executive Officer stated in reply to some questions asked by Rai Lalit Kumar Mitra that "paraffine and nickel have been found" in samples of "vegetable ghee" tested by the Analytical Department of the Corporation We hope legal action will be taken in due course.

"Cocogem," manufactured and sold by Messrs. Tata and Sons, is pure and refined cocoanut oil prepared for cooking food with, and may really claim to be 'vegetable ghee." But perhaps this preparation is not widely known to the Indian public owing to Messrs Tatas' almost entire dependence on English agency and newspapers conducted in English

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Bihar and Orissa Budget

Bihar and Orissa has the distinction of having an Indian, Mr Sachchidananda Sinha, as its Finance Member; and that province can show a budget in which the apportionment of expenditure between the Reserved and the Transferred Departments is different from what it is in Madras, Bengal and Assam. According to *New India*,

> A study of the budgets of Madras, Bengal, Assam and Bihar shows that while in the first three, Reserved expenditure is about seventy per cent, in Behar, expenditure on the Transferred Departments has never been less than 70 per cent of the total expenditure, since 1921 Mr. Sinha, analysing the figures since 1924 in his budget, points out that the percentage of recurring expenditure on the Transferred Departments to the total recurring expenditure was 90, 93 and 95 during the three years commencing 1924-25, while non-recurring expenditure amounted to 65, 81 and 75 per cent respectively.

New India rightly thinks that "some of the credit for this should undoubtedly go to Lord Sinha, but it is due mainly to the present Finance Member, and it is a feature on which the province is entitled to warm congratulations"

There is, however, another feature of the Bihar and Orissa budget on which that province cannot be congratulated. It is stated that its *abkari* revenue has nearly doubled during the last four years, and that last year the excise revenue exceeded the previous year's revenue by seventeen lakhs A Bihar Minister observed in a previous year that the province could not do without the money derived from the degradation of the people by drink and drugs

It is no excuse to say that Madras and Bombay have much greater excise revenues The provinces should not run a record-breaking race along the downward path that leads to perdition They *must* do without the *abkari* revenue

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Opium Policy

In the Viceroy's address to the reconstituted Council of State, it is stated

> We have come to the conclusion that, in order at once to fulfil our international obligations in the largest measure and to obviate the complications that may arise from the delicate task of attempting to sit in judgment on the internal policy of other Governments, it is desirable that we should declare publicly our intention to reduce progressively the exports of opium from India so as to extinguish them altogether within a definite period, except as regards export of opium for strictly medical purposes The period to be fixed has not yet been finally determined, as before arriving at a decision it is necessary to consult the Government of the United Provinces regarding the effects that the resulting reduction in the area cultivated with opium will have on the cultivators in that province We further purpose to discontinue, altogether, the system of auction sales of opium in India as soon as the agreement for direct sale now being negotiated with the Government of French Indo-China is concluded

While welcoming the Viceroy's declaration of policy so far as it goes, we cannot say that it is altogether adequate or satisfactory It is stated in the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Geneva Conference that "when prices are normal the opium used for drug manufacture, is mostly European

Turkish or Persian, because these have a higher morphine content than Indian opium."

If this statement be correct, Indian opium is not much used abroad for "strictly medicinal and scientific use" So, the stoppage of the export of Indian opium except for "strictly medicinal and scientific use" ought, if such a policy can be effectively carried out, to put a stop to the export of Indian opium almost entirely. But can this policy be strictly given effect to? Who is to determine what are the requirements of each country for strictly medicinal and scientific use? If we may judge by the past action of some Governments, they may not be above issuing import certificates for more Indian opium than they could legitimately require for use within their own territories The other alternative is for the League of Nations to ration the importing countries But will the League do it? One result, however, of the Viceroy's declaration of the opium policy, when it is given effect to, will be to satisfy public opinion abroad and win the world's respect for India, which is no small gain "The definite period", mentioned in his speech, should be a short one, say five years, and it ought to be fixed soon

The Viceroy said nothing as to the use of opium in India itself. When will it cease to be available except on the production of a medical prescription? When will its manufacture and use in India be limited to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes? It is good to think of the welfare of foreign nations, but should not philanthropy have scope at home also?

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A Plucky Village Woman

In a Press note the Government of Bengal state that they have sanctioned a reward of Rs 300 to Hemala Gopini and of Rs. 150 to each of her three brothers in recognition of the pluck and personal courage displayed by them in attacking an armed gang of dacoits.

The facts of the case are stated below.

In the month of April last, at about midnight, three men, including one Asraf Ali, went to the house of Krista Kumar Saha of Ramnagore in the Manikgonj subdivision of Dacca, of whom one was dressed like a havildar and armed with a gun and two others like constables. They called Krista Saha and told him that they had come there to supervise the patrol duty of the Chowkidars, etc, and enquired of Krista if any one of his village had any gun After this they left the house and shortly after 20 men entered Krista's house and began to break open the doors. Krista could then understand that they were dacoits and immediately ran to the neighbours' house and informed the villagers about the dacoity. In the meantime some Goalas (milkmen) who lived in the southern contiguous house of Krista attacked the dacoits with lathis, which were supplied to them by their sister Hemala Gopini, a widow of about 32 years of age While the lathi fight was going on, the dacoits suddenly removed the lights from there. Hemala seeing that her brothers had been fighting in darkness with lathis and with a view to illuminate the locality, besmeared a cloth with kerosene oil, made a torch, lighted it and put it at a place to illuminate the whole yard and she supplied three "gutis" (fishing spears) to her brothers to spear the dacoits The brothers speared some dacoits and wounded the leader of the gang, who ordered his men to retreat The dacoits then left the house through a narrow lane followed by the Goalas, one of whom carried the third spear Hemala, the sister, seeing that her brothers had been following the dacoits in darkness followed them with the torch At that moment one of the Goalas hurled the spear on the back of a dacoit injuring him seriously The other dacoits tried to drag away the injured dacoit but could not do so Neighbours from all sides appeared, whereupon the dacoits fled, leaving the injured man behind

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Another Plucky Indian Woman

Some months ago, another account of a dacoity appeared in the papers where another Indian woman displayed great courage and presence of mind The following report of the occurrence is taken from the *Bengalee*

Information has reached the Alipur Police of a daring attempt at dacoity which was averted by the plucky action of the house-holder's, wife. Girish Chandra Adok is a rich man of Rajarampur within the Police Station of Budge Budge. On the night of the 16th inst, just after dusk the wife of Girish Babu was sitting in the verandah of her room with her children playing by her side when she saw a number of men trespassing into her compound As the husband was then away, the lady naturally grew apprehensive and pushed her children inside the room, herself following them.

In the meantime, some of the dacoits ran up to the verandah and tried to prevent her from barring the door of the room. Then ensued a vigorous scuffle betwen the lady and the dacoits on either side of the strong door, she trying with all her might to bolt the door from inside. Suddenly one of the dacoits threw a cracker through the opening of the door which burst, burning the face of the valiant defender. She loosened her hold a bit, and one of the dacoits put in his hand between the leaves of the door to force it open With rare courage and presence of mind she faced the desperate situation and with all her might managed to bolt it with the dacoit's fingers caged between the leaves. The dacoits then tried their utmost to free their comrade, who at last succeeded in extricating himself but not without leaving his four fingers cut off behind.

A Police Inspector took up the enquiry with

the fingers as his clues, and he was surprised to find that one Bankim Chandra Das, son of Jogendranath Das of Kalipur, a neighboring village, was lacking in four of his fingers. This young man is a student of the 3rd class and his father is also a rich and respectable man. Bankim was produced before the S. D. O., Alipur, where he has made a confession. The accused has been remanded.

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Dr R. P. Paranjpye's Election.

We deliberately discourage the growth in our mind of a partisan mentality, and do not take much interest in party triumphs. But the election of Dr R. P. Paranjpye to the Bombay Council is more than and different from a party triumph. He gave the best years of his life to education for a pittance and as Education Minister did some notable things. He is, moreover, a man of high culture. He was India's first senior wrangler at Cambridge. It was, therefore, fitting that the Bombay University should return a man of his self-sacrifices, calibre and record of public service. We are the more pleased at his election, because he was subjected to a highly unbecoming personal attack by Mr. Horniman, who should remember that he has been always highly paid for his journalistic work in India.

We quote below from *The Subodha Patrika* of Bombay a paragraph bearing on Dr Paranjpye's work as Education Minister:

> During the regime of Dr R. P. Paranjpye the first Education Minister under the new Reforms Scheme, a step of far reaching importance was taken whereby all Government and Aided Schools were asked to admit Depressed Class children without observing any caste distinctions whatever. Some persons of pronounced advanced views protested against this measure on hygienic grounds. Of course, there was not much substance in this argument, because as a matter of fact there were and are many high-caste children who are of as unclean habits as the D. C. ones and all D. C. children are not dirty. The opposition was the result of prejudices which die very hard. The D. P. I. in a note on the situation, now says that generally speaking, all schools except some which meet in temples, admit untouchable children without distinction. We know some schools which even go so far as to give special facilities to these children. Thus what was considered a rash step has resulted in the promotion of a much needed reform. The object of education is to help to eradicate evils and we are glad to find that the Educational Department has succeeded in eradicating an evil of a very long standing.

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Regulation III of 1818.

The rejection by the Assembly of Mr. Amarnath Dutt's bill for the repeal of Regulation III of 1818 shows that even many elected members of that body have not done their duty. They are either pusillanimous, or selfishly satisfied with the thought that they in any case are never likely to come within its clutches, or they have a poor ideal of personal freedom in a civilized country in times of peace.

Repeatedly challenged to state for what crimes Aswini Kumar Dutt, Krishna Kumar Mitter and Lajpat Rai were deported under the Regulation, the bureaucracy have never been able to do so. In fact, in the case of the first two what Sir Hugh Stephenson once stated in the Bengal Council amounts to this that they were deported for strenuous and persistent agitation against the partition of Bengal, which was modified afterwards!

The police and executive can never be trusted to make a proper and impartial use of such a weapon. The Regulation was made for other times and other circumstances. It ought now to be repealed.

Sir Alexander Muddiman said that Government could not do without such a weapon, which is a condemnation of the Government more than of anybody else. His plea that the Assembly will not pass any requisite law if the Regulation were repealed is also unconvincing. Make the Government responsible to the people, and then the legislature will pass all necessary laws.

The old bogey that witnesses would be murdered if political suspects were brought to trial, instead of being deprived of their liberty under the Regulation, was trotted out again. *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Pandit Motilal Nehru and others have shown the untenability of that plea, but the bureaucracy have scant regard for facts when they clash with their interests.

It was said that the Free State of Ireland had enacted laws like the Bengal Regulation. That does not make out a case in favour of the Regulation. Rather it shows that, given self-rule, a people will take vigorous steps to maintain law and order. Ireland, even after it had obtained freedom, was in an unsettled condition; Bengal is not in that condition. Moreover, the Government of a self-governing country which is responsible to its people through its legislature is entitled to make emergency laws in its own interests. But a foreign bureaucracy, not responsible to the legislature and people of India, cannot now legitimately make use of an obsolete regulation,

framed more than a century ago, in order now to fight in its own interests against the struggle for liberty of a subject population

Mr Donovan stated that during his 16 year's official career in Bengal he had never heard anybody complaining against the Regulation, though he had plenty of other complaints to deal with That was a very ridiculous argument. In the first place, why should people complain against the Regulation to *him*? He was not and is not the person who had, has or is ever likely to have the power to repeal the Regulation In the next place, even our villagers are not fools, they know what complaints will displease a European magistrate Why should they go out of the way to displease him?

Much was made of the fact that the Regulation was never used against any Musalman in Bengal That may be due to several causes, which we are not inclined to state Those Musalmans who, like Sir Abdur Rahim, wish to profit by posing as extra-loyal subjects of the British Government may do so But some Musalman members showed in the Assembly itself that all Musalmans are not of that description by saying that they wanted the Regulation to be repealed

The Law of Contempt.

The law of contempt of court, as recently enacted, may be used to harass the Press and curtail its liberty of criticism It is legislation of a retrograde type The Swarajists and other members of the Assembly ought to have nipped it in the bud, instead of which they allowed it to go before a select committee in which they even served By this blundering policy of theirs, they have done a disservice to the country.

Section 109 of Cr. P. Code

By section 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code, Magistrates can compel suspected persons to furnish security for good behavior, failing which they can be sent to jail. It is not that these persons are suspected of having actually committed some crime The suspicion is that they may commit some crime. So only preventive, as opposed to punitive, measures are required; and therefore when imprisonment is ordered, it is enough to make it simple. Magistrates formerly could at their discretion inflict rigorous imprisonment also This discretion was taken away in September last Owing to a criminal neglect of duty on the part of some members of that body, this discretion has now been restored, and in future it will be quite easy again for the police and the magistracy, when they are so disposed, not only to clap into jail persons whom they dislike, but to make them undergo hard labour and subject them to indignities That some of these "public servants" are not above such abuse of their powers was proved in a flagrant manner when many persons offered *Satyagraha* at Nagpur, and for that offence were punished with rigorous imprisonment Other instances need not be mentioned

It was said in support of the restoration of discretionary power to magistrates, that all local governments, and the police and jail authorities were in favour of such a step That was no cogent argument at all They would always be in favour of having as many weapons in their hands as possible to deal with inconvenient persons

Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University

The Leader of Allahabad writes editorially

From what the Dacca correspondent of the *New Empire* says, a certain Mr Langley, a junior officer of the I E S, has been appointed by Lord Lytton as Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, his resignation from the Service having first been got to avoid criticism from senior officers The appointment has been made, apparently, because Mr Langley is Professor of Philosophy, for which subject there is no provision in the University budget To avoid the unpleasant necessity of asking a worthy man to go, may or may not have been the gubernatorial Chancellor's motive, but what is the meaning of such an appointment in a presidency so rich in educational and literary talent and experience?

Christmas "Good will"—"Statesman's" Brand

The Statesman of Calcutta wrote after last Christmas.—

Christmas this year in Calcutta was reminiscent of pre-War days During the war people were naturally depressed and in the years immediately succeeding political passions ran so high and racial divisions were so accentuated that the whole atmosphere of goodwill was lost Last year saw a change for the better and this year it is as if there were no politics at all The old and friendly custom of presenting gifts to European friends has

been revived amongst Indians, and on Christmas day the streets in Calcutta were full of brokers in their cars and garis bearing presents

This is delightful.

According to *The Statesman*, the "good-will" which Christ lived and died to promote must be manifested by non-Christians towards Christians, not *vice versa*. For, we do not find it mentioning how Christians manifested their goodwill towards non-Christians during the week of holy mirth

And is the presentation of indirect bribes by "brokers and others" and their acceptance by "European friends" a particularly Christian transaction?

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Social Welfare Work in Japan.

The Young East of Tokyo for September, 1925, wrote as follows —

According to investigations lately made by the Religious Bureau of the Department of Education social welfare works carried on in Japan by Buddhist Shintoist and Christian workers are as follows —

Work	Buddhist	Christian	Shintoist	Total
Juvenile reform	16	1	2	19
Nursing for babies	83	22	1	106
Protection of children	8	2		10
Protection of weak or abnormal children	6	1		7
Relief of the poor	38	9	1	48
Medical relief	19	7		26
Support of aged poor	14	3		17
Giving advice to persons in distress	16	4		20
Finding work for unemployed	15	3	2	20
Giving free lodging	4	1		25
Miscellaneous	7	2		9
Total	246	55	6	307

Social welfare works carried on in Chosen, Taiwan and Karafuto are not included in the above table.

A matter, which must be taken into consideration in connection with study of social welfare works in Japan, is that many enterprises of the kind managed by individual Buddhist believers are not given in the above table, for the reason that they have given no report to the authorities concerning them, they carrying them on in private and being contented with consciousness that they are doing just what they ought to do Under the circumstance, it is probable that if such are taken into account the figures will be more than three times as large as those quoted On the other hand, Christians laying great stress on social works and devoting much of their attention to them are punctual in reporting of them to the authorities so that the figures quoted in the above table represent all but what they are doing in this line.

The same magazine wrote again in Noven ber, 1925.—

The headquarters of the Japanese Buddhi Federation in Tokyo has recently carried out a investigation regarding the social welfare worl undertaken by Japanese Buddhists in our countr The classification and number of these works a as follows·

Organ of connection, unity and investigation	1
Relief of the poor ...	2
Caring for the aged ...	2
Medical relief ..	1
Finding work for unemployed ..	1
Giving free lodging and providing people's dining saloons ...	2
General consultation .	1
Reformatory education	2
Protection of juveniles ...	
Rearing of babies ..	5
Nursing of babies ...	1
Education of poor children	1
Education of the blind ...	1
Education of nurse-maids ..	
General protection of children -	
Dormitory ..	
Protection of ex-convicts ...	36

It may be mentioned that other social welfar works now being carried on under Buddhists management such as the young men's and juvenile associations, girls' and ladies' associations sunda schools, kindergartens and various other institu tions for so-called special villages and educatio of illiterate adults are not included in the above mentioned table.

The prevailing religion, of very long standing, in Japan is Buddhism In Chin also Buddhism holds a pre-eminent position But whereas in Japan the Buddhists are the principal workers in the field of social welfare, in China it is the foreign Christian missionaries who are the principal social welfare workers. According to Dr. Harold Balme, President of Shantung Christian College, "To-day, out of approximately 500 modern hospitals in China, 301 are connected with [Christian] missions, " In India, too though hospitals date from before the Christian era, it is at present the Christian missionaries who are more active in his kind of philanthropy than either Hindus or Moslems.

The reasons for this difference between Japan on the one hand and China and India on the other require to be investigated The Chinese and the Indians are, on the whole not less kindhearted and neighborly than the Japanese. But among other points of difference, there is one great difference between Japan and the two other Asiatic countries. Japan has never been subjected to political and industrial exploitation, but India and China continue to suffer from such

exploitation, which has a depressing effect on the peoples subjected to it.

The "Trimurti" of Western Imperialism

Western Imperialism has three *murtis* or forms or incarnations. Two of its *murtis* or forms or incarnations are well known and well recognised. They are political domineering and industrial and commercial exploitation.

It has been long known that alien rule saps character. Professor Ross repeated this truth in an article in the last December number of *The Century Magazine* which was summarised in our last January number. Mr Ross added —

> I recalled the high head, squared shoulders and eye flash of the Japanese as they pass foreigners in their streets. "We are masters here," their bearing says. Here in India, not so. In our presence, most Indians, even the educated, act as if unsure of themselves. They have been sat upon so often! But many others are unmanned by the consciousness that, no matter how able, patriotic, or right they may be, it is always the foreigner who decides. As you note that characteristic droop of the shoulders, that too deferential air, you feel it unnatural that the will which reigns here originates sixty-five hundred miles away.
>
> The Nationalists warn that alien rule is emasculating Indian character, for the British are coming to be more masterful, the Indians more subject. A century ago treaties would be made between British officials and native potentates as equals. But gradually the Indians are sinking into a common subjection. The native princes are but gorgeous puppets who would never dream of lifting a finger against the real lords of the land.

Industrial and commercial exploitation of a people produces the same sort of result in a somewhat different manner. It impoverishes the people who are exploited. Indigence leads to malnutrition. When the body thus becomes feeble, it easily falls a prey to disease. When a people become weak in body and are in constant ill health, they cannot be sturdy in character. Moreover, a poverty-stricken people cannot spend much money for or devote much time and labour to the acquisition of knowledge. So, the depression produced by political subjection is aggravated by the indigence, malnutrition, diseases and ignorance due to industrial and commercial exploitation.

Here Western philanthropy steps in as the uplifter and saviour. We are not concerned here with the motives or intentions of Western philanthropists. We believe, in fact, that among the Western social welfare workers in Eastern countries there are true and sincere lovers of humanity.

What we are concerned with are the facts that the Political Imperialism and the Industrial Imperialism of the West give rise to opportunities for the Philanthropic Imperialism of the West, and that the last kind of Imperialism has also a depressing and demoralising effect on the peoples who are philanthropized. We will explain how.

Let us take the sphere of education in India. Many Britishers have left it on record that in pre-British India there was a school in every village. That shows that the British came here, not to a land of savages, but to a land inhabited by people who loved knowledge and could pay for its acquisition. That land now is the most illiterate of all countries under any civilised government. We need not discuss how such a state of things has come about. We only note here the fact that in the 500088 towns and villages in British India there are only 219131 educational institutions of all kinds and grades. We shall be told that in the pre-British period the schools in India were mostly primary schools. Let it be so,—even in the matter of primary schools there are now only 168013 of them in the 500088 towns and villages of British India. Therefore, there has been a decline in primary education in India under British rule.

To meet this deficiency in the supply of educational institutions, foreign Christian missions have opened schools of various kinds and grades. From the first, many or most of them have received help from the public treasury, that is, from money paid by the Indian taxpayer.

No European country has been at every period of its history adequately supplied with schools. Take the case of England. Its educational needs have been gradually supplied. But we do not find that any German, or American, or Belgian, or any other foreign mission opened a number of schools there.

In India, on the contrary, we find ourselves in the pitiful position of receiving educational charity from foreigners, though the Government could have, if it liked, so managed matters as to establish or get established a network of schools all over the land. The depressing and demoralising result is that a feeling of helplessness and inferiority is created in the minds of the

Indian people—the feeling, namely, that they are beggars and cannot educate their own children. The reply will be, "Why don't you do so with your own resources ?" That is an unfair question. Because, our resources for public work are taken by the Government, the Government-established municipalities, district boards, etc, in the shape of taxes, rates, etc In spite of that fact, however, we do educate ourselves with our remaining resources For example, in Bengal, most of the secondary schools and colleges were founded and are conducted and maintained by private bodies

To sum up, if the Government had done its duty directly and through the public bodies created by it, we should not have been recipients of any foreign educational charity Benevolence does good, but it does harm also It pauperises, and saps the manhood and sense of self-respect of the recipients of charity

Let us pass on now to the sphere of medical help Here, also, we are recipients of foreign charity, with the resulting depressing and demoralising effect India has been a cause of the prosperity of Great Britain and some other countries, which do not depend on foreign missionary charity for medical help But the country from which other countries have derived a great part of their wealth has to depend, beggar-like, partly on foreign medical charity,—such has been the political, industrial and commercial exploitation to which it has been subjected

The natural resources of India are such that any Government, conducted solely with the aim of doing good to its people, can very well meet all their educational and medical needs, without creating in their minds a craving for foreign charity But such have been the administration and exploitation of India that both combined have created a vast field for educational and medical charity.

To feed the hungry is a very praiseworthy act We do not blame but rather praise the missionaries for their famine relief work by opening orphanages, etc But what are the causes of India's famines under British rule ? No doubt, there were famines in India in the pre-British period ; but they were neither so frequent, nor were spread over such large areas and affected such vast numbers of people, as in the British period We need not here inquire why this is so We only note that, whereas in modern times, famines have become unknown in the advanced European countries, in India, a land of vast resources inhabited by an industrious population, and ruled by an enlightened European nation, the people have every now and then over large areas to depend on state charity, private Indian charity and foreign missionary charity

Foreign missions gain credit and converts by their famine work We do not grudge them either What we want to say is that their philanthropic opportunity is born of conditions which in their turn are due to Western Political, Industrial and Commercial Imperialism Famished people cannot but appreciate the work of the hand that feeds. But the facts cannot be ignored that to receive charity is demoralising and that the occasions for the receipt of such charity with the consequent demoralisation need not have arisen

Take again what happened after the flooding of North Bengal One of the causes of this disaster was the way in which railway embankments were made without leaving a sufficient number of culverts of sufficient size That shows that railways have been constructed with greater regard for high dividends than for the safety, prosperity and health of the people For railways have been the causes of occasional floods accompanied by loss of human lives and cattle and of crops, and are a perennial cause of malaria

Now, if flood relief work or antimalarial activities offer opportunities to philanthropists to do good, they are indebted to Industrial Imperialism for such opportunities

The Rev. Mr. Macmillan of Benares, now of Fiji, once exhorted Indians to go to Fiji, not merely for making money but also to educate and otherwise help and uplift the Indian population there Mr C F Andrews also once reminded our people that they had a duty to do to Indian emigrants abroad The duty consisted in sending Indian men to them who would be able to give them education and medical help and also spiritual guidance and instruction These exhortations and reminders were proper and quite well meant, and we took them in the spirit in which they were written, and lent our support to them. At the same time we wish to say without meaning any offence that the European gentlemen and ladies who have done and do good work for the Indians in Fiji, South Africa, etc, are indebted for such opportunities for their good work to the combined effects of

Western Political and Industrial Imperialism. So, while we do not in the least minimise the duty which we owe to our countrymen abroad, and while we consider the European friends worthy of love and respect, we are constrained also to observe that whatever philanthropic work Europeans do for our countrymen abroad are only some atonement for the evils caused by their compatriots and co-religionists. It is also to be observed that it is not quite as easy for Indians to live and work for their countrymen in lands which discriminate against Indians as it is for European humanitarians. This produces a feeling of depression and a sense of inferiority in us, inasmuch as we are unable to do what these Europeans do.

If Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn and other friends of India had been able to win self-rule for India, it would have done some good to India. But it would also have been thought that Indians were such weaklings that they could not themselves win freedom for themselves. That would have left an enduring sense of inferiority in the minds of Indians. If Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill becomes law, it will confer some civic and political rights on Indians, but at the same time Indians will have to feel that they were an inferior people who could not win freedom for themselves without European leadership. It would, therefore, be an act of wisdom on the part of those British statesmen who consider Indians racially inferior to themselves and who want to produce or conserve that sense of inferiority in our minds to make the Commonwealth of India Bill an Act of Parliament as early as possible. The help of Europeans as equals, comrades, assistants, etc., is always welcome; but their leadership has its moral disadvantages as well as its advantages.

In conclusion, we wish to observe that the motives of Political Imperialism and Capitalistic Imperialism on the one hand and those of Philanthropic Imperialism on the other may be and often are different, but very often they are—it may be unintentionally—found to work together and even Philanthropic Imperialism is not without its depressing and other bad effects on the philanthropized peoples.

Achievements of Mysore University

In his introductory speech on the report of the Mysore University reorganisation committee, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, its Vice-Chancellor, thus enumerated the reforms already carried out in that University:—

> We have made the study of Economics more thorough and scientific by opening analytical, statistical and mathematical sections,—of History more concrete and realistic by linking it up with archaeology and documentary study,—of Philosophy more living by placing it *en rapport* with the most recent advances of contemporary thought and science, on the one hand, and the priceless inherited culture of India on the other; we have added Mathematics and Experimental Psychology as key sciences to the humanistic studies on the Arts side, and we have removed the old system of 'water-tight and light-proof compartments' between the physico-mathematical and the biological sciences. We have added a Medical Faculty with a University diploma as well as a University degree, we have opened a department of Teaching as the first step towards a Faculty and placed it on an exact basis of mental tests and measurements,—we have taken over the Department of Archaeology and are contemplating excavations in Talkad and other ancient sites; we have a scheme for a Faculty of Oriental Learning for which we have deputed a capable officer to the Oriental Institute of the London University, who is receiving up-to-date training in the allied departments of Culture, History and Archaeology and will shortly proceed to Egypt for an apprenticeship in Excavation work under the auspices of that University; finally, in view of the coming department of Chemical Technology we have deputed another capable officer to the London University, who is also attending suitable Polytechnic courses in London. Neither must we forget the large extensions of our Science laboratories in our College of Science and of our Engineering Installations in our College of Engineering to which we have just added a much-needed department of Electrical Engineering in view of hydro-electric developments in the State.

He added that "all this building work, these additions of wings and facades, of pilasters and balustrades, have been inspired by a steady vision of the complete edifice; and it is this complete edifice that the reorganisation committee has worked out in general plan and outline." We intend hereafter to give an idea of this general plan and outline.

Communal Representation in Proportion to Numbers

On the motion of a Musalman Swarajist member, a resolution has been carried at a meeting of the Bengal Council, from which the Swarajists walked out, in favour of the Musalmans having representation in proportion to their numerical strength in the Province, the interests of *small* minorities being safe-

guarded by special provision being made for their representation

We have all along been against the separate representation of different religious communities and classes Our attitude remains unchanged.

But supposing communal representation is to be retained, any changes that may be required to be made in the numbers of representatives of the Hindus and Moslems and other communities, should be made simultaneously in all the provinces The present numbers of Moslem members are according to the Lucknow pact, by which in provinces where the Moslems are in a minority they have got a larger number of members than their numerical strength would entitle them to and in provinces where they form the majority they have got a lesser number than they could claim according to their numerical strength

If now in determining the number of their members, their numerical strength alone is to be made the only deciding consideration, then the principle should in fairness hold good in every province both where they are in a majority and where they are in the minority

Hence, the question ought to have been raised in the Central Legislature

One important consideration has been all along lost sight of Representation according to the numerical strength of communities really presupposes universal adult suffrage for both men and women In a province, a community may be strong in numbers, but on account of its backwardness it may, in the absence of universal adult suffrage, posses a smaller number of voters than another community which is numerically smaller but more advanced In such a case, if the numerically larger community were to possess the right to return members in proportion to its numerical strength, what would really happen would be that in the case of this community a smaller number of voters would elect a larger number of members than the larger number of voters belonging to the other and smaller but more advanced community. Therefore, man for man, a voter of the former (backward) community would count for more than a voter belonging to the latter (advanced) community!

For all these reasons, we say, in the first place, that there ought not to be any separate communal representation at all; secondly, that if there is to be communal representation, the election should be by mixed electorates, the third place, that if the Lucknow pact to be changed, it should be changed in the provinces according to some fair a consistent principle, in the fourth place, th the number of representatives assigned to community should be in proportion, not its total numerical strength, but to t number of voters it possesses, in the fif place, that if the number of members is be fixed according to total numerical strengt alone, that should be done after the intr duction of universal adult suffrage for bo men and women, and lastly, that at th end of a definitely fixed period, not in an case exceeding twenty-five years, communa representation should cease altogether

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Dyarchy for N-W. F. P.

At the time of this writing, we do no know whether the N-W F Province is t have dyarchy or not It is also not clea whether the majority of the inhabitants that Province want that "boon," which t other provinces do not now consider quit boon. Muhammadan opinion is not also una mous in the matter But if the majori want the "Reforms," there must be ve strong reasons indeed for not gratifying the desire No doubt, Musalmans are in a overwhelming majority in the province B Hindus are in as overwhelming a majori in Behar and Orissa and a still more ove whelming majority in Madras, and both the Provinces have had dyarchy from the ve introduction of the "Reforms." The Koh atrocities are brought up against the N-W F P They took place when "law and orde the administration of justice and every othe department of Government were in the hand of the bureaucracy. After the introductio of dyarchy, law and order and the admini stration of justice, being reserved subjects would continue to be in the hands of the bureaucracy. So the prevention of or conniv ance at atrocities would rest with the bureau cracy as before

If a minority were asked to choose between trusting in the sense of justice neighbourliness and generosity of the majority of the permanent inhabitants of a place or in foreign rulers who are birds of passage, perhaps the minority would be wise to choose the former alternative. But this is a matter in which we are not competent to

offer definite advice, being ignorant of conditions and feelings in the N.-W. F. Province. All religious communities in India ought, however, to bear in mind that no community can expect to be in the majority everywhere. All communities ought to try to adapt themselves to differing conditions in different provinces

It has been said that N.-W. F.P. is backward in education. But we find from the Indian census report for 1921 that the number of persons per thousand who are literate are 50 in N.-W. F. P, 46 in the Punjab with Delhi, 42 in the United Provinces, 49 in Central Provinces and Berar and 51 in Bihar and Orissa. And in the latest report on education in India we find that in 1924 the percentage of total scholars to population was 2.6 in N.-W F. P, 2 53 in the United Provinces and the same in the Central Provinces and Berar.

To have dyarchy the Province ought to be able to pay its way, which we understand it does not do at present Its Musalman inhabitants have intimate social and other relations with the transfrontier independent or semi-independent tribes, who are turbulent. That has to be considered. It being a border province, the defence of India has also to be kept in view But neither internal law and order nor the charge of the army is made over to Ministers under dyarchy So the problem of India's defence at the north-west frontier is not an insuperable difficulty in the way of the Province making beginnings in representative government.

Discoveries Relating to Ancient Civilization in Sind

Interesting additions have been made recently to the discoveries previously made by Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Indian Archaeological Department at Mohenjo Daro, in Sind, relating to the civilization which flourished and fell in the valley of the Indus not later than the third millennium before Christ

Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, has spent most of the winter directing the excavations. The operations were most fruitful. They revealed spacious, well designed and constructed burnt-brick buildings and disclosed a system of house and street drainage even more elaborate than had already been reported. There were also found three large statues of ornamentally draped figures and there were indications that others might be found.

The newest finds include a considerable collection of gold jewellery corresponding with the beautifully made specimens already unearthed and most valuable of all, a dozen or more skeletons of what has been called the Indo-Sumerian period These were lying in one room of a house, and along with the statues will greatly help in the determination of the ethnic origin of the people of this ancient civilization.

We understand that Mr. Biraja Sankar Guha, who has had previous experience of anthropological research in India and later conducted anthropological investigations in America in connection with the Smithsonian Institution after further training at Harvard University, has been asked to proceed to Mohenjo Daro to study the finds from the anthropological and ethnological points of view. We learn further that Mr. R. D. Banerji also is at Mohenjo Daro.

It is to be hoped that photographs and descriptions of the finds will be published first in India, before Sir John Marshall sends them to some British or American paper in order to earn a big honorarium, as he did when Mr Banerji made the first discoveries

Some Points in Sir Abdur Rahim's Aligarh Speech

In his "famous" Aligarh speech, Sir Abdur Rahim said, "they are all actuated by a common anxiety to see that no public measure of importance overrides or overlooks the interests of the 70 million Muslims" Here the speaker begged the whole question; as if the Indian National Congress, which has been very largely from the first a movement organised and carried on by the Hindus, or even the Hindu Mahasabha has ever advocated or fought for any public measure of that description! Will Sir Abdur name a single one?

Sir Abdur also delivered himself thus —

The fact, however, is that the *Hindus and Mussalmans* are not two religious sects, like the Protestants and Roman Catholics of England, but *form two distinct communities or peoples* and so they regard themselves Their respective attitudes towards life, their distinctive culture, civilization and social habits, their traditions and history, no less than their religion, divide them so completely that the fact that they have lived in the same country for nearly a thousand years has contributed hardly anything to their fusion into a nation A mighty spiritual spell separates the 230 millions of Hindus, not only from the 70 millions of Indian Muslims, but from the rest of humanity, while it divides the Hindus themselves internally into groups which know *no social commerce* with one another Caste, with its cruel doctrine of untouchability, has survived many a social convulsion It has baffled all the efforts

of Buddha and Asoka, of Akbar and Aurangzeb, and the English panacea of nationalism has brought not more unity but worse divisions

Before we proceed to examine the speaker's dicta, it is necessary to consider what an eminent and orthodox Moslem leader like Maulana Shaukat Ali thinks of the Moslem League and its session at Aligarh, where Sir Abdur Rahim delivered his precious speech The Maulana in a recent speech of his declared that the "so-called Muslim League was neither a League nor Muslim" He said further .—

From Cawnpore, I reached Aligarh, the nerve-centre of reactionaries They are the usual prowlers from nook and corner scattered round the camp-fire of the present Government Mahomed Ali; myself and Dr Mohamed went to see the Tamasha which was to beguile the Muslims into the crawling lane of loyalty to the British Sir Abdur Rahim was an old friend of mine and I expected great things from him, but five years of bad company had told on his moral backbone Mr Jinnah in immaculate clothes and black "Astrakhan" Angora cap was supporting him on the right and that mischievous reactionary, Dr Ziauddin Ahmed, was on his left, Between these two masterful personalities, the President was sinking deeper and deeper into the morass.

Let us now see what Musalman scholars themselves have to say on the absurd theory that the Hindus and Indian Muslims are two distinct peoples, etc Professor S Khuda Bakhsh, who is a great Islamic scholar which Sir Abdur is not, and who hails from a place which is a few hundred miles nearer to Afghanistan, Turkistan, Persia and Arabia than Sir Abdur's home, flatly contradicted the Midnapore knight soon after he had unburdened himself of his ethnological, anthropological and sociological discoveries Mr. Khuda Bakhsh rightly holds that the vast majority of Indian Muslims are Hindus who have accepted the religion of Islam

Another distinguished Islamic scholar and historian, Professor Habib of Aligarh, who lives nearer still to Persia, Arabia, etc., than either Sir Abdur or Mr. Khuda Bakhsh, wrote recently in the course of an article in the *New Orient* on the racial origin of Indian Musalmans :—

There are people who imagine that Islam has been always the same. This is, no doubt, true so far as the letter of the law is concerned. But everything depends upon the nature of the interpreting mind, and the Arab Persian and Indian interpretations of Islam are as different as various moral structures raised on the same formal foundations can be. To the Arab the new faith was a message of hope, to the Persian a consolation for his philosophical pessimism, to the Indians a new frame-work for his metaphysical speculations, which but slightly modified the immemorial customs of his country.

It is said that the Mussalmans have *adopted* from the Hindus many customs which are not found in their faith. Hindu customs are no doubt everywhere with us and accompany us from the cradle to the grave. But they have come to us not through *adoptation* but *inheritance*.

I do not say that this survival of Hinduism or Indianisation of Islam, by whichever name we call it, was good or bad. That question will be decided by every man according to his temperament, but no careful observer can fail to see its all-pervading influence, The bird may escape from its cage, but it cannot fly out of the atmosphere that surrounds it and supports it in its flight On the two fundamental institutions of our social life, the family and the caste, our outlook is the ancient outlook of Hinduism Islam knows nothing of caste: its whole attitude is one of democratic equality : consequently Hindus who became Mussalmans could not refuse to dine with each other or to pray in the same mosque But the spirit of the caste system lived on, none-the-less Muslim converts persisted in marrying among converts from their own caste with the inevitable result that the caste system was transformed instead of being overthrown. Here and there a few concessions were made to the new spirit of social democracy, but the great pillar of the vicious system remained unshaken Social opinion crushed the freedom Islam had allowed to the individual and made inter-caste marriages as impossible in the new creed as they were in the old

Islam as a formal faith has always stood in sharp contrast with Hinduism, but Hinduism is essentially a social system and as such it is followed by the Mussalmans of India as well as the Hindus *This is the foundation of our national unity.*

Muslim rites of birth, marriage and death are closely analogous to Hindu rites.

We regret there is neither time nor space to quote more from Professor Habib's article Nor have we space here to dwell at length on what have been called "taints of Hinduism" in the Census Reports Suffice it to say that in Bengal,

"Even now it is not peculiar to find Muhammadans in some parts of the province make offerings to some tree or even at a temple dedicated to the Hindu goddess *Kali* along with their Hindu neighbors. .." *Bengal Census Report*, 1921, p. 159.

In the *India Census Report*, 1921, p. 115, we read :—

"There are communities among the Muhammadan population, chiefly among converts from Hinduism, whose religious ritual and exercises have a very strong tinge of Hinduism and who retain caste and observe Hindu festivals and ceremonies along with those of their own religion."

Examples follow. There are also descriptions of certain "border-land sects" of the Bombay Presidency, which were classified as Hindu-Muhammadans in the Bombay Report and Tables of 1911.

We are neither apologists for nor defenders of caste ; we are against it in both opinion and practice. But we may be allowed to say that caste exists *in fact*, though not in theory, among Muslims, Christians, etc., also. There is even untouchability among some Muslims. It is an absurd exaggeration to say that Hindus are separated from the rest of humanity by an impassable spiritual barrier Hinduism has influenced both Islam and Christianity, the former through Sufism and in other ways, and the latter in various directions. Similarly, it is an exaggeration and a falsehood to say that the caste groups of Hindus know *no* social commerce with one another Nor is it correct to say that caste has baffled all efforts to modify it or mitigate its rigours Its rigidity has considerably relaxed, and, not to speak of the widely prevalent practice of interdining, even intercaste marriages have throughout history taken place in some part or other of the country and are even now gaining ground

As regards the origin of the Indian Muslims we have the following in the Census Report of India, 1921, Vol. I, p. 116 .—

"The distribution of the Muhammadan population has depended chiefly on historical considerations which were described in the 1911 report and need not be again discussed. It was there pointed out that, while the Muhammadans of the eastern tracts (*i e.*, Bengal, Assam, etc) and of Madras were almost entirely descendants of converts from Hinduism, by no means a large proportion even of the Muhammadans of the Punjab are really of foreign blood, the estimate of the Punjab superintendent being about 15 per cent. The proportion advances of course as one proceeds further north-west "

The full significance of these observations will be understood when it is added that "The Muhammadans of Bengal form more than one-third, 37 78 per cent, of the whole number of Muhammadans in India," and "are nearly twice as those in the Punjab", etc

Sir Abdur Rahim has made some allegations which can deserve to be examined and refuted only if he quotes chapter and verse Some of these are, that

"A certain class of Hindu politicians" "appeal to the lower instincts of the community." "A section of them have specialised in vilifying all Muslim institutions, including Islam itself ; some in distorting history to make out that no good has come to India from the advent of Islam, and practically all in proving that the Muslim community is incompetent and composed of no better material than the lowest classes of their untouchables."

"In fact some of the Hindu leaders have talked publicly of driving out the Muslims from India as the Spaniards expelled the Moors from Spain, that is, unless they perform Suddhi and become Hindus or submit to their full political programme. Either of these alternatives would, according to their calculation, lead to the other. We shall, undoubtedly, be a big mouthful for our friends to swallow."

Let us first know who, if any, have said these things, and then it can be considered whether they are men of sufficient responsibility, worth, and standing in public life to be entitled to have their utterances seriously noticed Personally, we are not aware of any responsible Hindu leader uttering nonsense like most of what Sir Abdur Rahim attributes to his opponents

"To convert Musalmans in millions into Hinduism"—if that be the declared object of any Hindu leader or association—stands on a different footing from the foolish things attributed to "a certain class of Hindu politicians", etc There are large numbers of Christian and Moslem enthusiasts who believe in converting and hope to convert all mankind, not to speak of millions, to their respective faiths. Why should it then be considered an offence for Hindus to think of converting Muslims ? Nor is conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism a new thing

In ancient times many non-Aryan tribes were Hinduised Scythians and others became Hindus. Even some Greeks who had settled in India accepted Hinduism and became Hindus Later, animistic tribes like Santals, Bhils, Oraons, etc, are becoming Hinduised ; so that in Census Reports one finds Hindu Santals and animist Santals, etc., separately mentioned and enumerated. For information on the question of the Brahmanising of the non-Aryan or casteless tribes, *vide* "Census of India", 1911, Vol I, p. 121 ; Sir Alfred Lyall's Eassy on Missionary and non-Missionary Religions, Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I, page XV; Assam Census Report for 1891, Vol. I, pp 83,84, and Bengal Census Report for 1901, page 152

Instances of reconversion of whole groups from Christianity and Islam to Hinduism within recent historical times have been given in Census Reports. We read in the "*Census of India*, 1911, Vol. I, page 121 :—

"Apart from these recent efforts, it appears that here and there small communities of Christian and Muhammadan converts have drifted back into Hinduism. The Urap and Varap Agris of the Thana district of Bombay are said to have reverted to Hinduism from Christianity less than a century ago. The Kirpal Bhandaris of the same district were forcibly converted to Christianity by the Portuguese.

But were afterwards accepted back into Hinduism The Matia Kunbis and Sheikhadas of Bombay have been referred to in paragraph 156 Regarding those of Baroda, the local superintendent writes that they became Muhammedans about three centuries ago, but have gradually abandoned their Muhammmadan practices, and many of them were recently admitted into the Vaishnava sects of Ramanand and Swami Narayan"

There is an old Sanskrit *smriti* called *Devala Smriti*, which prescribes the expiatory rites to be performed for reconverting Musalmans and other non-Hindus into Hinduism

Sir Abdur Rahim is not accurate in stating that the Hindu movements he condemns "were trying to convert Mohammedans back to Hinduism *to swell the ranks of untouchables*". The Malkana Rajputs of Agra district, who have been reconverted to Hinduism in hundreds, are not untouchables Nor have other converts to Hinduism become untouchables Of course, they are not classed with Brahmins. But Moslem converts also are not classed with Saiyids

"It might be said that these 'movements were organized in self-defence. What was the occasion for such defence, and against whom? Was it against Englishmen? It was not said so."

The reference to defence "against Englishmen" is a contemptible effort to gain their favour But supposing Hindus want to defend themselves against the encroachments of Englishmen and get back their own, what is there wrong in it? The Hindu movements which Sir Abdur reviles may be quite justly meant to defend the Hindu community against the Christian and Muslim communities in the sense of preventing or decreasing conversion from Hinduism to Christianity and Islam As it has been found that Muslim leaders generally have a communal outlook and demand more than their just share of political representation, the Hindu Mahasabha can rightly try to defend just Hindu rights against Muslim encroachment. Further, during riots, the comparatively greater solidarity of Muslims gives them an advantage over the Hindus. That may have led Hindus to think of acquiring greater solidarity by various means. It has also become necessary to take steps to protect Hindu widows and other Hindu women against the brutalities of some men who are a disgrace to the Muslim community and who have no idea of the true and higher teachings of Islam.

In Sir Abdur Rahim's opinion, Shuddhi and other Hindu movements are the causes of riots. Possibly that is so only in some few instances, owing to the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of their objects. But why did riots occur every now and then long before the Sangathan and the Mahasabha movements came into being?

Sir Abdur claims to have *always* fought for the advance of the nation as a whole. We have no desire to deprive him of the consolation of thinking that he has He indirectly accuses Hindus in many passages of having a narrow outlook, and boasts of the Muslim "international outlook". Let us take a few facts into consideration

An international outlook does not exclude the welfare of one's own community. But whenever famines, floods, cyclones, earthquakes and epidemics ravage East and North Bengal, where Muslims form a majority of the population, the Muslims do very little for the relief of their own co-religionists That is done by the narrow-minded Hindus The Khadi Pratisthan, a predominantly Hindu movement, benefits at least as many Muslims as Hindus In the second annual report of the Abhaya Ashram of Comilla, it is stated that 4175 persons received help from its outdoor dispensary, of whom 2396 were Muslims In the school maintained by this Ashram, out of 120 pupils, 72 are Musalmans The workers and conductors are *all* Hindus, who observe no caste distinction on principle and in practice In the fifteenth annual Report of the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes of Bengal and Assam, we find that it maintains 406 schools in 20 districts of Bengal and Assam. "Of the total number of children, both boys and girls, receiving tuition in these schools, *viz.*, 16389, the largest number, 5454, come from the Namasudra community, and *the next largest number, 3023, from the Muhammadan community.*" But among its subscribers we find the names of only two Musalman gentlemen, not of Sir Abdur Rahim or of any of his fiery followers.

Will Sir Abdur Rahim kindly name any entirely or predominantly Muslim organisation which benefits Hindus to the extent that Hindu efforts benefit Muslims? We will then admit his claim to have a wider outlook than the Hindus.

As for Muslim "international outlook," it is not really international, but it is a *communal* outlook spread over countries which have a Muslim population and is interested only in the fortunes and fate of the Muslims there Real internationalism is interested

in the welfare of all peoples of all countries, irrespective of their creed.

But even as regards the qualified credal internationalism of the Muslims, may we ask what Sir Abdur Rahim and his fellow-flatterers of Englishmen were doing when the Khilafat was in danger and the Turks were fighting for freedom? Were they not either in the enjoyment of power and pelf or seeking for the same, whilst the narrow-minded Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi stood shoulder to shoulder with the Moslems and gave what moral and other support they could to the Turks?

Sir Abdur Rahim

"emphasized the fact that the Mohammedans of India could not be ignored in any political advance that was in store for India without doing the greatest harm to the nation itself"

As if any responsible Hindu wanted to ignore or ever opposed just Muslim claims! So far as he is himself personally concerned, has he forgotten that Hindu organs and associations amongst others protested against the supersession of his claims to the officiating governorship of Bengal? And does he not know that it is mainly Hindus and other non-Muslims who sowed and men like him came afterwards to claim a share in the harvest?

Says the Midnapore knight:—

We Muslims must tell these politicians frankly and explicitly that their *claim that India belongs solely to the Hindus is preposterous and unfounded and is unjust to India itself.*

Sir Abdur may be safely challenged to name any sane Hindu politician who has put forward such a claim

As a matter of fact, in the sense of material possession, India at present belongs neither to Hindus nor to Muslims nor to any other Indians, it belongs to the English In any other sense it belongs to all natives of the soil

Rabindranath Tagore has tried repeatedly to impress on our minds the truth that India cannot belong to anybody by his simply being born in the country and living in it; it must be made one's own by one's self-sacrificing labours for making it an ideal country to live in Part of what the poet said in reply to the address presented to him at Abhaya Ashram, Commilla, has been thus roughly translated .—

The country is not one's own by mere accident of birth but becomes so by ones life's contribution An animal has got its fur but man has got to spin and weave because what the animal has got it has got once for all and ready-made. It is for man to rearrange and reshuffle for his purposes materials he finds placed before him. That we were so long kept from realising India in her true self is due to the fact that we have not by daily endeavour created her moment by moment making her healthful and fruitful. Let us not cherish the dream that Swaraj can be ours by some extraneous happenings It can be ours in so far as we succeed in permeating our consciousness throughout the country by service

It cannot be contended that Muslims have rendered this kind of service to the country to a greater extent than the Hindus or even to an equal extent.

There is one proposition the truth of which even Sir Abdur Rahim cannot deny. It is that the Hindus belong to India and to India alone Their pride of their past is concerned solely with India, their visions of the future are connected with India Even of the Muslim period of India there are things in which Hindus take pride. A great Hindu like Ranade has described what India owes to the Muslims. In the living present Hindu idealists live for India and are prepared to die for it It is different with Indian Muslims They are not proud of ancient Indian culture. Their eyes are turned towards some foreign countries in Asia They can think of an independent India only on conditions. They can bear to think of a fresh successful invasion of India by foreign Musalmans in certain circumstances, nay, they would even desire it in those circumstances

In fact, Swaraj seems to the generality of Muslim politicians the Hindu's concern. Muslims would agree to it as an act of condescension on their part on certain exorbitant conditions to be accepted by the Hindus So that, in reality, instead of the Hindus thinking that India belongs solely to them, it is the Muslims who by their conduct make it appear as if the country belonged only to the Hindus and its fate, therefore, concerned the Hindus exclusively or more than the Muslims The latter would much rather think and dream of Turkey (*not now*), Arabia, Morocco, etc., and send their money there, instead of to famine- or flood-stricken East Bengal Moslems "ryots and labourers," of whose "interests" Sir Abdur glibly speaks but to whom no famous Muslim leader, from the Aga Khan downwards, ever gave a morsel of food during famine. The arrangement is that they are to be kept alive by the narrow-minded Hindus in such times in order that afterwards the vastness of their numbers may be exploited by Sir Abdur and men of his ilk!

When a man who has been all along fighting freedom's battle finds fault with the unwise and unpractical revolutionaries, some of whom are even criminals, it is easy to bear with him and even support him But when a man of a different stamp sneers at the revolutionaries, one can only pity him for his incapacity to imagine the existence of that ardent love of freedom which sometimes unfortunately leads impatient youth to imprudent, unpractical, and even criminal courses. There should be certainly condemnation for such youth, but also pity;—never sneering remarks from men who never made any sacrifices for the country or suffered for it and are incapable of any noble idealism.

Says Sir Abdur Rahim:—

These politicians who would eliminate the English from India, allege that in such a contingency we Muslims would rather see a foreign Muslim power rule in this country. That is true in the sense that the Muslims would not like the Hindus, any more than the Hindus would like the Muslims, to rule in the place of the British.

The Muslims, though a silent community, are not blind to what is going on I say emphatically however that it is not true that we Muslims would not like to see a self-governing India, provided the Government of the country is made as much responsible to the Muslims as to the Hindus.

Sir Abdur Rahim stands self-accused. No one who loves his motherland would like or want any foreign nation to conquer or rule it, whatever the religion of that nation. The Chinese Christian General, of whom we have heard so much, has never said or dreamt that unless Chinese Christians obtained some conditions from non-Christian Chinese, they would much rather see the country invaded and conquered by some foreign Christian power Chinese Moslems also do not stipulate that unless they have a certain share in the government of the country, they would rather see China conquered by the Muslim Turks or Arabs or Afghans or Persians. Because to both Chinese Christians and Chinese Moslems other Chinese are nearer than any foreign Christians or foreign Muslims. But Indian Muslims like Sir Abdur Rahim consider foreign Muslims nearer to them than Indian Hindus

But as Hindus do not want to monopolise the government of even an independent India, Sir Abdur Rahim need not pass sleepless nights.

Let us, however, consider his stipulation for patronisingly agreeing "to see a self-governing India". He would have the government of the country made as much responsible to the Muslims as to the Hindus. This can have two meanings. One is that, though the Muslims are a minority, they are to have as many posts in the public servic as the Hindus, and also that they are to return to all representative bodies as many members of their own creed as the Hindus. This is an unfair and unjust condition which cannot be fulfilled and will never be fulfilled. If Mulims insist on this condition, they may rest assured that India *will* have indigenous rule without fulfilling that condition but at the same time withou depriving Muslims of any just rights. But Sir Abdur's words admit of a better interpretation. Self-rule for India would mean rule by representative bodies, *i. e.*, by political majorities in those bodies. These majorities would consist of members of various creeds and communities, not in proportions fixed for ever, but varying from time to time, just as in the British Parliament the numbers of Baptists, Quakers, Roman Catholics, Jews, etc, are not definitely fixed In India of the future it would be open for Muslims as for Hindus by their capacity and devotion to public good to form as large a part of these political majorities, from time to time, as they can. There would be no disabilities imposed on Muslims or any other communities on account of their creed Similarly, as regards posts in the public service, Muslims and all other sects would be free to have as many as they may be entitled to by their superior merit But, as the Hindus are the vast majority, it is unlikely that, unless they greatly degenerate or diminish in numbers, their share of the paid and unpaid services in the country would not exceed that of the Muslims. But as in India of the future people will think and act nationally rather than communally, such a state of things will not be a grievance.

We agree with Sir Abdur Rahim in thinking that "India's best future lies in giving all the different communities that live or work here the fullest scope to develop and express their distinctive political genius"

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Swarajists and the President of the Bengal Council

The President of the Bengal Council was quite within his statutory rights in admitting without previous notice Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment to the resolution recommending communal representation of Muslims in proportion to their numerical strength. But in our opinion, he did not make a right use

of the discretionary power vested in him. The king of England has the power to do many things, but he uses that power very sparingly and cautiously. Sir Abdur's amendment was a vote-catchig affair, and as such ought not to have been allowed to be sprung on the Council.

But as the President has the power which he exercised, he did not act arbitrarily or in any worse manner attributed to him by the Swarajists. The conduct of the Swarajists was wrong and undignified. The motion for the removal of the President, which has been negatived, was an unwise move

Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in East Bengal

The poet Rabindranath Tagore's visit to East Bengal has shown the public the hold that he has on the love and respect of Bengalis It has also furnished occasions for placing before the country high ideals of devoted service It is to be hoped that these ideals will be lived up to by at least an appreciable portion of his vast audiences in the towns which he has visited

Locarno Pacts

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar wanted an opportunity for discussing the Locarno treaties or pacts so far as they concerned India. But he and other legislators were denied that opportunity by the Viceroy. India may have to pay, to bleed, to make enemies of nations with whom she has no quarrel, but she must not have the right even to discuss the obligations placed on her by the British Government Such is the "parliamentary" government we *enjoy* !

Press Congress of the World

There is every probability that the Press Congress of the world, which is referred to in the following pieces of news, will hold its next session in some place in Europe during next summer.

> Columbia, Mo.—Dean Walter Williams president of the Press Congress of the World, announced here the ad interim committees which will report at the next congress to be held in Europe.
>
> Among the appointments are those of M. Charles Houssaye, of the Agence Havas, Paris, to the committee on news and communications, and M. Stephane Lauzanne, of the "Matin," Paris, on the committee on ethics, standards and practice.

The Indian press should be represented in it by some competent and leading Indian journalists, we mean journalists who are Indians by race and are not employees of foreign newspaper-proprietors. There are Journalist's Associations in Calcutta and Bombay These should immediately open communications with the President of the Press Congress for obtaining detailed information about it and sending to it worthy representatives His address is Professor Walter Williams, Dean of the School of Journalism, University of Moussori, Columbia, Mo, U.S A

A Victory of the Defeated

When the World War ended in the defeat of the Central Powers, the Allied Powers, fearful of the possible recovery of the Central Powers, particularly Germany, took various steps for the disarmament of the latter One of those steps placed serious restrictions on military aviation Germany had to bow to the dictates of her victorious enemies; but to-day she, with patience and persistence, is trying to transform her defect into a victory She has turned her attention to commercial aviation; and in this field she has no equal in the world In this connection the following newsitem will be of great interest —

> A strenuous struggle is reported ensuing between French and German aeroplane interests in the Teheran to capture Persia's interior air mail service. Indications are that the Junkers will win, due to the fact that they have given air demonstrations throughout Persia for a period of two years and to the fact that the government favors German machines
>
> The Junkers also propose to establish service between London and Pekin via Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, the consent of these countries having been secured. With Teheran as a central station, they propose to manufacture machines and undertake repair work for the district of Persia.

India can learn much from the defeated and disarmed Germany striving to acquire again a dominating position in world affairs, particularly in commerce and industries. To gain the desired goal of freedom, Indian leaders will have to follow the path by which all defeated and disarmed nations secured their rightful place among free nations. Indians will have to assert themselves in spite of all obstacles placed by her alien rulers, in all fields of human activities. India, above

all things, will have to throw off the shackles of intellectual, commercial and political isolation.

T. D.

Afghanistan and Great Britain

Afghanistan marches on towards progress and the Afghan Government is determined to create a place for itself in the international world, as the following news item shows —

> The Minister of Afghanistan has purchased, for official purposes, the freehold in Kensington, No. 31 Prince's-gate, at the corner of Exhibition-road and facing Hyde Park. Messrs. Wilson and Co, (Mount Street) and Messrs. Foord and Salberg (Clarges-street) were jointly concerned in negotiating the sale.

Afghanistan is a free and independent State and it has important relations with Russia, Turkey, Persia as well as Great Britain. To safeguard Afghan national interests within the British Empire the Afghan minister in London has purchased new and suitable quarters

Will nationalist India see to it that India's interests in foreign countries are safeguarded *unofficially* for the present ?

The Minto Professor of Economics on Indian Currency

The Minto Professor of Economics to the University of Calcutta, Dr Pramathanath Bannerjea, has contributed an excellent article on "A Sound Currency System for India" to the February number of the University's organ, *the Calcutta Review* Due, probably, to the difficulty of packing his ideas on the troublesome subject into a few thousand words the learned professor has left certain things rather vague, and unless these are properly explained there is a chance that the article will give rise to misconceptions

Let it be made quite clear that we are fundamentally in complete agreement with Dr. Bannerjea We think alike with him when he says about a managed currency, as opposed to a natural and automatic one, that

> Management is not a bad thing in itself, but it can prove a success only when the persons entrusted with the work are possessed of perfect wisdom and the highest degree of honesty.

But where is "perfect wisdom" in this world of frail human beings ? Economics is still an imperfect science, its data are often amorphous, generally doubtful and seldom complete. Hence we have no faith in management of currency as a normal economic policy And as we can reject management on the strength of the above, we need not examine the honesty, (and its height) of the spiritual heirs to the Hon'ble East India Company. Dr. Bannerjea is right when he says that there is a suspicion in the public mind "that Indian currency is often manipulated in the interests of England". He is also right when he says —

> For the present, however, the adoption by India of the gold standard seems to be the only solution of her currency problems

"For the present", because among the various hopes of humanity, such as those of disarmament, perfect free trade and a single language for all peoples, the hope of establishing an international agency for stabilising the purchasing power of money in the different money areas of the world is the most alive Dr Bannerjea supports the adoption of the gold standard because it "makes the largest measure of automatic regulation possible" and he thinks

> that the adoption of the gold standard is an economic, social and political necessity

In so far as he advocates the fundamental issues, one understands Dr. Bannerjea quite clearly But there are certain other things which help one to get muddled We shall take these one by one

Dr Bannerjea says, towards the beginning of his article, that,

> The comparative importance of stability in internal prices and in foreign exchanges need not worry us overmuch. The internal trade of India is many times as large as her external trade. Therefore, looked at from the stand-point of volume of transactions, stability in internal prices seems to be more important than stability in foreign exchanges But absolutely considered, the foreign trade of India is large enough to merit serious attention If there is one thing more than another which disturbs the course of commercial and industrial activity, it is uncertainty of exchange It should be remembered in this connection that there is not only no conflict between stability in internal prices and stability in foreign exchanges but that the two are to a considerable extent closely interrelated.

Does Dr. Banerjea mean to say that by stabilising the exchange at all costs we shall also be able to stabilise internal prices ? There may not be any conflict between the two kinds of stabilisation, but the two being two and not one, it is possible to neglect

one by being too emphatic on the other. Will Dr. Bannerjea contradict the assertion that currency manipulations have taken place in this country with a view to influence the exchange without any notice being taken of their effect on internal prices? Will he deny that the coinage of rupees and the printing of currency notes have been carried on in this country to keep pace with exchange manipulations? Will he also deny that such manipulations have an evil effect on internal prices and hence detract from the country's well-being? In view of the above, what is it that makes him so generous towards the exchanges? Why does he judge the importance of the exchanges from an "absolute" point of view and not consider it comparatively with internal stability of prices? Are we to understand that Dr Bannerjea thinks the undisturbed progress of what he calls 'commercial and industrial activity' is of more importance in India's well-being than the smooth running of that section of India's economy which has little to do with foreign trade? In the paragraph quoted above the learned professor of the Calcutta University has slurred over a question of vital importance. We hope he does not mean to suggest that we should concentrate more on the stabilisation of the exchange than on that of the internal price level. The other alternative is that he thinks that *if we take care of the exchange, the internal price level will take care of itself*. But this is something which never happens. Modern economic thought will not support such a view. If Dr Bannerjea holds such an opinion he should make clear his reasons for doing so.

At another place in his article, Dr Bannerjea says.

> The question which presents itself at the present moment is not so much the stabilisation of the rupee as the adoption of a sound currency system.

The meaning is not clear. Is not setting up a sound currency system a permanent way to stabilisation and is not a stable rupee a part of a sound currency system? We believe Dr. Bannerjea means that a patch-work remedy is not our objective or something to that effect.

We come now to the most important point. Dr Bannerjea is supporting a gold standard. This means that the standard of value of the future currency of India will be a certain quantity of gold of a given purity in the shape of a coin or a paper note representing a claim upon the Government to the extent of the same amount of gold. The silver rupee will be a mere token coin, legal tender up to a given sum, and bearing a fixed relation to the gold standard-coin. There must be an arrangement for a more or less free inflow and outflow of gold into and out of the body of the Indian currency and this will keep exchange fluctuations within the gold import and export points. There shall be no artificial support given to the exchange to keep it at any particular height. As to the ratio that the token coin or the limited legal tender, the rupee, shall bear to the standard gold coin, the mohur or whatever it may be called, it would absolutely be a matter of internal currency management. Once we decide upon the ratio between the rupee and the gold coin, we must keep it intact anyhow and *this work of preserving the ratio between the standard coin and the tokens shall not in anyway be guided by the relative values of gold and silver*. No more than the ratio of sixty-four pice to one rupee is conditioned by the value of copper in terms of silver at the present moment. The moment we talk of giving any importance to *the silver in the rupee* in our currency policy, we shall begin to move towards dangerous grounds. Dr Bannerjea, discussing the ratio we should adopt in which the rupee shall exchange with the gold coin, says

> The relative price levels in India and other principal countries of the world are very nearly the same to-day as they were before the war. All these facts point to the conclusion that the 1s 4d rate seems to approximate closely to the natural ratio.

And he continues

> If this rate be adopted, measures may become necessary to check any downward tendency of the rate that may show itself. This can be secured by a cessation or restriction of the rupee coinage and a reduction in the volume of notes in circulation. In case these measures fail to maintain the ratio, the Gold Standard Reserve will have to be drawn upon to make good any loss that may be incurred on this account

Then he says in another place

> ...The Gold Standard Reserve will in future be employed for maintaining the ratio between the Mohur and the rupee

Now all this is very confusing. If we are establishing a gold standard, why should the Minto Professor of Economics look for any ratio between the rupee and the pound sterling, "natural ratio" or otherwise? The ratio between the Indian standard coin and the British sovereign will be determined by the relative weight and purity of their gold

content and not by comparing price levels or by legislation. The token rupee may bear any arbitrary relation with the standard coin so long as its silver value remains considerably below its face value If ever, owing to a phenomenal rise in the gold value of silver, the rupee becomes an undervalued coin, then of course there will be time to think of combating the evil by debasing the rupee or by selling silver at a loss or by any other means But so long as such an eventuality does not arise, as it is very unlikely to do in the near future with silver demonetised in India, it is merely confusing the main issue to talk about the ratio that a silver coin should bear to a gold coin (the sovereign or the Mohur) and to discuss ways and means for keeping the ratio stable.

The profits accruing from the coinage of rupees should be kept as currency reserve in gold and be used to give the gold notes a firmer metallic foundation As to the wisdom of undertaking to pay gold in exchange of rupees, we have our doubts Such payments may be made only to a certain extent but not as an obligation Commencing to think of our exchange relations from the rupee end is to start at the wrong end Dr Bannerjea also suggests that our notes" should be made redeemable either in gold or in silver at the option of the government." This again violates the basic principles of a pure gold standard It savours badly of bimetallism and should not have been suggested by the learned Professor after he had declared the adoption of the gold standard to be "an economic, social and political necessity" Of course the government would be acting within its rights if it encashed notes in silver tokens only to the extent that such tokens were legal tender

Dr. Bannerjea may well say that he was discussing the relation between the gold coin of the future and the rupee when he wrote about establishing the 1s 4d ratio and that in view of the fact that the rupee has been our traditional standard of value and vast qualities of it are at present in circulation throughout India, the question of ascertaining its value in the new system is of paramount importance. We do not deny that it is so. But Dr. Bannerjea should not have gone about the work in a way which suggests an obsession for establishing a direct rupee-sterling ratio of exchange and for not altogether dissociating silver (as a store of value) from our currency. Such a half-hearted gold standard will not serve any good purpose and that should be made quite clear.

There are two ways in which we can fix the value of the rupee in terms of our standard gold coin (1) by referring to its purchasing power and (2) by evaluating its silver content. The second is out of the question as that would clash with the principles of a pure gold standard Dr Bannerjea has therefore done right to attempt to find the value of the rupee in terms of gold by its purchasing power The purchasing power of the rupee is much above the purchasing power of the 165 grs. of silver which it contains and the fixing of a ratio of 15 : 1 between the rupee and the Indian equivalent of the sovereign, we think, will satisfy all conditions of smooth running Conditions of international trade are such at present that with the establishment of a gold standard in India (with the Indian Mohur or standard gold coin buying nearly 22½ shilling worth of goods in general) we can expect a heavy flow of gold towards India, This will greatly facilitate our establishment of the gold standard and the conditions which have made Dr Bannerjea too cautious to lose grip of silver altogether will probably disappear

A C

—

Tagore Criticised

The *Englishman* has suddenly come out with an attack on Tagore's social philosophy or what has been alleged to be his social philosophy It is an ancient game to misinterpret a thing and then prove that it is all wrong The conservative organ of the established order, in which plantations and mills occupy the most important place, has made use of this particular method of attack and raved over its self-created grievance at length. We are told

> Dr Rabindranath Tagore has been deploring the spread of organisation, which in his opinion deprives people of the opportunity of cultivating themselves. He would have us return to the ideal of the Vedas, when such occupations as commerce and fighting were restricted to certain castes. The poet's countrymen who insist that India should be allowed to defend horself and who argue that she is capable of raising "millions of soldiers," will hardly endorse his views in this respect.
>
> Nor will Dr. Tagore's plea for the restriction of commercial activities appeal to those who look forward to the development of India's industries and commerce as providing new occupations for the

large army of unemployed. It is written that "man shall not live by bread alone." but it is nowhere suggested that he should go without bread altogether ; and we doubt whether even in the Golden Age of India the majority of the people had, "full freedom to cultivate their human personality," The majority, as to-day, must have been mainly occupied in cultivating the soil, and, if commerce were restricted, we imagine a large proportion of non-agriculturists would be forced to become cultivators or starve. DR. TAGORE is so obsessed with the evils of an organised existence that he is blind to the enormous benefits of organisation

It is a common fallacy that men of business are entirely absorbed in money-making Even if it were true, it must be admitted that their activities help to make life easier and richer, DR. TAGORE may despise material benefits, but we cannot all be Tagores Moreover, business men are not entirely lacking in higher interests, SIR RAJENDRANATH MUKHERJEE, for example, has found time to preside over the Asiatic Society. MR ROCKEFELLER has just given a princely donation towards an Egyptian museum, and British merchants have repeatedly contributed their energies and wealth to the promotion of moral and spiritual cause.

Tagore has no doubt often preached and written against *a certain form of* organisation and that kind of organisation certainly does deprive people of the opportunity of cultivating themselves. The *Englishman* would certainly not advocate the keeping up of this defective system on account of its defectiveness If the *Englishman* could prove that this particular kind of organisation was the only kind and that the benefits yielded by it far outweighed its evils, then of course we could see the *Englishman's* point in contradicting Tagore's views and deriding the Vedic Age without knowing anything about it But the present-day highly specialised and mammoth economic institutions are not the only possible forms that organised human effort can assume, nor do they produce the highest possible human well-being Production is not the only measure of social happiness. As a matter of fact, it is hardly any measure at all And it is human happiness that human endeavour strives after and not fuller warehouses. We must remember that

> Human beings are both "ends in themselves" and instruments of Production. On the one hand, a man who is attuned to the beautiful in nature or in art, whose character is simple and sincere, whose passions are controlled and sympathies developed, is in himself an important element in the ethical value of the world, the way in which he feels and thinks actually constitutes a part of (social) Welfare. (Pigou, *Economics of Welfare*, p. 13).

So that it is uot the acme of economic wisdom to consider human labour as a mere *factor of production* and employ it with only maximum production in view. As Dickinson says in his *Letters of John Chinaman*, describing England as seen by an Oriental spectator :

> By you works you may be known. Your triumphs in the mechanical arts are the obverse of your failure in all that calls for spiritual insight, Machines of every kind you can make and use to perfection , but you cannot build a house or write a poem or paint a picture , Still less can you worship or aspire. .. . Everywhere means, nowhere an end. Society, a huge engine and that engine itself out of gear. Such is the picture your civilisation presents to my imagination.

So that it is not Tagore alone whose view of social life may desplease the *Englishman*. Organisation which despoils man of his own excellence and production, which deprives man of the richest of emotions, cannot compensate him by giving him more food, clothing, housing, transport and so on and so forth , for man, to be really happy, must have a fuller grasp of the True, the Beautiful and the Good This is Western Philosophy and the writer in the *Englishman* may have come across it in his youth. A cooperative organisation of industry and the retention of the family system of life intact are ideals not only of Eastern dreamers but also of Western economists And Tagore has always supported such forms of organised life. His own educational farm at Surul, Bengal, has always attempted to foster co-operation in every department of life He is against the large scale factory system and an exaggerated city life and in this he is supported by the most modern economic thinkers. With the development of electricity, economists everywhere are looking, forward to the day when nobody will have to go out of one's home atmosphere to work This will improve the general tone of man's life as factory work impairs the same.

The second point in the *Englishman's* criticism is that the breaking up of the existing system will render it impossible for Indians to raise huge armies As Tagore is working also against militarism, we do not see why he should worry about this. If by doing away with intensive organisation, we can also do away with militarism by making it impossible to raise huge armies, should we complain ?—though we do not think it an impossibility to raise armies for defensive purposes from among Indians who live in healthy villages and produce goods on a cooperative basis.

The development of India's village life with a view to greater self-containedness should reduce unemployment much more than the

development of mechanical production in factories. Why the *Englishman* thinks otherwise defies comprehension. The unemployment, rampant to-day in the villages in India, is due to the fact that agriculturists exchange their goods with goods produced by, let us say, Lancashire labourers and not by their own compatriots in the villages In a scheme of society, in which the village (or at least Indian) workers will be enabled to exchange goods and services with the main body of India's productive workers, there would be less field for unemployment than there is to-day with society based on what amounts to a boycott of one's own countrymen in favour of foreigners The *Englishman's* fear that "if commerce were restricted," a further crowd of Indians would be thrown on the land, is based on an ignorance of the ordinary principles of economics, and needs no comment

Lastly, we are informed of the existence of a "common fallacy that men of business are entirely absorbed in money-making" and told that the activities of the money-makers "make life easier and richer" For whom ? Themselves ? The fact that wealthy men *sometimes* go in for cultural things proves nothing. Nobody ever denies that some great business men contribute largely to the advancement of culture The fact that the *Englishman* brings forward this as an argument in favour of the money-makers only proves that even the *Englishman* values the quality of life higher than the quantity of money at one's disposal But the point is not whether some business men are men of culture, but *whether or not modern business fosters culture* The fact that Sir Rajendra or Mr Rockefeller has contributed to the higher life of man has not made the employees of the same gentlemen "feel and think" in a way "which constitutes a part of (India's) Welfare"

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A. C

The Frontispiece

"On the Slopes of the Desolate River" is the artistic projection of a mood of life. Gloom and desolation and unknown possibilities that sway the soul with dark forebodings are well depicted with an impressive monotony of colour effect The dress of the woman in the foreground, the looming shape of the distant trees and the haze beyond the river, which suggests motion but not towards the land of light—all go to heighten the dreariness of the situation. It is a difficult thing to express a purely subjective state in lines and patches of colour; but Mr. Roopkrishna of Lahore has gone a long way towards success in his picture

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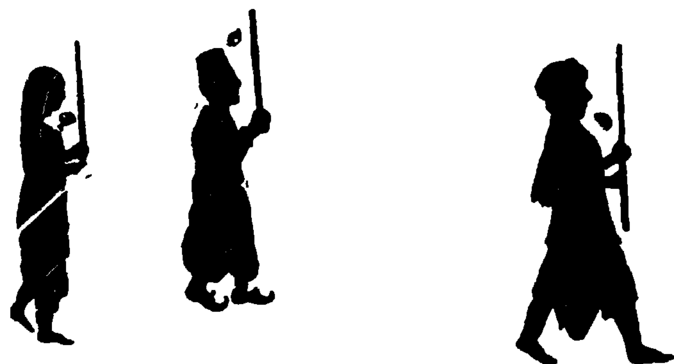
Calcutta University Convocation

Lord Lytton as Chancellor of the Calcutta University stated the pros and cons of making Bengali the vehicle of instruction in high schools pretty fairly The arguments in favour of the step are irresistible. The difficulties of Assam are, no doubt, real difficulties. But Bengal ought not to suffer for Assam. In Great Britain there are still a good many persons who speak only Gaelic or Welsh. But schools in Great Britain do not on that account refrain from giving English its rightful place in educational institutions In America, there are thousands of persons whose mother-tongue is not or was not English. Still, English is the medium of instruction there Let Assam be accommodated as far as practicable, but let not the vital reform of making *the* vernacular of the province its medium of instruction be put off any longer Assam was once successfully made the cat's paw for destroying the chances of University reform in Bengal Let it not be allowed to be used again for a similar purpose

Mr Justice Greaves, the Vice-Chancellor, gave a long list of the researches made in the Post-graduate Departments of Science and Arts. The time and space devoted to the enumeration of any researches are, no doubt, not safe criteria of their quality and importance Nevertheless, it must be said that in the Vice-Chancellor's lists the science department made a braver show Therefore, we presume, it has all along got less money than the other department. We are really glad, however, that though the average amount of knowledge and intelligence required for passing Calcutta University examinations has become less than before, research continues to flourish We do not claim any intellectual preeminence for Bengal But it is an undeniable fact that, barring what the few plagiarists have done, both the quality and the volume of research carried on in the Calcutta University will stand favourable comparison with those of other Indian Universities

We agree with the Vice-Chancellor that the proposed Secondary Education Board should be an independent body, that its creation should not affect the financial stability of the University and that the Matriculation examination should continue to be a University examination.

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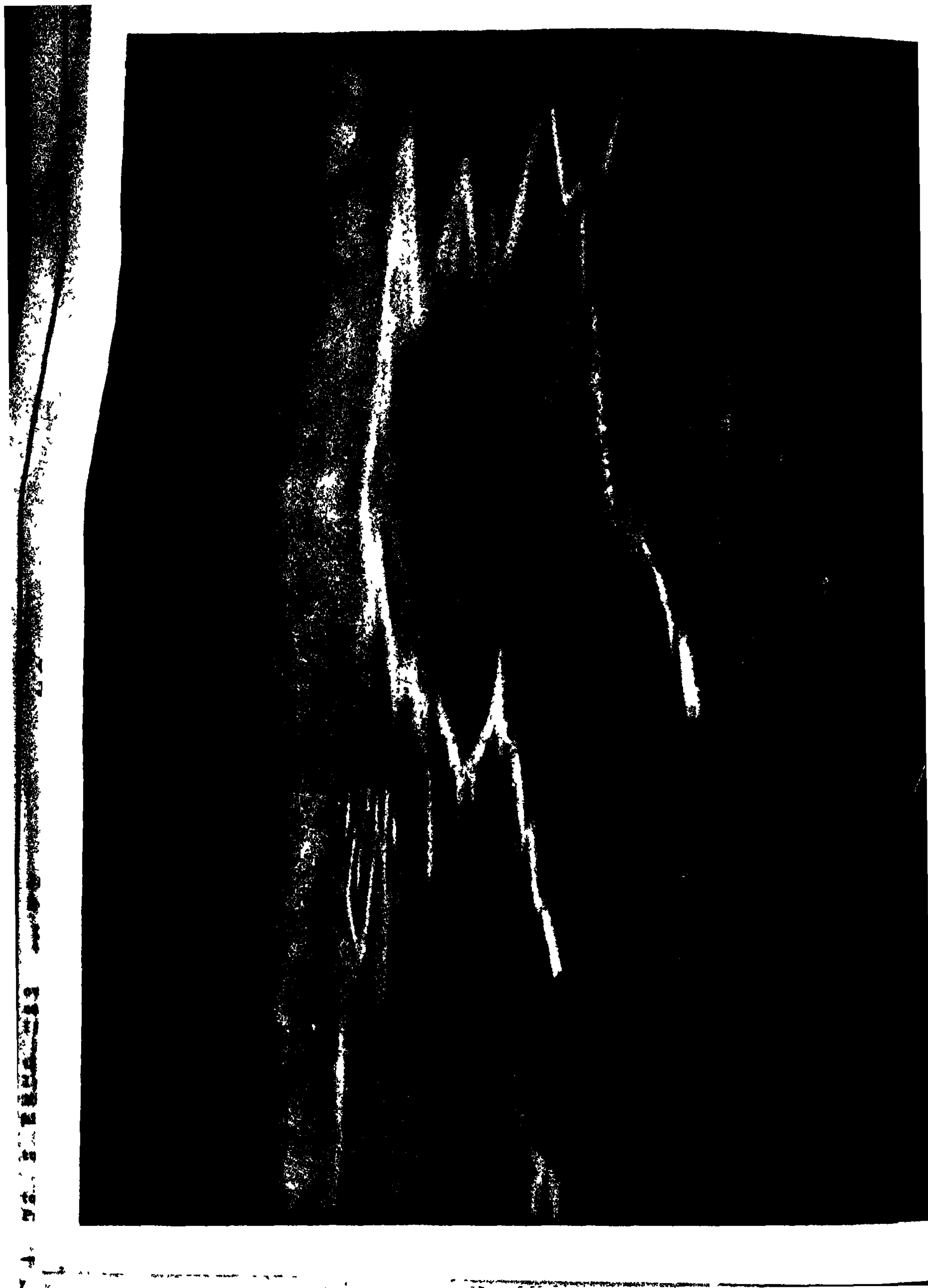
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Buddha as Mendicant—Mr Pulinbehari Dutt
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Buddha and Sujata—Mr Satyendranath Bisi
Goats—Mr T Kesava Rao
A Forest Scene—Mr Binodebehari Mukherjee
The Song of the Rains—Mr Purnachandra Singh
Friends—Mr Bepinchandra Dey

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April—4



THE MODERN REVIEW

XIX APRIL, 1926 WHOLE NO. 232

THE PADISHAH OF DELHI TO KING GEORGE THE FOURTH OF ENGLAND

By RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY

[...s petition has been unearthed from the ...al Record Office by Mr BRAJENDRANATH ...RJI whose prefatory remarks are printed ... — Editor, *The Modern Review*

...he following petition in the name of the ...hah of Delhi to King George IV, was ...d by Rajah Rammohun Roy, who proceeded ...e Court of Great Britain with a copy of it ... well reasoned document, hitherto unpublished ...t to have a place amongst other writings of ...Rajah by reason of its grace and clearness ...yle."]

...s Majesty the King of the British Empire etc, etc, etc

Sire! My Brother! It is with a mingled ...ling of humility and pride that I approach ...r Majesty with the language of fraternal ...ality at the very time that the occasion ...my addressing your Majesty compels me ...consider myself rather as a suppliant ...the footstool of your Majesty's throne ...an as a Monarch entitled to assume the ...le, and claim the privileges, of ...yalty

2 Sire! I do not forget who or what I ... I cannot forget that I am a King only ...name and that I have nothing in common ...th your Majesty and the other sovereigns ...the earth but a title conceded to me ...th no other effect than to aggravate the ...miliation and unhappiness in which I ...m involved Yet low as is my condition I have not lost the feelings of humanity, ...nd I claim from your Majesty that justice ...which is not denied to the meanest of your ...Majesty's subjects.

3 I do not forget who and what your Majesty is—that your Majesty is the rightful ...d acknowledged sovereign of a powerful, a wise and renowned people, and that, in the plenitude of your Majesty's greatness, even a small portion of your Majesty's subjects are permitted to exercise the government of these vast and populous territories which it was the glory of many of my ancestors to rule in person But I also remember that those very subjects although elevated to the dignity of empire are still amenable to your Majesty for every part of their conduct, and I therefore confidently rely that your Majesty will not permit them wantonly to violate the solemn engagements of their faith and honour pledged to the once dreaded and illustrious, but now powerless, House of Taimur In me that race is deeply humbled, but the extensive conquests, the noble actions, and the splendid fame of the dynasty which I so unworthily represent, remain imperishably written on the faithful page of history My ancestors made a magnanimous use of the victories and conquests which their swords not perfidy or intrigues—achieved They disdained to trample down on a vanquished foe, even when they could crush him with impunity The voice of the whole world proclaims that your Majesty is in an eminent degree distinguished by the same sublime and generous virtues, and I repose therefore with entire confidence in the innate nobleness of your Majesty's mind and in your Majesty's refined and exalted sense of National faith and justice

4 I hasten to specify the wron... of which I complain and to substantiate my allegations by the necessary proofs In brief, then, I beg to recall your Majesty's attention to the accompanying articles of convention which

were transmitted to my august father from the Governor-General in Council in conformity with the promise made by Lord Lake and which were duly recognized on both sides as expressive of the mutual obligations of the contracting parties, but of which the first and most important clause is now injuriously evaded

5 That article provides that "all the *mahals* to the west of the Jumna situated between the west and north of *mou a* Kabilpoor shall be considered the crownlands of his Majesty' The second article provides that "the management of these mahals shall be continued according to custom in the hands of the Resident', but in proof that the entire revenues were to be placed at the Royal disposal, it is expressly provided in the third article that "for his Majesty's satisfaction, the Royal Mootsuddies (or civil officers) shall attend at the Cutchery to keep accounts of the receipts and disbursements and report the same to his Majesty The memorandum referred to in the seventh article specifies a minimum of monthly stipends for the King and the Royal Household and that article provides that the sums so specified shall be paid monthly from the Public Treasury, "whether the whole of the amount is or is not collected from the Khalsah lands ' The English article to which I solicit your Majesty's special attention contains the important provision that "should the collections from the above mahals increase in consequence of extending cultivation and the improved condition of the ryots a proportioned augmentation will take place in the King's *Peshcush* or Revenue" and, finally, to shew that the royal stipend was to consist, not of the net, but of the gross produce without any deduction, the eleventh article provides that "the expense of the Troops, Police Corps, etc, employed in the Khalsah shall be defrayed by the Honourable Company" What could be more clear and explicit than these provisions ? What words could have more strictly guarded against the possibility of perversion or misapprehension ? Yet the first and most important point has been since rendered a dead letter, as if neither honour nor justice demanded their fulfilment.

6 In the recent communications which I have had with your Majesty's late representative in India, Lord Amherst, on this subject, there is the admission that "it was the original intention of Government to have assigned certain mahals to the west of the Jumna for the support of His Majesty and the Royal family', but it is added, "The plan was never from unavoidable causes carried completely into effect" It now seems to be tacitly inferred that therefore it ought not ever to be carried into effect To me and to my family, to my immediate dependents, and to the numerous individuals who cannot refuse their disinterested sympathy to my fallen House, it does not appear clearly to follow, because an act of justice has hitherto been denied that it could never be performed, nor when we consider what British power and influence have accomplished, can we bring ourselves to believe that any causes would have proved unavoidable, if a disposition really favourable to the accomplishment of the object had existed The assertion, however, that "the plan was never carried completely into effect" is essentially erroneous. for while the revenues of the assigned mahals did not exceed the *minimum* of the Royal stipends and allowances, the Royal Mootsuddies were allowed to attend at the Cutchery in conformity with the third stipulation, for the express purpose of keeping accounts of the receipts and disbursements and reporting the same to my august father and to myself The right and title of the Royal family to the entire revenues of the mahals were thus for a length of time distinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by the concession of the Royal Mootsuddies of the power of supervision and report, but when those revenues materially exceeded the *minimum* of the Royal stipends, then it was that it became inconvenient to carry the plan completely into effect, and the Royal Mootsuddies were in consequence directed to withdraw their attendance at the Cutchery. In like manner the practice of submitting by the Resident for my Royal decision the proceedings in cases where capital punishment was adjusted by the Criminal Court, has also long since been discontinued in neglect of the provision contained in the sixth article of agreement

7 Even in the communication abovementioned, insult in point of form was added to injustice. All the Governors-General who have preceded Lord Amherst in the government of the British territories in India have thought it no degradation to themselves to address me or my august father in the style that custom

has accorded to Royalty. Lord Amherst, however, thought proper to reduce me in his form of communication to the footing of an equal, and thereby to rob me even of the cheap gratification of the usual ceremonials of address so as to humble me as far as possible in the eyes of all ranks of people

8 Before, however, these derogatory steps were adopted, repeated, solemn, and public recognitions of the claims of my Royal family to the revenues of the assigned mahals had been recorded in the code of Regulations and Laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the civil government of the territories under the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal Thus at section 4th of Regulation XI of 1801, it is clearly expressed that "the revenues of the territory on the right bank of the Jumna are assigned to His Majesty Shah Alam", and precisely the same language is repeated at sections 22nd and 35 of the same Regulation, at section 3rd of Regulation VI of 1805, and at sections 2nd and 4th of the Regulation VIII of the same year At sections 1st and 2nd of Regulation X of 1807, and at section 1st of Regulation XI of the same year, the language is similar, although more general, for in these "the territory assigned for the support of the Royal family at Dehlee" is mentioned without specifying its locality as in the former instances, the very absence of this specification marking its notoriety and the distinctness of the purpose to which the revenues of that territory were exclusively applicable These declarations cannot be disavowed, retracted or misapprehended They are embodied in the code of Regulations by which this branch of the British Indian Empire is governed, and they incontrovertibly demonstrate that for a series of years the plan was carried completely into effect and the right of my family to the revenues of the districts in question was clearly and undisguisedly admitted

9 Even the *minimum* of the Royal stipends was at one time arbitrarily and unjustly curtailed of several items, contrary to the express provisions contained in the stipulations and without consent of the contracting party whose rights were thereby violated, having been obtained or even sought. It was in this way that one of the items amounting to 10,000 Rupees for support of the Heir-apparent was reduced to 7000, a second of 5,000 Rupees for Mirza Ezzud Buxsh to 2000, and a third amounting to Sicca Rs. 2,500 for Shah Newaz Khan, a connection of His Majesty, was entirely resumed at his death and his family thus left destitute. To crown these acts it has been pretended that an augmentation to the Royal stipend made in the year 1809 amounting, after several previous deductions, only to Sa. Rs. 13,200 per mensem was granted by way of commutation for the Royal claims on the improved revenues of the Khalsah lands—though so far was such an arrangement from receiving my sanction that the increase was only communicated to me as a resolution taken by the Government without the slightest reference to the pretended equivalent

10 The original articles of agreement are either binding or they are not If they are binding, then any alteration or commutation of any part of the Royal income made by one party without the consent of the other, to whom it is injurious, must be null and void If they are not binding, this must be either because they were never entered into, which cannot be affirmed, or because some subsequent voluntary arrangement between the two contracting parties has superseded their obligation But no arrangement tending to supersede the original articles of agreement has ever been voluntarily recognized by my Royal predecessor or myself, and therefore the numerous and unauthorized deviations from the provisions which they contain constitute a series of direct and systematic violations of truth, honour and justice

11 A relation of the particulars connected with this pretended increase of Sa Rs 13,200 per mensem will show to your Majesty how little real was the value of the alleged concession When the gross and palpable infringements by the local authorities on the stipulation entered into with Lord Wellesley's Government were brought to the notice of Lord Minto in the year 1809 and the Royal claims on the then improved revenues of the Khalsah mahal set forth, that nobleman virtually admitted the wrongs that had been inflicted and the total sum of the Royal stipends including the allowances on the Princes and Princesses and every contingency, which after several deductions, then amounted to only Sa Rs 86,000, was raised to one lakh, the real augmentation being however considerably less in amount than this apparent one By Lord Wellesley's agreement the allowance to the Royal family was paid under the following heads .—

His Majesty's personal allowance	Rs 60,000	per mensem
Presents at 7 festivals Rs. 10,000 each, equal	5,833	"
The Heir-apparent	10,000	"
His jagir in the Doab	3,000	"
Princes and Princesses	10,000	"
Mirza Ezzud Buxsh—personal allowance	2,000	"
do by his jagir in the Doab	1,000	"
Shah Newaz Khan	2,500	"
Total monthly allowance Rs	94,333	

o that the stipend established by Lord Minto in 1809, then considered as providing an increase of allowance to the extent of Rs 13,200 per mensem as above-stated, and also alleged to be in satisfaction of the terms of the treaty, in fact added no more than the paltry sum of Rs 5,667 to the original minimum provision But even this augmentation was granted arbitrarily, without any reference to the amount actually due by stipulation and without my consent being asked or obtained and it was moreover accompanied by an insulting intimation that the "sovereignty I possess is only nominal" and that the Governor-General's recognition of it is merely "Complimentary Does "the complimentary recognition of a nominal sovereignty authorize or justify the arbitrary infringement of direct and positive obligations, or denude myself and family of the common rights of men and society? Because the Governor-General in Council condescends to recognize in me an empty title, is it therefore that the solemn faith of the British nation and Government may be wantonly broken? Do I become less entitled to the performance of the contract that has been entered into with my family, because my ancestors were great and powerful and I am feeble and helpless, held down by those who make my weakness and degradation the excuse for their injustice? I cherish the confident persuasion that your Majesty will not sanction the principle that in my case a National contract ought not or need not to be fulfilled, because I am powerless to enforce its obligations What king or subject will avow such a principle, except in India and to the injured and unhappy House of Taimur?

12 I have now briefly explained to your Majesty the wrongs I have suffered and the rights which I demand I claim the entire revenues, whatever they may be, of the mahals originally assigned for the support of the Royal family unjustly alienated from the rightful owner and appropriated to themselves by the Honourable Company. I claim restitution of the sums of which the Royal family have been deprived in past years, and I claim your Majesty's guarantee for the rigid fulfilment in future of the articles of convention by which a *minimum*, is fixed for the Royal stipend, by which the gross revenues of the mahals to the west of the Jumna are assigned to the Royal family should they exceed that *minimum* and by which the means and opportunity of obtaining a perfect knowledge of the actual revenues of those mahals are stipulated rights I am not unaware of the practical evil that is likely to result, according to the known principles of human nature, by imposing upon one party all the toil of superintendence and all the expense of improvement, and bestowing upon another all the fruits of his labour and sacrifices I am therefore willing to submit to any reasonable compromise of my rights, either by assuming for a fit compensation all the trouble and outlay attending the government, police, and cultivation of the territory in question, or by receiving a fixed monthly sum in lieu of all further claims In the latter case the present gross annual revenues of the mahals would form a proper standard, and, if they do not fall short of 30 lakhs, I hereby offer to commute all my prospective claims under the articles of convention for that yearly stipend

11 If I were to regard merely your Majesty's personal character, it might be sufficient to show, as I have done, that my claims are just But your Majesty has also a public character to sustain and a public duty to discharge, and it behoves me therefore to satisfy your Majesty that the concession of my undoubted rights may be rendered perfectly consistent with sound policy and a just regard to the safety and permanence of the British rule in India The largeness of the sum I have mentioned, considered by itself,—without any reference to the numerous regular, and increasing demands upon my exhausted treasury, might seem to indicate a wish to accumulate money for some concealed and hostile purpose. I utterly disavow every such object as alike dishonourable to the race from which I have sprung and inconsistent

with the open course which I have ever pursued. Some of my ancestors have fallen victims of the disloyalty of others, but they never betrayed those who confided in their honour, and in imitation of their noble examples, while I have not hesitated and will still continue to complain of the injustice I have suffered and vindicate the rights that belong to me, I will not disgrace them and myself by secret machinations against a Power which I dare not combat in the open field. As a complete security against any such attempt, I will cheerfully agree not to retain more than 12 lakhs of Rupees in my treasury at any one time to invest the surplus, should there be any, in the loans opened by the British Government, and to forfeit to the Honourable Company any sum found in my possession in excess of that amount not so invested. If any other check can be suggested which shall not subject me to a degrading inquisition in all the minutiae of my expenditure, I shall willingly accede to it.

15. But to a Prince of your Majesty's enlarged and magnanimous views it will be obvious that the most just and generous policy must also be the most wise and provident. For on what firmer bases can the duty and tranquillity of the subjects of a distant and conquered country be founded, or the confidence of surrounding States, naturally jealous of their independence, be established than on the irresistible evidence continually presented to them of good faith and moderation displayed in the strict observance of engagements even if burthensome and although spontaneously entered into with one bereft of the power of dictating terms or of effectually resenting their violation.

16. Should, on the other hand, a conspicuous example subsist of broken compact on the part of your Majesty's Vicegerents towards me, because no longer in a condition to vindicate my rights by an appeal to arms—if contempt and indignity be measured out to the representative of a once mighty monarchy in proportion as he is powerless to inforce respect, your Majesty's acquired subjects, once amongst those of my ancestors, now with anxious fears observing the conduct of their new rulers, the neighbouring Princes who have beheld with alarm the progress of your Majesty's arms, nay the whole civilized world, will assuredly sympathize with my griefs and look on my oppressors with the feelings and wishes which their conduct must infallibly inspire.

17. If I had any doubt of the justice of my claims, I might still rest them on an appeal to your Majesty's known generosity. I might remind your Majesty of the time when my ancestors ruled supreme over these countries, where their wretched descendant and the sole representative of their dynasty is compelled to drag on a dependent existence in a dilapidated palace, exposed to the contempt or receiving the sympathy of the different classes of society, both Europeans and Asiatics, who resort to Dehlee, with means utterly inadequate to support the dignity even of a nominal sovereignty or to afford a scanty subsistence to the numerous branches of his family who look to him as their only stay. But I will not resort to such a plea. I will not condescend to accept, and your Majesty will disdain to confer, as a favour, that which is due as a right. I rest my cause on your Majesty's high-minded sense of honour and justice. I cannot permit myself to suppose that your Majesty will lend a deaf ear to my complaints. I address by this letter not only your Majesty but the world at large and I anticipate the plaudits which present and future ages will bestow on your Majesty's benevolent and enlightened sympathy with the unworthy representative of the once great and illustrious, though now fallen, House of Taimur.

18. To your Majesty what need I say more?

(*Political Proceedings*, 13-3-1829, No. 20)

PRAGUE—THE CITY OF THE CZECHS

By AGNES SMEDLEY

BEFORE you reach Prague you know that you are in the midst of a Slav civilisation. The people speak a language that sounds Russian and still isn't Russian. And the names of the streets, although written in Latin script, still are Slavic. Once in Prague, *the capital of Czecho-slovakia* you hear only Czechish spoken, see it written on all streets, newspapers, and menus, and you feel it in the atmosphere. There are German newspapers and a large German population, but the culture is predominantly Czechish. The clean, ordered civilisation of Germany and the Scandinavian countries seems a million miles away. Here is disorderly creation, the creative mind of the Slavs rearing itself in half-barbaric majesty.

In the newer part of Prague you do not notice this so much, but when you once reach old Prague, you are in another world. The streets are narrow and crooked and paved with cobblestones worn down smooth with the earth. You can pass under archways leading apparently right through somebody's front room. But they open instead onto a little square courtyard surrounded by old terraced houses, painted in many colours, glazing with flowers, and sometimes bending lovingly over the square, as if whispering secrets of a thousand years ago when Prague was founded by Czechish tribes wandering from the East. Then you can pass on through other archways leading toward the back and onto other squares. You twist and turn endlessly, old women watch you from their tiny dark cells under the archways where they sell old violins, dried fish, thread, or postal cards; and you find yourself eventually in another narrow little street, and if you care to do so—and dare—you may walk in the middle of the street, hold out your arms and touch a row of houses on both sides.

Relics of the past rear their heads in crude majesty in both the Old and New Town: ancient churches—dreams in stone, of the men of the Middle Ages, Gothic towers and archways, Gothic pillars, Saracenic domes and high over the ancient castle walls of the Hradcheny on the hill, the two great spires of the Gothic cathedral of St Vitus, surrounded by hundreds of tiny spires with carving as delicate as lace-work.



The Hradcheny or the ancient castle built on one of the seven hills on which Prague is built. This castle is of mythical origin it is so old. It is said to be over a thousand years old.

Prague, like Rome, is built on seven hills. The river Vltava flows leisurely through it displaying its marvellous bridges. Historians tell us that a chieftain called Chech came with his people from the East, saw the fertile primeval country of Bohemia, and settled there. Other historians say, instead, that many centuries before the Christian era, Bohemia was settled first by Celtic, and then by some branch or branches of the Slavonic race.



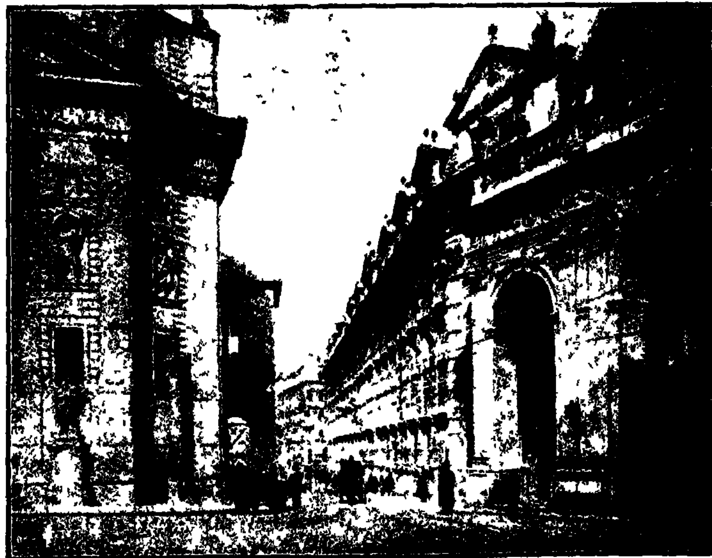
The magnificent St Vitus Cathedral. It was founded in the 11th century and is one of the most beautiful examples of Gothic architecture in Europe. There are hundreds of marvellous little spires with carving as fine as lace. Inside are the giant Gothic pillars and arches, extending without one break to the roof

Prague—or Praha as the Czechs call it - is of mythical antiquity. Certain it is that the highest hill over-looking the valley of the Vltava was chosen as its first sight, then encircled by the great stone walls still standing. Inside these walls stretch the endless castle walls, the Hradcheny, and inside the castle walls, not only other castles and churches, but also long narrow streets and little rows of tiny one-story houses where people still live and cook and wash their clothing. "Gold Street' one of them is called—for here the old alchemists once lived

It is said that the Czech princess, Lubosa founded Prague, chose a peasant Premysl as her husband when she found him ploughing in his fields, and founded the oldest Czech dynasty that ruled until 1306. She ruled long and well, for she belonged to a vigorous race of free women who knew nothing of the degeneracy of the purdah system

Some of the finest buildings still standing today in Prague date from the rule of King Vaclav, known in history as Charles IV. One of these is the University of Prague, founded in 1348, which was then the only University in Central Europe. Charles also built the famous bridge in the Old Town, known today as Charles Bridge, also the large squares and the broad streets in the New Town, he enlarged the Castle on the Hradcheny to its present size, and supervised the building of the St Vitus Cathedral within its walls. He also built the beautiful castle of Karluv Tyn on the south-west of Prague, and numerous Gothic churches and monasteries in the surrounding country. He made Prague one of the greatest centres of learning of the Middle Ages

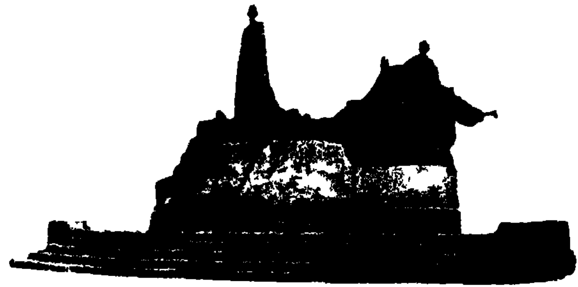
After the Czechs came under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Dynasty, the ancient castle on the hill was "renovated" and repainted, according to the ideas of the new rulers. People forgot that other architectural motives once existed there. But now, under the new Republic, strange discoveries have been made. It was only by accident that some one noticed that inside one of the huge



A View of The Old Historic Czech and German University in Prague

tournament halls of the castle, a door seemed to be awkwardly situated They tore away the door and saw that a layer of stone and plaster covered a still older wall They dug through this covering around other doors and discovered that old, vaulted Gothic archways had been completely covered This discovery threw the Czechs into an excavation fever Today the inside walls of the great hall and adjoining halls have been carefully torn away, revealing the magnificent Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages They have dug through the floor and unearthed pillars and skeletons and strange relics They are digging outside the castle and have discovered old burial grounds They have only begun But they expect to discover, in the older sections of the castle, architectural remains of ancient Prague It is fortunate that the Czechs are not under British rule, else these relics would be shipped to the British Museum

As you pass through Prague, many towers, churches and monuments call you to a halt by their grandeur or antiquity History unfolds itself There is the old Jewish synagogue, the oldest synagogue in existence, surrounded by the Jewish cemetery of unknown antiquity, the dead buried one on top of another until the earth alone knows how many are buried there For the Jews were confined to the narrow Ghetto in the past, and even the synagogue was built under the earth The children of Israel had to worship their God in secret



The Statue of John Huss standing on the Public Square in the Centre of Prague By the Sculptor Saloun



The Museum of Arts and Crafts Subsidized by the Ministry of Education and National Culture

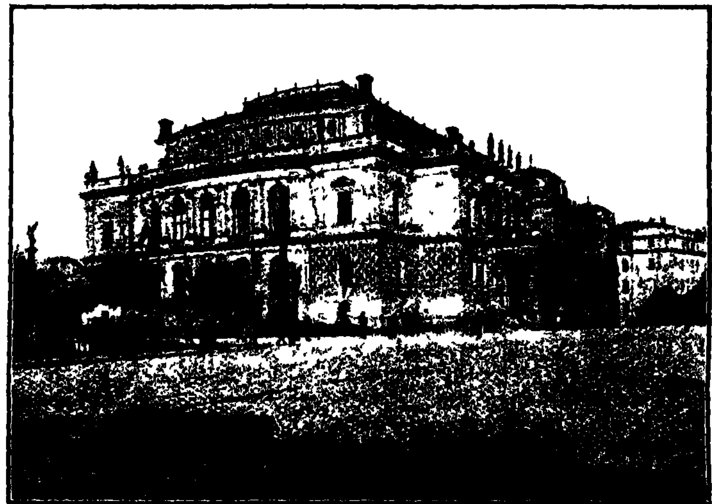
Not far from the Synagogue is the big public square, bordered by cathedrals, ancient buildings, and the old town hall of Gothic architecture before which twenty-seven Protestant Czechish leaders were beheaded after the Thirty Years War An etching of this event may be seen in the Prague Museum On the square itself stands one of the most inspiring monuments in all Europe—it is a huge bronze of John Huss, standing as majestically as he stood before the Council of Catholic Clergy before he was burned as a heretic by them Other groups of figures stand proudly and defiantly at one side At the back and along the sides forms of peasants — men, women and children —almost burst from the bronze, huddling together and listening with inspired faces This monument is history in itself, for John Huss is European history. He was the religious reformer and opponent of the Catholic Church in Central Europe Born in 1370 he graduated from the University of Prague, and a few years later—in 1400—was ordained a priest He delivered sermons in the Czechish language (in itself an offense to the Church) in the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. His own simplicity of life, his criticism of the Church, his democratic teachings, led the church authorities to prohibit his preaching, and at last to excommunicate him. He went

to Southern Bohemia and there he found his real church—the great open meadows and the forests He would stand on a hill with the gaze of ten thousand peasants fastened upon him So convinced was he of his faith that when the General Council of the Catholic Church was held in Constance, he secured a safe conduct from King Sigismund, and went there to defend his cause We know from history that he was not even permitted to speak, and that, on July 6, 1415, he was taken outside the city and burned to death as a heretic and his ashes thrown on the Rhein It took twenty years for the Catholic legions and the German nobles to crush the Hussites Wars that flamed up and swept through the land where Huss had lived and preached



The Historic National Museum in Prague

Even to-day you can seldom ascend the steps leading to the base of this great monument in Prague without treading on flowers Across from it, in the old historic town hall, hangs a colossal painting of Huss standing before the Council of Constance



The Parliament Building of the Czecho-Slovak Republic

There are many other monuments and buildings that unroll the pages of history as you walk by them But to tell of them all is impossible Yet one cannot pass over the National Czech Museum Apart from the historic collections of a hundred different kinds, there is the hall of memory to the great Czechish dead. I was in Prague on the day of the funeral of a well-known Czechish professor The streets were crowded with throngs of people In America I would have thought the Prince of Wales, Jack Dempsey, or Charlie Chaplain was coming that way But in Prague the Czechs were honouring a great philosopher ! His body lay in state in the National Czechish Museum

Afterwards I walked through the hall of memory All about the walls stood statues or busts of Czechish educators, musicians, poets, writers, philosophers, religious reformers, historians There was Comenius, the scholar, poet and patriot of the Middle Ages, whose prophetic words were read by President Masaryk before the first National Assembly of the New Republic in 1918 There were the poets and writers—Chech, Kollar Palacky Havlichek, Neruda, and dozens of others there were the composers to whom the western world owes so much—Smetana, Dvorak, Fibich To name them all or to know them all is a task possible only for

Czechish historians. I stood before Dvorak—for he had come to America many years ago, had studied the music of the Negroes, built some of his great themes upon it - and said some strange things about Negro music and America that enraged our Negro-hating Southerners. In that hall of memory were women writers and poetesses also, for the Czechs have produced great women.

From the National Museum you can walk to the Ethnological Museum and study the varied peasant customs and costumes of Czecho-Slovakia. And in the park outside stands the beautiful white marble statue of the young Czechish actress who died while still in her twenties, but who was known even then as the greatest Ibsen actress.

From there, you climb the terrace that overlooks the valley with the Vitava flowing through it. And in a great circle about it, the seven hills on which Prague, the city of the Czechs, is built.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ANIMAL WORLD

By S. C. VERMA, M. Sc., LL. B.

University Lecturer in Zoology, Allahabad

Hunting and Slave-making

Slave-making

SEVERAL species of ants referable to four genera confined mostly to the north temperate zone, (Formica, Polyergus Strongylognathus, and *Herpagoxenus*) indulge in this reprehensible practice. The habits of the last genus are imperfectly known, but the other genera form an interesting series, in which Formica Sanguinaria represents the slave-making habit in the process of development, Polyergus its most specialised and Strongylognathus its involutionary or degenerate development.

The Formica are facultative slavemakers and regarded as one of the most belligerent. Their sorties occur in July and August, after the marriage flight of the slave species has been celebrated and when only workers and mother queens are left in their formicaries. The army leaves its nest in a straggling open phalanx sometimes a few metres broad and often in several companies or detachments. They take the most direct route possible to the nest of the slave species which, as is often the case may be 50 or 100 metres distant. It appears certain that the colony acquires a knowledge of the precise location of the various nests of the slave species within an area of a hundred metres or more of its own nest probably through single scouts sent out from time to time. This no doubt presupposes a high development of memory, and the capacity of some form of communication, for the nest attacked is usually one of the many lying in different directions from the sanguinaria nest.

When the first workers arrive at the nest to be pillaged they do not enter it at once, but await till the other detachments arrive. Then they lay deliberate siege to it, securing the entrances and exits. None of the inhabitants (fusca or rufibarbis) are allowed to pass if they carry pupae. In the meantime the besieged species scent their approaching foes and either prepare to defend their nest or seize their young and try to break through the cordon of sanguinea and escape. The sanguinary ants, however, intercept them, snatch away their charges and begin to pour into the entrances of the nest. Soon they issue forth one by one with the remaining larvae and pupae and start for home. The workers of the slave species are killed only when they offer resistance. The troop of *cocoon*-laden sanguinea struggle back to their nest while the bereft ants slowly enter their pillaged abode and take up the nurture of the remaining young or await the appearance of future broods.

The use to which these larvae are put is different according to the various observers.

Forel is of opinion that many of the young brought home are eaten Wasmann believes that the forays take place for the specific purpose of obtaining young to rear, while Darwin interpreted the surviving and adopted workers as a kind of byproduct, representing food which the ants failed to eat at the proper time. Lastly Wheeler, while agreeing that the forays are, to some extent at least due to the promptings of hunger, is strongly of the opinion that the main purpose is to acquire desirable servants or intelligent assistants to share the labour of their masters These slaves are carried along by the workers of sanguinea at the time of changing their nest just as they do their own They are kept for indoor occupation and regarded by their masters as part of their goods and chattels

This is the primitive form of slavery as it first existed among men It was not until later that it became modified to become at last an institution against which the sentiments of justice arose

The Polyergus or the Amazons are the obligatory slavemakers whose distribution parallels that of F sanguinea (circumpolar) These are one of the most beautiful of ants but at the same time the most warlike Being powerfully armed for triumphant raids they show great skill and courage in obtaining slaves The worker and female are rich brownish red in colour, while the male is coal-black with white wings Perhaps cautious of their superior strength they do not lay deliberate siege to the attacked nest like the sanguinea but they move out in a compact column with feverish haste and as they come within the radius of their victims (F fusca or F cunicularia) pathways to and from their city, in hundreds they rush onwards The nest reached and entered, soon the struggle becomes a furious battle, on the one hand to save on the other to carry off the larvae The owners with their precious burdens fly up the neighbouring trees, for there the Amazons cannot follow being specialised to kill but not to climb Others hang on the flanks of the retreating columns and harass the thieves bearing off the tender pupae Many of the opponents of the slave species are pierced through their bodies or thoraces and left dead in considerable numbers The return home of the warriors is usually more leisurely and in less serried ranks.

These larvae when brought into the ant-hill are placed in the jaws of slaves of their own species, which abound in every nest of the Amazons and care for the newly brought ones Among the Amazons the slaves undertake every labour They build and care for the larvae of their masters, as well as those carried away in expeditions They also perform complicated personal services towards their indolent masters, who may well be compared to some of our ease-loving Nawabs of Oudh, and who have not only lost the taste and idea of work, but even the habit of feeding themselves, and would die of hunger beside a pile of honey or sugar if a grey ant was not there to put it into their mouths. The little slaves in addition to bringing food, lick off the dust from their master's hairs clear them and carry them from one place to another if there is need to migrate The masters by force of losing interest in work, it is said also lose their votes when it is a question of taking a resolution concerning the whole colony The servants act on their own initiative and their own responsibility even directing constructions according to their own ideas

It is a most curious fact that the slaves should submit to this precarious fate when their masters are absolutely dependent on them, perhaps the robust mandibles of the latter contribute to preserve the position they enjoy

Strongylognathus are degenerate slavemakers, confined only to the polaerctic region i e Europe, Western Siberia, Asia Minor, and the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The workers are so much reduced in numbers that Forel is of opinion that they are on the verge of disappearing and leading to a condition in which the species is represented by males and females only These workers no longer make spontaneous forays on alien colonies of Tetramorium, but when the latter are brought near a mixed colony a conflict ensues, the testaceus endeavour to kill the strange workers but are too feeble to pierce their armour, and it is more probable that the mixed colony is victorious owing to the efforts of the host workers

The testaceus though able to excavate and to feed independently contribute little or nothing to the structure of the nest and probably obtain most of their food from the tongue of the Tetramorium The breeds of both species are cared for by the host. The mixed colonies arise according to Wasmann,

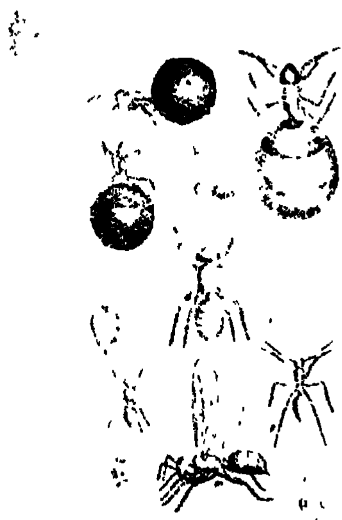
through the alliance of testaceus and Tetramorium queens but it is more probable as Wheeler suggests that the former enters a colony of the latter after it has been established and become rather populous, since the founding of colonies even by pairs of queens of the same species is very rare. The females and males of Strongylognathus are smaller and less troublesome to nourish, and this induces the Tetramorium workers to rear them in place of their own large-sized queens and males, the larvae of which they, therefore, undoubtedly devour or neglect. Thus although the host and parasitic queens come to live side by side in the mixed colonies, the offspring of the latter are exclusively workers.

Pastoral Ants

Honey Pot Ants. Before we come to actual dairying ants, mention should be made here of a very peculiar type of ants known as *Honey Ants* described from N. America, S. Africa, and Australia. The best known species is the Honey Ant Myrmecocystus hortydeorum of the Garden of Gods, in Colorado (America). As is well-known, many ants are in the habit of collecting honey-dew and storing it in their crops, which become distended, and when they reach home they feed their brood and the rest of the colony by disgorging its sweet liquid. Now in these ants this habit has been developed until a class of



Ants as Honey-Pots
[illegible]



Honey Pot Ants
1, 2, 3 Honey bearers (Repletes), 4 and [illegible]—Male, [illegible] and 10—Virgin Queen, 8—Worker, Minor [illegible]

workers have been produced which are called *repletes*. Their bodies are enormously swollen because of the honey stored in their crops and they literally look like "honey pots". The stored honey is not assimilated, neither does it form part of the animal's body and although placed inside it, cannot be compared to physiological reserves. It is utilised not only by the repletes but also by other members of the colony who are not able to form such reserves.

In addition to these repletes (modified workers) which are formed when they are callows, there are ordinary workers that collect the sweet, watery fluid from the oak-galls (caused by a small four-winged insect) of the neighbouring trees that exudes only at night. These nocturnal workers when they return home feed the honey pots with the contents of their crops, for the latter never leave the nest, and a guard is always left at the entrance when the workers go out to prevent other ants, or spiders etc, from forcing an entrance into the nest. The honey-

pots are thus living casks, or barrels of sweet stuff, kept often hanging to the roof of the subterranean chambers by the ant colony as a store in time of want In the words of Professor Wheeler the celebrated American Myrmecologist —"Those who, in anthromorphic mood, are wont to extol the fervid industry and extraordinary feats of muscular endurance in ants, should not overlook the beatific patience and self-sacrifice displayed by the Replete Honey Ant as it hangs from the rafters of its nest, month in, month out for years perhaps a reservoir of temperamental as well as liquid sweetness '

DAIRYING ANTS

In gaining a wide and intimate acquaintance with the vegetable world the ants have also become familiarised with a large number of insects that obtain their nutriment from plants, such as the plant lice (Aphids and Psyllids), Scale insects (Coccids), and true hoppers (Membracids) etc

Here we shall confine ourselves only to Aphids, the relationships of which with the ants are most apparent and have been fully worked out The Aphids or green-flies can suck the juices from plant tissues containing cane sugar, invert sugar, dextrin, and a small amount of albuminous substance In the alimentary tract of the insects much of the cane sugar is split up to form invert sugar and a relatively small amount of all the substances is assimilated, so that the excrement voided by these insects in colourless drops is not only abundant but also contains more invert and less cane sugar than the juices of the plant This excrement when it falls on the leaves of plants and dries in the air is known as "honey dew", the "ros melleus", "melaetium etc, of the ancient writers Busgen (1891) has calculated that a single linden aphis excretes nineteen drops in twenty-four hours, while the maple aphis excretes as many as 48 drops during the same period A source of nutriment at once so rich and so inexhaustible, could hardly remain unnoticed and unexploited by the ants in their interminable search for liquid food.

These aphids may be called "Ant cows" for ants both milk and breed them, keeping them in herds and building sheds and walls to protect them Various species of ants show a remarkable gradation in their relations with these aphids

Leptothorax sp, obtains the honey dew merely by licking the surface of leaves and stems on which it has fallen But many others have actually learnt to milk their cows They stroke the aphids with their antennae and this caressing induces them to void a droplet which is eagerly swallowed by the ant Others again, still more intelligent have discovered a method of holding the aphids captive, while allowing them to enjoy their accustomed life, and to feed at will on the foods they like on their own favourite spots This is done by establishing barriers around a group of cattle who have themselves fixed the place of their sojourn either by constructing cabins of fragments of wood (Lasius brunneus) or by building large earth huts (Myrmica) But Lasius niger, a skilful architect, constructs vaulted passages from his dwelling into the country for concealment as well as for shelter from the sun Many of these lead to the pens of the aphids, reaching from the ant hill as far as the foot of a plant where these insects abound: and in order to have their milkers at their disposal, without removing them from pasture, the ants make tunnels along the stalk, and enclose within it all the aphides they meet But to prevent too close a confinement they are wise enough to enlarge the galleries at places wherein their flock may disport themselves at ease

There are some well-known underground species of these Ant-Cows living on fibrous roots of grasses and other plants, the well-known of which *Forda formica*, as its name implies, is distinguished as the Ant-Aphis because it is often found in the nest of ants particularly of Lasius flavus No fewer than seventeen distinct species of aphis have been recorded as living actually in the nest of various ants It is this attachment between the ants and aphids that causes great annoyance to the gardener and the agriculturist for the green flies are found in enormous numbers in situations where they would seldom be if their distribution depended on their powers alone The ants dig out underground dairies for their herds, and make a business of planting out colonies in all sorts of favourable situation They care for the eggs of the aphides throughout the winter shifting them about as they do their own young to accommodate them to changes of weather and moisture In spring the young as soon as they are hatched are transferred by the ant to the

roots of young grass etc, and from these they are often recolonised on the roots of young corn plants as soon as the latter begin to show above ground In bad weather or on cold nights the young are carried back to the burrows of the ants

Thus, while the ant gets in honey-dew from these Cows in return it extends to them the protection from other insect-eating animals, and its services to their youngs and eggs

Agricultural Ants
Gardening and Harvesting

Gardening In this category falls that group of ants known as Attii, consisting of about 100 species and varieties referable



An Underground Ant Dairy
[illegible]

to five genera (Myrmicocrypta, Cyphomyrmex, Apterostigma, Sericomyrmex, and Atta), all of which grow fungus-gardens in their nests, and subsist mainly on them The tribe ranges from 10 degree N to 40 degree S of the equator, but is least represented in the tropics and is a very conspicuous and distinctive insect of tropical America

The best known is the Sub-genus Atta, comprising the leaf cutting or parasol ants, the largest and most powerful species of the tribe living in great colonies

The well-known American Ants called the Sauba-ants or Cushie-ants belong to this Sub-genus They climb the tree, station themselves on the edge of a leaf and make a circular incision with their Scissor-like jaws, and the piece of leaf, about the size of six pence held vertically between the jaws is then borne off to the formicarium Naturalists have recorded long processions of these ants streaming down tree trunks along a definite tract through the forest to their great nest heaps. The ants are almost hidden by these leaf umbrellas, and the procession looks more like a stream on whose surface the leaves are floating These leaves according to the researches of Fritz, Muller, Belt and Wheeler are cut up into small bits in the formicarium and used as manure for the cultivation of a small fungus by being packed into the cellars of the nest and allowed to rot

The underground galleries of most of these ants are very extensive and there are small or large chambers, often as large as the human head In these are laid the fungus gardens which may be pendant Trachymyrmex septentrionalis or lie on the floor Atta texana Numerous shafts lead from these fungus-gardens to the outer air, and the temperature and humidity of the gallery is *regulated by opening or closing the* shafts as circumstances may require If a sudden shower comes on the leaves are left near the entrance and carried down when nearly dry , during very hot weather, on the other hand, when the leaves would be parched in a very short time the ants only work in the cool of the day and during the night

In all species in which the garden is laid on the floor it takes the form of loose-sponge work of triturated leaf fragments, permeated with fungus hyphae which Tanner has described as follows

> "Over all portions of the surface of the garden with the exception of those most recently established are seen round white corpuscles 25 mm to ·5 mm in diameter or masses of fused corpuscles, 1 mm across and of irregular form These I call the 'kohlrabi clusters' of the ant s nest They are small terminal dialations of the hyphae of a spherical or oval form and constitute the principal food of the species"

How careful these little gardeners are surpasses our understanding, when we realise the remarkable fact that the gardens are pure cultures although the hairy, rough-bodied workers must be continually bringing in all sorts of spores and bacteria The careful weeding and pure manuring is a perfected art with these masters, for under the influence of the ants neither free aerial hyphae nor any form of 'fruit' are ever developed, and the "kohlrabi" heads are not developed when the mycelium is grown in artificial culture apart from the influence of ants.

It appears that to carry out these various functions successfully the workers of Attii have become modified into several grades

the large ones act as leaf-cutters, the medium ones (media) serve to comminute the leaves and build up the fungus-gardens, whereas the smallest (minims) weed the garden of spent-up leaf bits, and keep down the growth of spores of alien fungi

One may be tempted to ask how those ants came by their fungi in the first place This question has been settled by the researches of Sampaio, Von Ihering, Goeldi, and Huber Virgin females of some species on leaving the nest for nuptial flight have been shown (Sampaio) to carry in their intrabuccal pocket a pellet of hyphae taken from the fungus garden of the maternal formicary, as unexpelled refuse of their last meals After fecundation she digs a cavity in the soil, closes its opening and sets to found a colony. She spits out the pellet of hyphae and divides it into two masses, and cultivates it on a substratum of crushed eggs (according to Ihering and Goeldi), six to ten of which she begins to lay on the third day Or as is more probable (as observed by Huber), the bits of hyphae are manned with a yellowish or brownish droplet which she emits over it from its vent The tufts of hyphae so treated are attached to different parts of the chamber and allowed to grow This work keeps the queen busy till about forty days when the first breed of workers hatches out During this time it is said, that the queen may feed on its own eggs, as it is known, with certainty to feed her larvae on them It is only when the queen, on alighting to the ground, happens to be adopted by some workers that she is saved the ordeal of feeding herself or her larvae on her own eggs

Harvesting Ants Under this head are considered the habits of certain ants that have largely abandoned entomophagy and have taken to a benigner vegetarian diet As abundance of food is very necessary for maintenance of social life, it can be readily understood that in hot, arid countries, where insect food may be lacking or very scarce for many months in the year, and competition with other insect-eaters also keen, it would be a great advantage to ants to become, in part, vegetarians Moreover the powerful mandibles of carnivorous ants can well serve in dealing with seed

It has now been established beyond doubt that many ants do collect grain and store it They bring the seeds outside their burrows to dry when damp, and prevent them from germinating. In case any seeds sprout they gnaw away that part and return the dried seeds to the granary Attention will be confined here to the habits of only two well-known species of such ants, namely Atta barbara and Pogonomyrmex barbata (the agricultural ant of Texas)

The ants of the species A barbara utilise plants of various kinds but they principally depend on fumitory, oats and nettle. Towards the end of autumn they procure the grains of these plants from the soil, or they climb up the plants and gather them in position These grains are carried to the nest and piled up in some hundred little rooms designed for

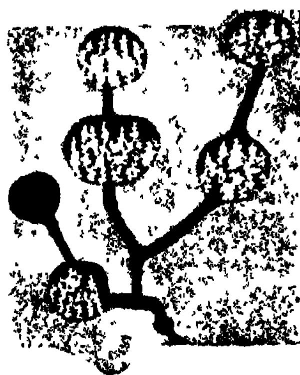


THE COUSHI OR LEAF-CUTTING ANT
These ants, which are here shown in the natural size swarm in the forests of Tropical America

this purpose, each measuring from seven to ten centimetres in diameter and three or four in height , the average granary being is about the size of a gentleman's gold watch. The total quantity of grain in these barns is estimated at about 500 to 600 grammes

It is surprising that while all necessary conditions of heat and moisture offered by the interior of the ant-hill are favourable for germination, the stored seeds are prevented in some mysterious way, from doing so by the ants for weeks or till desired by them. If the access of the ants is prevented from one of these chambers it has been observed

that the grains germinate readily When the moment arises for utilising these accumulated stores, the grains are allowed to follow the normal course of germination, but only to a certain stage These clever insects appear to know that the little seedling in order to grow digest the starch of the seed but this can only be absorbed and assimilated after it has been transformed into sugar As soon as this chemical change is effected the grain is in the condition in which the ants prefer it So like a wine grower who watches over the fermentation in his vat and stops it before the wine turns sour these ants stop the digestion of the starch at this stage by cutting off the radicle and the stalk In order to preserve the provisions thus rendered palatable in the same condition, such seeds are exposed to the sun dried and taken back to



[illegible] of a South American [illegible] showing [illegible] chamber of the queen

the barns This sweetened flour furnishes food, to them throughout the winter season

The agricultural ant of Texas (Pogonomyrmex barbatus) not only restricts itself to the seeds of a single plant called Aristida stricta or "Ant-rice", but is credited with greater foresight than any other animal as it is said to look after its property while still growing and by some to actually plant and cultivate its crops

The nest of this species is fully exposed to the sun, and varies in construction according to the nature of the ground Around the nest a flat area or disc of about ten or twelve feet in diameter is cleared of all plants and if a tree happens to be growing near, either the nest is removed to another place or the tree is stripped off its foliage Through the herbage growing in the vicinity of the nest are made clean roads for hundreds of feet in all directions These roads are about five inches broad near the nest, but narrower further from it and by constant weeding are maintained clear of plants like the disc itself When the soil is of a gravelly nature a cone or crater is built in the centre of the disc by piling gravels one over the other In front of the ant-hill lies the field where no other plant is allowed to grow except the Ant-rice, for all other plants which appear above the soil are, without waste of time, diligently weeded out by means of the jaws Thus cared for, the culture flourishes, and at the epoch of maturity the grains are collected one by one and carried within the nest

The nest is perforated beneath with flat chambers some of which lying more superficially than the others are converted into granaries The chambers are connected by galleries which may reach a depth of fifteen feet, but the granaries are all situated within the upper two and a half feet, probably to keep the grain dry As to the intentional planting of seeds by the ant Linceeum's assertion to that effect is neither borne out by McCook nor by the studies of Wheeler The latter noted that in winter some of the chambers get literally stuffed with sprouted grain, which on account of their having become unfit for food, the ant remove on sunny days to refuge heaps at the periphery of the crater Here these rejected seeds may often take root and in the spring form a regular arc or complete circle of growing plants around the nest, giving a casual observer the idea of wilful planting

The marriage flight of these ants takes place at the end of June or the beginning of July, and the female returning to the ground as usual digs down into the earth and closes up the opening The first brood of some ten or twelve small, timid workers is brought up rather slowly In the spring the workers open up the nest but are careful to conceal the opening with small pebbles, and bits of stick It is not until the second year when the larger workers are produced, that the ants begin to cut down the vegetation around the nest, and establish the circular discs which are increased in size as more workers are produced The grubs are fed with portions of crushed seed which the workers first coat with saliva to ensure conversion of the starch contained in the seed into sugar

Generalising from our study of ants it

clearly discernable that the ants show stages corresponding to the first three out of the six stages in which the development of human societies has been divided. Leaving aside the slave-making ants as they represent an abnormal or rather a temporary state of things,



Diagram of a large ... nest in strata of sand, blue and red clay

of slavery seems to tend in ants as in men to the degeneration of those by whom it is adopted, and may in time lead to their complete extinction. We have seen species such as Formica fusca that live principally on the produce of chase, for though they feed partially on the honey-dew of aphids they have not domesticated them. These may well be compared to the lower human races that subsist mainly by hunting, for like them they live in comparatively small communities having little developed instincts of collective action, and frequent woods and wilds. They hunt singly and their battles have been aptly compared to single combats like those of Homeric heroes. Other species such as Lasius flavus represent a distinctly higher type of social life, and show some architectural skill and the capacity of having domesticated certain species of plant-lice. These undoubtedly resemble the pastoral races of men which live on the products of their flocks and herds like our shepherds. Their communities are more numerous and they act much more in concert both in peace and in battle. The purely hunting species may be gradually exterminated by them just as the advent of more advanced races in the case of human beings leads to the disappearance of savage aboriginal races. Thirdly there are the gardening and harvesting ants that feed upon the produce of their gardens and crops which they develop and cultivate with the care and efficiency of a highly trained agriculturist. These are like the agricultural nations of human society.

Granting the above resemblances between ant and human societies, some far-reaching differences between insect and human organisations are, nevertheless, apparent, as has been pointed out by several writers. Firstly, in human society all individuals begin with nearly the same natural endowment. This is not so in ants as members of different classes are visibly predestined to certain social activities to the exclusion of those of others, not, as in man, "through the education of some endowment common to all the members of the society, but through the exigencies of structure fixed at the time of hatching." Secondly, this pre-established structure and specialisation of functions enables the ants to live in a state of 'anarchistic socialism' "each individual instinctively fulfilling the demands of social life without 'guide, overseer, or ruler' as Solomon correctly observed, but not without the intimation and suggestion involved in an appreciation of the activities of its fellows."



CRATER OF THE NEST OF AGRICULTURAL ANTS

Lastly, ant societies are essentially female societies. The males take but an insignificant part in the activities of the colony, and in many species, are present in the nest only for a short time, just enough to insure the impregnation of the young queens. They do not share the labours of building, of provisioning or guarding the nest or feeding the workers. "They are in every sense the sexus sequior. Hence the ants resemble certain mythical human societies like the Amazons".

EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL LIFE

Both naturalists and sociologists are greatly indebted to Prof Alfred Espinas for his careful discussion of the social life of animals Let us consider in brief this problem of the evolution of sociality

Every *animal with a body*, whether sponge or mammal, *is a city of living units or cells* But there are far simpler animals than sponges, which we call Protozoa These differ from all the rest in being themselves units, *having no bodies*, or in being non-cellular organisms as proposed by Dr Clifford Dobell (a great authority on Protistology) or in being as some would say, "single cell organisms" The simplest animals are therefore units, or single cells, all other animals are combinations of units or cities of cells Between these two *is an apparent gulf* How is this gulf to be bridged? The possibility of higher life depends on the transition from a unit to a combination of units

Every higher animal begins its individual life as a single cell, comparable to one of the Protozoa This single *cell (the egg cell)* divides, so do most of the Protozoa But when a Protozoon divides the results usually separate and live independent lives, when an egg cell divides the results of division cohere Therefore the whole life of higher animals depends upon a coherence of units But how did this begin? That the gulf between Protozoa and Metazoa has been bridged is certain else we should not exist and part of the bridge is still left There are a few of the simplest animals which form loose colonies of units which when they divide remain together Whether it was through some weakness hindering complete division that the transition forms existed? "*Our first conclusion therefore is that the possibility of their being any higher animals depends, primarily on the coherence of units*"

Our next step is this When we study sponges, or zoophytes or most corals, or some types usually classed as "Worms" we see that the habit of forming colonies is common Throughout the colony there is one life, all the individuals have a common origin The unity is often increased, not diminished by the fact that the individuals are not all alike. There is division of labour among them.

Our second conclusion is that among many animals beginning with sponges and ending with sea-squirts, the habit of forming colonies is common and that these colonies though organically continuous illustrate the essence of Society for in them many individuals of common descent and nature are united in mutual dependence and helpfulness"

The next step towards an understanding of social relations of animals is very different from the above This factor which we have now to acknowledge is *the love of mates* This also has its history, but we shall simply assume as a fact that among Crustaceans and insects first, in fishes and amphibians afterwards, in reptiles too, but most conspicuously among birds and mammals, the males are attracted to the females, and enter into varying degrees of harmonious relations of natural helpfulness The relations and the attractions may be crude enough to begin with, but even man may learn from the heights of devotions to which their finest expressions attain To mere physical fondness are added subtler attractions of sight and hearing and these are sublimed in birds and mammals to what we call love *This love of mates broadens out, it laps the family in its fold and diffuses itself as a saturating influence through the societies of animals and men.* "Sociability", Espinas says, "is based on the friendliness of mates"

The fourth step is the evolution of the family From monkeys and beavers and many kinds of birds to ants and bees and diverse insects and many animals illustrate family life "*There is no longer the physical continuity characteristic of the colony, but there is a growing physical unity* It is natural that the first ties of family life should be those between mother and young, and should be strongest when the number of offspring is not very large But even in some beetles and more notably in certain fishes and amphibians, the males exhibit parental care and affection while in higher animals specially among birds, the parents often divide the labours of the family "Children," Lucretius said, "Children with their caresses broke down the haughty temper of parents"

The fifth step is the combination of families into a society such as we find illustrated by monkeys and beavers, cranes and parrots, and in great perfection by ants The members are less nearly related than in the family, but there may be even more unity of spirit

"It is not easy to understand how coherence of units led to the formation of a body, how colonies became integrated and the labours of life more and more distributed, how love was evolved from

apparently crude attractions between the sexes, how the love of mates was broadened into parental and filial affection or how families well-knit together formed the sure foundation of society, but it seems quite clear that these are some of the great steps in a wonderful history As regards the origin of sociality we have nothing to say, we must fall back on Aristotle's fundamental principle of evolution, that there is nothing in the end which was not also in kind in the beginning"

ADVANTAGE OF SOCIAL LIFE

Animals are social not only because they love one another, but also because sociality is justified of her children "The world is the abode of the strong, "but it is also the home of the loving "Contention is the vital force, but the struggle is modified and ennobled by sociality Darwin observed that "the individuals which took the greatest pleasure in society would best escape various dangers, while those that cared in the least for their comrades and lived solitary would perish in greater numbers" He clearly recognised that in the struggle for existence another kind of response that pays, is some experiment in mutual aid, co-operation and parental care

Against *Prof Huxley's* conclusions that

"Life was a continual free fight, and beyond, the limited and temporary relations of the family the Hobbesian war of each against all was the usual state of existence"

let us place that of Kropotkin according to whom

"Life in societies is no exception to the animal world It is the rule, the law of nature, and it reaches its fullest development with the higher vertebrates Those species which live solitary or in small families only are few and their members are limited Life in societies enables the feeblest mammals to resist, or to protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey. It permits longevity, it enables the species to rear its progeny with the least waste of energy and to maintain its numbers albeit with a very slow birth-rate it enables the gregarious animals to migrate in search of new abodes"

Therefore, while fully admitting that force, swiftness, protective colours, cunning and endurance of hunger and cold, mentioned by Darwin and Wallace, are so many qualities making the individual the fittest under certain circumstances, it is maintained that sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life The fittest are thus the most sociable animals and sociability appears as the chief factor of evolution both directly by securing the well-being of the species while diminishing the waste of energy, and indirectly by favouring the growth of intelligence.

"Therefore, it is our duty to combine and practise mutual aid That is the surest means for giving to each and to all the greatest safety, the best guarantee of existence and progress bodily, intellectual and moral That is what nature teaches"

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY'S MISSION TO ENGLAND

(Based on unpublished records)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

I have traced in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, several documents relating to the mission of Rajah Rammohun Roy to England. These letters, which passed between the East India Co on the one hand, and the King of Delhi and Rammohun Roy on the other, are for the first time printed here, with the kind permission of the Government of India, and may be of help to the Rajah's biographers

Rammohun Roy served the Government chiefly at Rangpur for a decade and rose to be *Diwan.* On retirement (1814) he settled in Calcutta, where he confined his activities to social, religious and educational reforms—the dear objects of his life He now "felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion, and political institution." * Luckily, an unlooked-for opportunity helped the early fulfilment of his desire

Abu-nasar Muin-ud-din Akbar—a nominal successor to the House of Taimur—was then

* Autobiographical Sketch of Rammohun Roy.

on the throne of Delhi The powerless monarch considered himself unjustly treated by the new lords of India The amount of the stipend granted to him by the East India Co was neither in consonance with the treaty entered into by his father (*Shah Alam II*) with *Lord Wellesley*, nor sufficient for the growing needs of the royal household Insults, moreover, were added to injustice Lord Amherst, contrary to the custom observed by his predecessors, 'reduced him, in the form of communication, to the footing of an equal, and thereby robbed him even of the cheap gratification of the usual ceremonials of address so as to humble him, as far as possible, in the eyes of all ranks of people"* The aggrieved potentate at last decided to represent his case to the King of Great Britain for redress He was thus on the look out for an able and experienced man whom he could send as his envoy to the Court of Great Britain It was Dabir-ud-daula, the agent to the King, who approached Rammohun while in residence in Calcutta having possibly heard of his contemplated visit to England Rammohun at once signified his consent in an *arz* to the King, dated 2nd March 1828 This was answered by the King at the end of the same month, asking Rammohun to draw up a draft appeal, both in Persian and in English, to the King of Great Britain

"Let our devoted servant know that his *arz* dated 2nd March 1828 was forwarded to the Presence by Dabir-ud-daula and its contents were duly understood

For a long time it has been our royal desire to refer this affair first to Calcutta and afterwards to England, in order that we might discover what degree of justice really obtains with this people

For various reasons, however the reference has not yet taken place, and we therefore write this to instruct our devoted servant to send for our perusal a correct draft in Persian, together with translation of the same in English

Although on account of the good services rendered by your grandfather to His late Majesty, at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces, we had entire confidence in you now that we have learnt from the conversation of Dabir-ud-daula the extent of your zeal and fidelity, we have become more fully satisfied that the arrangement of the affair which we have at heart, will be entirely effected by you and we expect that, as consistent with your duty, you will exert yourself to the best of your ability in this business and act agreeably to our orders

Further we apprize you that Dabir-ud-daula has submitted several copies of English papers and two or three recently, and has represented that these documents will most essentially further the royal cause We therefore send them to our servant and direct him to retain them in his possession if he considers that they will be useful" *

Rammohun wanted to have copies of certain documents which should accompany the representation to the King of Great Britain against the Company's Government The King accordingly sent his *wakil*, Mirza Afzal Beg, charging him with a letter addressed to A Stirling, the Persian Secretary to Government, who replied on 7th June 1828 in the following terms —

"...With regard to the copies required by you I, your expectant, think that it would be better if you required them from the office of the Resident of Shahjahanabad [Delhi], where all the papers are in deposit, and I am certain that immediately upon requisition being made for the same by the officers of your eminence to the Resident Bahadur of Delhi, he will forthwith grant the same to them - beyond is the limit of respect" (*Pol Procdgs* 7-11-1829 No 82)

On 23rd October 1828 the Resident at Delhi—Sir Edward Colebrooke—received a *shukka* from the King with a list of English papers † of which he required copies, to which the Resident answered by pleading his inability to comply. Not satisfied with this, the King transmitted a letter in the beginning of February 1829 - through the Resident at Delhi - to the address of the Governor-General announcing his intention of appealing to the Sovereign of Great Britain on the subject of his claims to the whole revenue of the assigned territory and renewing in consequence his application for copies of all papers connected with that question §

The chance of securing copies of the documents being remote, it was thought advisable to forward the original letter of complaint to the King of Great Britain,—with a duplicate of which Rammohun was to proceed to England Commanded by the King of Delhi, Rammohun submitted the contents of the document under cover of his letter, dated 23rd February 1829, to the Chief Secretary to Government —

'As the subject of the enclosed packet** concerns the conduct of the local Government, I am

* *Pol Con.* 13-3-1829, No. 20.

* Translation of a Persian letter from H M the King of Delhi to Rammohun Roy Bahadur —*Pol Con* 26-3-1830, No 97

† For a list of these documents, *Pol Procdgs* 16-4-1830, No 141

§ Trans of a Persian letter from H M the King of Delhi, to the Governor-General *Pol Procdgs*, 13-3-1829 No 18

** Both the original Persian and the English translation of the letter to the King of Great Britain were drawn up by Rammohun Roy.

commanded by His Majesty Abu-nasar Muin-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah to submit its contents to you for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, that his Lordship may be prepared to meet its statements and complaints as may be deemed expedient The original letter to His Britannic Majesty has been already forwarded to England and I am preparing at the request of His Majesty to proceed thither with a duplicate." (*Pol Procdgs* 13-3-1829, No 19)

The Government desired the Delhi Resident to intimate to the King of Delhi its surprise at the accusation advanced by him and wished to be informed whether the King acknowledged Rammohun Roy as his Agent

"2 The Vice-President in Council deems it sufficient for the present to desire that you will intimate to His Majesty the surprize with which Government perused the above communication and more particularly its astonishment, at the unmeasured and unfounded accusation which it advances against the Hon'ble Company of having violated its engagements with the Royal family It is not considered necessary to deviate from the resolution before adopted regarding the papers which His Majesty demanded

"3 Babu Rammohun Roy an inhabitant of Calcutta, having announced to Government that he is about to proceed to England, under the King of Delhi's appointment, as the bearer of a letter of complaint from His Majesty to our gracious Sovereign King George IV on the subject of the royal stipend I am further directed to desire that you will ascertain from the King whether he acknowledges that person as his Agent "*

On receipt of this the Resident at Delhi requested an audience of the King, which in consequence of the *Ramzan* fast was delayed until the morning of 1st April 1829, when he attended His Majesty in his private apartments The Resident reported the substance of his conference thus

"2 His Majesty acknowledged the intention of deputing Babu Rammohun Roy to England as his Agent to present a letter to our gracious Sovereign and mentioned that the individual in question had been originally proposed for this service by Farid-ud-din Khan commonly styled Dabir-ud-daula His Majesty at the same time made his *munshi* read to me the draft of the letter which he proposes to transmit to England, a fair copy of which under seal he informed me is already in the hands of Rammohun Roy I expressed a wish to possess a copy of the letter with a view to my laying before Government, instead of trusting to my own memory in quoting its purport, and I was told that Rammohun Roy was understood to have already presented a copy of it to you ..

3. His Majesty expressed much regret that any expressions in his letter to the Rt Hon'ble the Governor-General should have been deemed objectionable, and added that nothing but extreme necessity could have driven him to such a course as the deputation of an Agent to England—that his former applications for an allowance, more adequate to his absolute wants, were occasionally met with a partial increase to the stipend but that from the state of his family, both indirect descendants and collateral relatives, those wants are daily aggravated—that in his solicitations to Earl Amherst he was content to have accepted as a boon any relief which might have been extended to his distress without reference to the amount of it as compared with what he conceives himself entitled to claim, and that despair alone under a peremptory refusal has induced him to make this appeal

4 In exemplification of these distresses, he observed that 25 years ago a sum of Rs 200 per mensem had been fixed for each of his brothers and sisters, which sum was now to be divided among their children and grandchildren and that even with such further assistance as it was in his power to render them, some of them had not more than Rs 5 per mensem and some of them nothing at all."†

This definite reply from the Resident at Delhi placed the Governor-General in a position to submit to the Court of Directors for their information, a copy of Rammohun Roy's letter, and that of the petition in the name of the King of Delhi, under cover of his Political letter dated 22nd May 1829

Owing to his approaching departure for England Rammohun on behalf of his master once more tried, by making a representation to the Government, to secure copies of the official papers required by the King which the Resident at Delhi had refused to furnish. But he was again unsuccessful

"I beg leave to acquaint you that entirely relying on the assurance conveyed in an address from Mr Secretary Stirling His Majesty Abu-nasar Muin-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah had requested the Resident at Delhi to furnish him with copies of certain official papers, but that to his great surprize His Majesty was informed that the Resident could not comply with the request I now beg to be permitted to enclose a copy of the address alluded to with a translation in the hope that you may be pleased to lay them before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council and to obtain an order from His Lordship directing the Resident to grant the copies required

My approaching departure for England on His Majesty's business will make the early accordance of this favour a particular enhancement of its value "‡

* Letter, dated 13 March 1829, from A. Stirling, Depy Secretary to Government, to the Resident at Delhi.—*Pol Procdgs*. 13-3-1829, No 21.

* Letter, dated 2nd April 1829 from the Resident at Delhi, to the Depy Secretary to Government. —*Pol Procdgs* 22-5-1829, No 2

† Letter, dated Calcutta 26th October 1829, from Rammohun Roy, to the Chief Secretary to Government—*Pol. Con* 7-11-1829, No 81.

The legislation passed by the Bengal Government in December 1829 declaring *Sati*, or the practice of burning widows alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, illegal was mainly responsible for further delay in the departure of Rammohun He had proved—much to the indignation of the orthodox Hindus that the *performance of this cruel rite was not enjoined by their religion as an imperative duty, and had even freely discussed with Governor General Bentinck the best means that could be adopted for its suppression* No wonder that this enactment proved to be a source of infinite joy to Rammohun, who found in it the fulfilment of his desire to see his researches and agitation crowned with success But the champions of the custom of *Sati* offered a strong opposition to its abolition, and as a last measure resolved to appeal to the King in Council Rammohun was equal to the occasion A counter-petition to the Memorial of the advocates of *Sati*, signed by some distinguished Indians, was got ready and this Rammohun wanted to take with him for presentation to the House of Commons while there There was a further object, present in his mind, in his visit to England "The discussion of the East India Company's Charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come",† and Rammohun thought that with his practical knowledge and information regarding Indian questions, he might be of some assistance in promoting the cause of his countrymen, if he were present on the spot

The time being propitious, Rammohun hastened to make preparations for his errand The King of Delhi had invested him with the title of *Rajah*, in consideration of the respectability attached to the office of his envoy, and Rammohun thought it wise to get the adoption of this title sanctioned by the Paramount Power He thus addressed the Governor-General on 8th January 1830§ —

"I beg leave to submit to your Lordship that some months ago I was informed by His Majesty Abu-nasar Muin-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah that His Majesty had apprized your Lordship of my appointment as his *Elchi* (envoy) to the Court of Great Britain, and of his having been pleased to invest me as His Majesty's servant with the title of *Rajah* in consideration of the respectability attached to that situation, etc Not being anxious for titular distinction, I have hitherto refrained from availing myself of the honour conferred on me by His Majesty

His Majesty, however, being of opinion that it is essentially necessary for the dignity of his Royal House, that I as the representative thereof to the most powerful Monarch in Europe, and Agent for the settlement of His Majesty's affairs with the Hon'ble East India Company, should be invested with the title above-mentioned has graciously forwarded to me a seal engraved for the purpose at Delhi I therefore take the liberty of laying the subject before your Lordship, hoping that you will be pleased to sanction my adoption of such title accordingly This measure will, I believe, be found to be consistent with former usage as established by a resolution of Government on the subject in 1827 when at the recommendation of the then Resident Sir Charles Metcalfe in his report of 26th June of that year, His Majesty's power of conferring honorary titles* on his own servants was fully recognized" (*Pol Con* 22-1-1830 No 51)

This was answered by Secretary Stirling on 15th January 1830 —

Having submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council your letter dated 8th instant, I am in reply directed to acquaint you that Government can neither recognize your appointment as Envoy on the part of the King of Delhi to the Court of Great Britain nor acquiesce in His Majesty's grant of a title to you on the occasion of that appointment (*Pol Con* 22-1-1830, No 52)

Next we find Rammohun vindicating his character from certain charges and insinuations that had appeared in the *John Bull* newspaper of 25th February 1830, relative to some public documents on the subject of the royal stipend which, it was asserted by the newspaper, had been obtained by bribery from one of the public officers In this connection he wrote to Secretary Stirling, on 7th March, 1830 —

"It having been brought to my notice by a friend that the *John Bull* newspaper of the 25th ultimo has amongst a tissue of other falsehoods and misrepresentations connected my name with the charge of having obtained certain papers by bribery, I think it but due to myself as well as to the individuals in the employment of Government who may be supposed implicated in such a charge, to deny the allegations

All the papers alluded to were sent to me from His Majesty the King of Delhi—many of them he must have had in his own possession as having been

* *Bengal Criminal Jud Con* 4-12-1829.

† Autobiographical Sketch of Rammohun Roy.

§ I find this letter has been printed on pages 165-66 of Miss Collet's *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (2nd edn. 1913).

*For full particulars as to the privilege of the King of Delhi to confer titles and addresses of honour, see *Punjab Govt. Records, Delhi Residency*, i. 355-60.

publicly addressed to his predecessors or himself, and others may have been procured by private favour from functionaries who were above the reach of bribery. But however this may be, I beg distinctly to repeat my assertion that as far as I am either directly or indirectly concerned, the charge of bribery is absolutely false and unfounded

I beg leave to submit for your satisfaction a letter of old date from His Majesty which will confirm what I have now stated The handwriting you will readily recognize as that of the *munshi* usually employed by him, so as to leave on your mind no doubt of its authenticity' (*Pol Con* 26-3-1830, No 96)

Complaints against Rammohun had reached the Governor-General from another quarter also Actuated by the desire of securing his future succession to the throne, the Heir-apparent of Delhi was very unwilling to give offence to the Government by making himself a party to the mission of Rammohun, and it was quite natural that he should write against the Rajah to the Governor-General, attributing artifice to him In his letter, written in the first week of April 1830, to the Governor-General, the Prince remarked

"· In these days certain low intriguing persons conspiring together have, by unfounded assertions, gained over the King to their party and have brought about great mischief and confusion, and it is owing to them that certain improper things have taken place, from which, unless checked and rendered by the British Government and unless those false and intriguing persons receive the punishment due to their crimes, the most serious evils may ensue. On these grounds, considering your Lordship a just and wise ruler and both a faithful servant of the Hon'ble Company and a well-wisher to me I have therefore committed to writing under four heads the acts and misdeeds of which I complain ·

Afzal Beg [*vakil* to H M] on his arrival in Calcutta soon evinced the evil nature of his disposition and having formed an intimacy with one Rammohun Roy, a Bengali, represented to His Majesty that the latter had formerly been a friend of the late Dabir-ud-daula Khwaja Farid Khan The fact is that during the time of the late Dabir-ud-daula I never once heard of this Rammohun Roy nor did I ever see any mention of him in any *n e* that was presented by Dabir-ud-daula to His Majesty Doubtless therefore that letter is a forged one which was produced by Afzal Beg as from Dabir-ud-daula in which the latter's acquaintance with the aforesaid Bengali is asserted This forgery has been committed with the knowledge of Mirza Salim by Sohun Lal, Afzal Beg and Rammohun

Thirdly—the said Afzal Beg has been endeavouring in collusion with Sohun Lal under the directions of Mirza Salim, and with the aid of Rammohun, to effect the abolition of the Company's *Adalat* at Delhi, and to introduce the jurisdiction of the Supreme or King's Court in its place · "*

Rammohun was highly displeased when the Prince's behaviour came to his knowledge, but he refrained from making a suitable reply at the time Anxious as he was to secure an early voyage to England, he became afraid lest the Indian Government should refuse him a passport, and the fear was strengthened by its flat refusal to recognize his embassy and title, which was followed in swift succession by the charges levelled against him in the *John Bull*, and the reflection on his conduct by the Heir-apparent of Delhi

He was, however, shrewd enough to disarm official hostility by representing to the Governor-General that, on various considerations, he had decided to proceed to England *as a private individual*, divesting himself of all public character

"From the kindness I have so often experienced from your Lordship, I trust to be pardoned for my present intrusion in a matter solely concerning myself but in which your Lordship's condescension has induced me to persuade myself that you are pleased to take some interest ·

Having at length surmounted all the obstacles of a domestic nature that have hitherto opposed my long cherished intention of visiting England, I am now resolved to proceed to that land of liberty by one of the vessels that will sail in November, and from a due regard to the purport of the late Mr Secretary Stirling's letter of 15th January last, and other considerations, I have determined not to appear there as the Envoy of His Majesty Akbar the Second, but as a private individual,

I am satisfied that in thus divesting myself of all public character my zealous services in behalf of His Majesty need not be abated I even trust that their chance of success may be improved by being thus exempted from all jealousy of a political nature to which they might by misapprehension be subjected

As public report has fixed an early day in October for your Lordship's departure to examine personally into the condition of the inhabitants of the Upper Provinces I take the present occasion as the last that may offer in this country for the expression of my sincere wishes for your Lordship's success in all your philanthropic designs for the improvement and benefit of my countrymen I need not add that any commands for England with which your Lordship may honour me shall receive from me the most respectful

* Extract from the trans of a Persian letter (recd 17th April 1830) from His Royal Highness the Heir-apparent at Delhi, to the Governor-General—forwarded by Mr T Metcalfe, in charge of the Palace Affairs under his covering letter dated 6th April, 1830 —*Pol Procdgs* 23 July 1830, No 98.

attention, and I beg to subscribe myself your Lordship's most humble and grateful servant ' *

Rammohun must have applied for passports, either at the end of September or in the first week of October 1830, as the following entries would show

"The Secretary reports that an order for the reception on board the *Albion* of a native Gentleman named Rammohun Roy proceeding to England was granted on the 7th instant on an application duly made by him for the purpose" (*Public Body Sheet*, 12 Oct 1830, No 95)

"Orders for reception granted to Ramrutton Mookerjee, Hurrchurn Doss and Sheik Buxoo † 15th November proceeding to England in attendance on Rammohun Roy on the *Albion*" (*Public Body Sheet*, 16 Nov 1830)

Immediately before he left India, Rammohun wrote an *arzi* to the Prince, dated 10th November 1830, boldly defending his conduct and expressing his indignation at the attitude recently adopted by the Heir-apparent This *arzi* reached the Delhi Residency through the post office and was ultimately forwarded to its destination by the Resident We quote the English translation of this highly interesting document below :—

"My representation is that in obedience to the orders of His Majesty, having attentively perused the treaty between the Hon'ble Company and his late father with other papers relating thereto I found His Majesty's right to the revenue of the territories west of the Jumna amounting to upwards of 30 lakhs of Rupees clearly and incontestably established by those documents, notwithstanding which the Hon'ble Company pay him only 12 lakhs

As His Majesty after experiencing the frustration of his hopes from the Hon'ble Company in Calcutta was pleased to appeal his case to His Majesty the King of England and condescended to require my services, as one of the humblest of the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and being impressed with the justice and dignity of the British nation and living as I fearlessly do under the protecting influence of the British laws of justice, among the high and the low and in the hope of pleasing the great Creator and meeting the wishes of His Majesty, as well as from my own feelings of commiseration for the indigent condition of the illustrious House of Taimur, I accepted the service to the end that the rightful might obtain justice and that this august family might live in contentment in the enjoyment of an increased income I accordingly prepared an address in Persian to His Britannic Majesty, which, with a translation thereof, I submitted to His Majesty (at Delhi) and which being approved of, I was ordered to forward it to its destination, and to remit no endeavour in my power towards obtaining justice for the Royal family I have, however, since learned that your Highness has written a letter to His Lordship, wherein instead of favourable mention ill report has been made of, and artifice attributed to me If your Highness had reflected but for a moment you would not have acted thus The honourable of all castes practise not artifices even for their own benefit, much less will they commit such an act of baseness for the good of others I swear by the one and true God, that respect alone for your Royal house prevented my making a suitable communication to the Government, at the same time, allow me to conclude this representation with the following observation Those who do not comprehend their own good or evil cannot comprehend the good or evil of others

May your prosperity increase ' (*Pol Procdgs.* 21-1-1831, No 16)

This letter of Rammohun was far from being palatable to the Prince, who expressed his dissatisfaction in a *shukka*, dated 19th December 1830 (3 Rajab 1246 H), addressed to the Resident at Delhi, an English translation of which is given below :—

I have received the *arzi* of Rammohun Roy, forwarded by you and am much annoyed at the haughty petulant and audacious tone in which it has been penned As the author of it has never had any concern with my family, nor have I ever before received an *arzi* from or addressed a *shukka* to him, I have positively declined answering it Candour and sincerity however required me to explain the grounds of my displeasure with Rammohun Roy, which are as follows :—

1st It became known to me that Rammohun Roy, in concert with Afzal Beg, the Agent of his Majesty stated to the Government his acquaintance with His Majesty from the lifetime of the late Dabir-ud-daula Khwaja Farid Khan This being a gross and barefaced falsehood, that was calculated to deceive, I was prompted by a regard to truth to bring it to the notice of Government and I did so accordingly.

2nd Being satisfied that the said Rammohun wished, by misleading the King regarding an augmentation of the royal stipend, to create a difference between His Majesty and the Hon'ble Company, a circumstance that I could not tolerate, I stated the fact for the information of Government with a view to their adopting such measures in consequence as they might deem proper.

3rd. I repeatedly heard that Rammohun Roy

* This letter, written perhaps in September 1830, is printed in Miss Collet's book, pp 168-69 I have not yet been able to trace it in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta

† The Rajah was accompanied by a boy named Rajah Ram whom he had brought up as his son But Rajah Ram's name does not appear in the orders for reception on board Was Shaikh Bakhshu the original name of Rajah Ram, or was he the washerman who is said in *Some Anecdotes from the life of Rammohun Roy* (Bengali) by Nanda Mohun Chattarji, (Cal 2nd end, p 63), to have accompanied Rammohun to England ? There cannot be any doubt that Rajah Ram was with Rammohun in England and that his name does not appear in the list of Rammohun's companions on board. It is inconceivable that this boy of about 12, an alleged offspring of the Rajah, went to England alone. The only solution of the riddle is to suppose that Rajah Ram sailed under the name of Shaikh Bakhshu.

and Afzal Beg had thrown out base insinuations regarding me These calumnies naturally excited my indignation to the highest pitch, but being unable to resent them, in the way that friends disclose their distresses to friends, I represented the circumstance to Government

It would appear that Rammohun Roy on being informed of this, thought proper to address me on the subject, and in his own opinion he has perhaps apologized, but the style and purport of this *arzi* sufficiently vindicate the presumption and effrontery of the man A copy of the *arzi* is herewith enclosed for your perusal

Another motive which he had in sending the *arzi* in question was that he might intimidate me into returning a reply to it, which he would produce to Government as a proof that he was constituted Agent on the part of all and was proceeding accordingly in that capacity to London in order that the Government might not prevent his departure It is therefore proper that you peruse this with attention and make a suitable report to the Government, forwarding with it copies of this and of Rammohun's *arzi*, to the end, that my great regard for the Government with my helplessness on the present occasion be thoroughly manifest (*Pol. Procdgs* 21-1-1831, No 16)

Rammohun—then about 56—was the first Brahman and the first Hindu of eminence to cross the *Kalapani* (Black Water)—an insuperable barrier imposed by the Hindu custom and superstition for ages He sailed* from Calcutta on 15th November 1830 by the *Albion*, bound for Liverpool, and reached England on 8th April 1831 after a voyage which was anything but peaceful

(*To be concluded*)

* It was suspected in official quarters that the Gwalior Queen, Baiza Bai, had appointed Rammohun to represent her case in England

"2 From a note from Mr Ross, received some days ago, it appears that Her Highness (Baiza Bai) has been advised by Bunsee Dhar, ex-Nazir of the Agra Court, to appoint Rammohun Roy her Ambassador in England and I suspect from Her Highness's being so urgent for a reply and sending her Kharitah through me that such is indeed her intention "—Letter, dated 8 Nov. 1833, from R Cavendish, Resident at Gwalior, to the Secy to Government, Fort Wm (*Pol Con* 21 Nov 1833, No 19)

LENDING MONEY TO NEEDY NATIONS: GROWING ANGLO-AMERICAN RIVALRY

By ST NIHAL SINGH

I

BRITISH bankers are making frantic efforts to win back for the City of London, the position of primacy in finance which it occupied at the outbreak of the great war They are men of grim determination and tireless energy They control the riches of a nation which, despite the enormous expenditure incurred upon crushing—for the time being at least—a powerful foe, remains immensely wealthy

According to a statement issued by the Board of Inland Revenue—the authority which collects income and cognate taxes—134 persons in Britain had an income of £100,000 or over during the last financial year (1923-4) The income of 89,000 persons from among them totalled £310,000,000

Those figures err, if anything, on the side of conservatism. The Income Tax regulations permit deductions under several heads. The payers of Income Tax in Britain are moreover, no more avid to inflate the amount at which they declare their net income to the income tax authorities than Indians or any other nationals are in their relations with their respective governments.

Many of the British bankers possess, in addition to these financial advantages, influence derived from social position. In some cases that influence is due to the accident of birth in the ruling class. In a few cases it is acquired through judicious management of matrimonial affairs, or through elevation to the Knightage, Baronetage or even Peerage

Petty jealousies of course divide the British bankers—human nature is indeed frail, but they are too shrewd not to know the value of concerted action. There exists among them a sense of cohesion which no other organisation has been able to approach.

II

So powerful, indeed, are the bankers that the most courageous politician who manages to establish himself at the Treasury dare not offend them. The Socialist Chancellor of the exchequer--the Rt Hon Philip Snowden---preferred to forget the doctrines which he had preached before coming into office during the few months he presided over His Majesty's Treasury and put forward only such budget proposals as they could approve.

The Socialist Prime Minister—the Rt Hon J Ramsay MacDonald—acted otherwise, apparently deeming himself to be sufficiently wise to outwit the bankers—or at any rate sufficiently powerful to defy them. He made a bargain with the representatives of Soviet Russia which prejudiced the bankers' interests. At least the Treaty which Mr MacDonald sought to impose upon Britain at the fag end of a Parliamentary session did not comply with the dictum laid down by the bankers. They had told the Government that the new regime in Russia must acknowledge the debts which its predecessors had incurred and come to an arrangement for discharging liabilities as to interest and principal, before they would advise their clients to put down any more money in Russia. That was not done. Mr MacDonald may have believed that the formula governing future loans which he had inserted in the draft instrument would achieve the impossible and give both the Russians and the bankers what they insisted upon having, though what one demanded was antagonistic to that required by the other. He soon found out his mistake. Before he had the time to put into force the Treaty he had negotiated, he was flung out of office.

III

The Conservative regime did not lose any time in burying that still-born child. And it had the honesty to do so without permitting any delicacy of feeling to enter into the performance of the burial service. Mr Baldwin and his colleagues had no faith in Soviet Russia, which had attempted to get rid of the sacred rights of property and vested interests, and in so doing had not hesitated to dye its hands red with blood. They were nervous about the propaganda which it was carrying on in various parts of the empire—more particularly in India—to undermine the British influence. They therefore had not the least desire to nurse the viper in their breasts. They preferred openly to declare their determination to employ all the means at their command to crush it, instead of following the MacDonald tactics of trying to charm it first and then attempting to draw its fangs.

IV

Shortly after coming into power the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who began his political career as a Conservative, "ratted" to become a Radical and is back again among the Conservatives, won the bankers' goodwill by restoring the gold standard. He did not restore it in the sense in which it existed in the pre-war days, but in the sense in which the bankers could benefit the most by it. The inevitable has happened. Britons are still compelled to use notes—be they dirty or clean. Gold sovereigns and half sovereigns remain out of sight. The banks however, are no longer prohibited from dealing in gold.

By that action the Rt Hon Winston Churchill has no doubt gained the goodwill of the banking community, but not without incurring the wrath of the industrial and commercial classes. It has naturally had the effect of shrinking the volume of money, available for purposes of financing industry and trade—made it more difficult to keep up the appearance of prosperity through abundant but depreciated currency.

The men in control of large manufacturing establishments were already hostile to the policy of rapid deflation pursued by the Treasury at the behest of the bankers and even more so to that of high taxation which successive Chancellors of the Exchequer have been pursuing. The rate at which income and super-tax was being levied, they declared, was so enormous as to starve industry of the capital which it needed for winning back the markets lost during the war and capturing new ones. The money which should have been left to enable them to improve and to extend their operations had been, they claimed, taken away by the State and squandered upon "social reform."

V

Sir Robert Horne, a Scottish businessman representing a Scottish industrial constituency, who was Chancellor of the

Exchequer in Mr. Baldwin's Government, but who for some reasons did not care to join the present administration, is particularly active in denouncing this "waste". In a speech which he recently made in the House of Commons he pointed out that contributions to "social services" such as poor rates, local rates, health and unemployment insurances, workmen's compensation and old age pensions had risen from £30,000,000 in 1911 to £169,000,000 at the present time Health and unemployment insurance, alone, he declared, which now exact £76,000,000 annually, had increased by £70,000,000 (In 1911 they absorbed only £6,000,000)

The various social schemes enforced by the Legislature involved a burden of £3-18s per head of the British population In Germany, according to Sir Robert Horne, it was only £1-12s, in France it was 16 shillings, in Belgium 4 shillings, and in Italy only 3 shillings Calling attention to the fact that those countries were Britain's chief competitors, he asked how it was possible for a country staggering under such a heavy burden of taxation to compete with other lands where the load imposed upon industry in the way of taxation was comparatively so much less.

This attack was made in the effort to compel the Chancellor of the Exchequer to withdraw the proposals which he had included in his budget for giving pensions to widows to enable them to support their children, and also to assist children bereft of both parents In so doing he was following the example set by the United States many years ago, but in a calculating rather than a large-hearted manner Americans recognise the duty which the State owes to mothers robbed by fate of their bread-winners and pay them out of the Exchequer, an allowance sufficient to enable them to bring up their offspring The British Conservatives, however, intend to force spinsters and married women in employ—as also their employers—to contribute weekly to assist the State to make such an allowance to widowed mothers and orphaned children.

Sir Robert Horne and his fellow employers are up in arms against the Chancellor of the Exchequer's attempt to impose a fresh burden on industry when it is least able to bear it. What would they have done had Mr. Churchill, who is half American in origin, had the courage to follow the American example in the full-blooded American way ?

There is also an outcry against lavishing money upon departments of State, especially the Civil Service. A few Britons, it may be added, do not hesitate to denounce the expenditure incurred upon the adventures which His Majesty's Government—be it Coalition, Conservative, or Socialist—pursues in Palestine and Mesopotamia

The expenditure upon the naval, military, air, and civil services amounts to £800,000,000 The municipal authorities spend a further £200,000,000.

Economists of a conservative turn of mind and industrialists complain that Britain is unable to find £1,000,000,000 or more annually for such expenditure without showing the strain They are, therefore, constantly urging the Government to cry a halt before it is too late

Conservatives talked eloquently from the hustings during the recent general election about the economies which they were going to effect Their budget, however, belies such promises Their political opponents as also those Conservatives who have not been placated in one way or another—do not lose an opportunity to remind them of their failure to keep their pledges

VI

This high taxation has, however, enabled the British to pay their way They are, in consequence, the only solvent power in Europe. Their principal enemy and their allies alike have, on the contrary, preferred to print paper rather than dip their hands into their pockets and deliver up to their respective Governments a goodly percentage of the few coins which reposed there

This process of inflation has already led to the collapse of the pre-war German currency Even those European nations which regard that movement as inspired by the dishonest motives of extinguishing foreign obligations are not hesitating to resort to the practice of financing their States by means of inflating their currency, instead of imposing taxation adequate to meet the State expenditure The French, Belgian, and Italian exchanges are becoming more and more adverse and unstable

A Finance Minister, pledged to stop this process, came into power in France some time ago. So far, however, he has not

accomplished anything very remarkable. The Belgians and Italians are not even indulging in brave talk about revising their taxation policy and reforming their currency.

VII

Though deflation is regarded by certain British industrialists and others as having been too rapid, and as already noted, is held accountable for helping to depress British industry and trade, it has enabled the British exchange to right itself The pound sterling has risen out of the slough of depression to its pre-war parity with the American dollar Whereas at one time something like $3.35 would fetch a pound, now it is worth $4.85

The gain is immense to wealthy Britons. They lent their paper pounds to the State at a time when those paper pounds represented 13 or 14 shillings Now the same paper pounds represent 20 shillings each The capital value of the stocks held largely by the rich Briton, has appreciated by one third Britons in authority or otherwise, who have to make payments to the United States, are also gaining by the improvement of the exchange value of the pound His Majesty's Treasury, which has to pay a large sum of money every six month on account of the money borrowed from America, benefits for instance British buyers of American food-stuffs and raw materials for import also derive a great advantage from the rise in the exchange value of the pound

These financial operations are carried on through bankers The Bank of England, which transacts the Government business, is owned and operated by a private company Every now and again the Governor of that concern goes to New York The newspapers, in announcing that fact, make a practice of stating that the Bank acts in Britain as the agent of the United States Federal Reserve Bank, as that American institution acts, as the agent, in the United States, of the Bank of England It is not at all unusual, however, for a supplementary statement to appear on the eve of the termination of a visit, that the Governor of the Bank of England has managed to transact this or that business for the Treasury on terms advantageous to the nation

The other banks are jealous of the monopoly of Government business which the Bank of England enjoys They are much too discreet, however, to make much fuss about it The profits on international transactions are cut exceedingly fine—often no more than one-eighth or one-sixteenth or even one-thirty-second per cent The volume of transactions is so large, however, that the principal banks derive a large profit from discounting bills and from exchange

VIII

The appreciation of the pound sterling, the British bankers hoped, would, above everything, induce the nations in need of money to come to London, as they did before the war Prior to August, 1914, not only did the units of the British Empire and the countries in alliance with Britain or under its political or commercial influence raise loans in the London market, but so also did lands in South America That was the case with governments as well as with corporations (many of which, indeed, were dominated by Britons)

The City of London, in fact, held the whole world in pawn Even the United States paid millions of dollars in interest, every year, to the Britons who invested their money in American railways and other American concerns

The War let loose influences which steadily deteriorated Britain's financial position It had to find large sums of money to finance its military, naval, aerial, and kindred operations—running into several million pounds a day, towards the end of the conflict It also had to act as banker for its allies, and to lend, in the aggregate thousands of millions of pounds to the French, Belgians, Italians and Russians, and was compelled to borrow from the United States of America

IX

The British, themselves devoid of sentiment in business matters, did not find the American bankers easy-going I well remember that the Earl of Reading, who was sent across to negotiate the first American loan, was roundly abused for making a contract which was considered to be highly unfavourable to Britain It was openly said at the time that he had proved no match for the American financiers with whom he had to deal Some Britons thought that by the magic of his musical voice he would cast a spell over the Americans who controlled the money-bags

and they would empty the coins at his feet They were disillusioned when they found that the Americans were not as soft as they had been believed to be.

Even after the Americans came into the War, they were not willing to lend Britain money without backing Britain was, therefore, compelled to make her nationals give up American, South American and Canadian securities, which were sent across to the United States to serve as collateral for British borrowing. His Majesty's Government paid one-half per cent, to the owners of the bonds, and guaranteed them a minimum price, several points in excess of the price ruling in the market, in case it could not restore to them those (or similar) bonds

The United States could absorb securities, in this and other ways, because, during the early years of the war, she was manufacturing at top speed and exporting, while Britain had to give the best of her thought and energy to the prosecution of hostilities The post-war industrial depression, due to the general impoverishment of the warring nations, did not affect it so severely as it did the European peoples It lasted but a short time,and during recent years the balance of trade has been heavily in America's favour Some of the surplus thus amassed has been going into the buying back of the American securities, and lending money to nations in need of financial aid

The statistics recently issued by the United States Department of Commerce indicate how large these operations have, indeed been during recent years The following table compiled by me shows, under separate heads, the use Americans have been making of some of their favourable trade balances

	1922	1923	1924	Total for 3 years
Investments abroad	$637,000,000	$363,000,000	$795,000,000	$1,795,000,000
American Securities purchased	360,000,000	54,000,000	114,000,000	528,000,000
Total	$997,000,000	$417,000,000	$909,000,000	$2,323,000,000

In order to arrive at the net figures, it is necessary to deduct the amounts of loans paid off by other nations, and the money invested by foreigners in American securities The following table supplies the reader with such information

	1922	1923	1924	Total for 3 year's
Repayment of debts	$109,000,000	$111,000,000	$68,000,000	$291,000,000
Sales of U S, Securities and money borrowed in other lands	250,000,000	412,000,900	319,000,000	981,000,000
Total	$359,000,000	$526,000,000	$387,000,000	$1,272,000,000

The American loans to foreign countries during the last three years, therefore, amount to $1,051,000,000 This amount, be it noted, represents only fresh investments Loans funded during the period, are not included

It must further be noted that Americans would have been able to lend other nations a far larger amount of money, or alternatively would have been able to increase their internal investments to a much greater extent, had they been sordid creatures. A considerable portion of the money which they saved as the result of favourable balances of trade was spent by them in Europe and Asia for pleasure, or was given away by them in charity, or as aid to dependents in European countries The figures relating to American expenditure under these heads are so striking, that I subjoin a table compiled from the statistics issued under the authority of the Federal Government of the United States —

	1322	1923	1924	Total for 3 years
Spent on foreign travel	$360,000 000	$500,000,000	$600,000,000	$1,460 000,000
Given away in charity or sent to relations abroad	400,000,000	360,000,000	355,000,000	1,115,000,000
Total	$760,000,000	$860,000,000	$955,000.000	$2,575,000,000

It needs hardly to be added that Europeans did not remit money to their dependents in America to any appreciable extent, and that the same is true in respect of charity. Europeans and Asiatics sojourning in the United States, largely for purposes of business or study, however, spent $260,000,000

Deducting that amount from the money spent by the American tourists upon foreign travel, we get the figure of $1200,000,000 as the net outgo of American capital under that head Putting it together with the remittances made by American settlers to their dependents in the Old World and on charities in Europe Africa and Asia, in which Americans were interested, we find that $2,315,000,000 went out of America for nonproductive purposes In other words Americans lavished upon charity or pleasure more than twice the amount of money than they lent to needy nations

The figures showing the distribution of American gifts during the last year are of interest, as they show the drift of America-ward emigration of the poorer classes in various European countries

Gifts to Italy	$100,000 000
„ „ Germany	80 000,000
„ „ Poland	30 000,000
„ „ Russia	25 000,000
„ „ Ireland	20,000,000
„ „ Greece	20,000,000
Gifts to other countries	30,000,000
Total	$305 000 000

Happy indeed is the country which can manage either to transplant some of its poor struggling population into the United States or to attract American visitors or to appeal to American charitable instincts India, unfortunately, does not figure in the first two categories though she benefits to some extent by the benevolent work in which American missionaries in India engage If the Britons who control our railways, whether in behalf of the non-Indian Government or in that of the non-Indian companies, knew their job and effectively advertised the beauty spots and artistic treasures of India, I have not the slightest doubt that we would get many times the amount of money that Americans spend year after year upon travel in our land

XI

To return, however, to the subject of American investments in foreign countries

According to an authoritative estimate, the total American investments abroad had by the end of 1924 exceeded $9,000,000,000. They were distributed as follows·

Latin America	$4,040,000,000
Canada and Newfoundland	2,460,000,000
Europe	1,900,000,000
Asia and Oceania	690,000.000
Total	$9,090,000,000

The average rate of interest was estimated at 5 per cent per annum The yearly income derived from this source alone was $181,800,000

The American capacity to invest abroad is steadily increasing because much of that large amount of money derived in interest is not needed for expenditure, and, if not frittered away by the owners of the capital, is available for re-investment In addition to it a much larger amount, representing the yearly balance of trade in favour of the country, is available for investment During 1924, that balance, taking into account only the *visible* items of export and import, aggregated $748 000,000

XII

Britain, on the contrary, is beginning to be haunted by the nightmare of an adverse balance of trade The excess of imports over exports during the early months of the present financial year has been so great that only a miracle can enable them to pay for the food stuffs and raw materials which they must obtain from other nations, without dipping into their savings

A high economic authority, indeed, estimates that the balance of trade will be unfavourable to the tune of £29,000,000 sterling, even if the existing situation does not become worse That calculation is made by the head of the Engineering and allied Industries

Since the British employers are seeking to frighten and even to overawe the workers into giving up some of the advantages which those workers extorted during the war, it is possible that it has purposely been made pessimistic Certain it is, however, that the balance of trade enjoyed by Britain has been steadily becoming less favourable In 1920, it slightly exceeded £250,000,000 Politicians and their henchmen in the press shrieked to attract attention and to that accord, boasted that statesmanship had given Britain prosperity while

her unfortunate Allies on the Continent were sunk in the mire of despair. These persons were not so vocal when, in 1922, the surplus of exports over imports went down to £154,000,000. When, however, the balance of trade fell to £29,000,000 at the end of the last financial year, they found their tongues again and were voluble in abusing British Labour for pursuing tactics which had the effect of throttling industry They are speechless at the prospect of an adverse trade balance estimated from the result of the first five months in 1925 to amount to £26,000,000 to £30,000,000, and even more against them, during the present year

XIII

There is hardly an industry in Britain which does not show the effects of depression



A long queue of men waiting outside a London Labour Exchange to draw their weekly "dole"

Some, of course, are affected much worse than others.

Take, for instance, shipping—one of the industries which in one way and another, provides lucrative employment for a considerable percentage of the British population, and enables shipowners, brokers, insurance agents, importers and exporters and many species of middlemen, to amass wealth.

More than 300 British tramp steamers were laid up in the ports of the United Kingdom, at the end of April, owing to lack of work. In addition to these there were many others lying idle in foreign ports. Since then the numbers have greatly increased.

According to an official of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, freights on all routes of the world have never been so bad since the institution of index figure nearly six years ago Though ordinarily at midsummer shipowners expect a seasonal increase of freight, this year there has been a further decline, attributed by experts to the collapse of the coal market

The depression in coal-mining has led to the closing of many collieries Others are ready to shut down

Towards the end of June a firm of manufacturers in Birmingham with which the father of the Foreign Secretary (the late Joseph Chamberlain) was connected, published the statement that it was compelled to close down three collieries belonging to it The normal yearly output of coal from them totalled 1,307,000 tons. Hundreds of miners who were emloyed in them are now idle.

XIV

This industrial stagnation is adding to the number of workless The number of men, women and children in receipt of the dole

hovers round about 1,300,000, week after week, increasing, at times, by as many as 100,000 in a single fortnight The dole costs the taxpayer £1,000,000 a week

In ruminating over these figures it must be remembered that the Conservatives, since coming into power, have been using the machinery of the Labour Exchanges to cut down, as much as possible, the number of persons on the "dole." In so doing they have been accused of employing mean devices If a fraction of the insinuations which are made against them in the Labour press and in the speeches of the Labour leaders are true, they

"We are going to prevent you from taking photographs We do not want our poverty to be paraded before your people".

"What if I were taking the photographs for one of the London papers?" I asked

The man did not expect that sort of an answer He tried to hide his confusion by repeating to me his former threat in a shriller voice accompanied by a more menacing gesture My picture had been taken by then, and I could afford to laugh at him and dare him to do his worst

A second attempt at photographing a queue of unemployed men lined up at another place



These men are waiting to draw their 'dole' and incidentally hoping to be able to learn of a vacant job for which they may apply

by pursuing these tactics, must be driving many a needy person to the very verge of desperation

The Conservative, and, to an extent, the Liberal, press has, furthermore, been taunting Britons in receipt of relief, making out that many of them are imposters A series of incidents which might have proved unpleasant demonstrated to me, the other day, how the workless have taken these sneers and jeers to heart

As I was making a photograph of a queue lined up in front of a Labour Exchange, a man who was addressing them got down from the step-ladder upon which he had been standing and shouted to me

resulted in even more disagreeable experience So alarmed became the Jew who owned the shop in front of which I was taking the photograph that he took hold of me and pushed me inside it He called to two or three other men who were working at the back, to come near us in case they might be needed

When I calmly walked out of the shop and reengaged in taking photographs, they all thought that I was foolhardy But I knew the British psychology, and nothing happened other than a little grumbling and abuse, largely to do with the colour of my skin, to which, of course, I paid no attention

The Labour Party which, during the short time it was in office, did nothing to ameliorate

the conditions of workers, is now accusing the Conservatives of failing to usher in prosperity. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and several of his followers exhausted rhetoric in moving, the other day, a vote of censure Knowing, as they did, the composition of the House, they might as well as have saved themselves the trouble The Opposition can hope to frighten the Government about as much as a tiny child can browbeat a giant

British Capital accuses British Labour of exacting such high wages and working such short hours as to make it impossible for British industry to compete with foreign industries British Labour turns round and blames British Capital for lack of organising ability Whether this wordy duel will end in a bitter struggle, or Labour will quietly submit to a cut in wages and lengthening of the hours of work remains to be seen

XV

In the meantime, it is certain that the British are not accumulating fresh capital to lend to their Colonies and to foreign countries The City of London, which, in pre-war years, netted a handsome profit from such operations, sees its former customers go more and more to the United States for accommodation

The Republics of South America, which used to patronise the British bankers, are taking to floating their loans in the American market Japan and the European countries are following their example. Even Canada cannot resist the temptation Indeed. American investments in the Dominion have been so heavy of late years as to cause grave concern to many a British Imperialist

It is not at all unlikely that other units of the Empire, whose hands in respect of borrowing money, are not tied as ours are, might find it to their advantage to get American rather than British bankers to underwrite their issues As for Britain itself, Sir Allan Smith (the head of the employers in engineering and allied industries) has expressed the opinion that the British have come to the point where they shall have to contemplate the liquidation of their national assets and live on their national capital

In this circumstance it is to be doubted that the British bankers, despite the wealth under their control and the influence which they exert over Government, (especially the present Conservative regime), can achieve much success in pulling New York down from the position which it has acquired in world finance Only gross incompetence on the part of American bankers—and wanton waste on that of the American community in general—can prevent Wall Street from making her position stronger and stronger.

July 16, 1925

THE PROPOSED TAMIL UNIVERSITY

By A PONNIAH

THE cause of education is one of all-absorbing interest to-day in every nook and corner of India The present craze for additional universities, regional and linguistic, is a glaring illustration of this fact. During the last 6 or 7 years, not less than half a-dozen universities have already been ushered into existence in the various centres of British India, as also the Native States It is gratifying to note that, in the general game of university inauguration, Native States vie with the British Indian Provinces, in that, in two of the most advanced Native States, two universities have already become accomplished facts—Mysore and Hyderabad There is no doubt that in the near future, two or more of the other Native States will follow suit in the said direction, especially Travancore and Baroda So far as Travancore is concerned—Travancore which is acknowledged to be quite ahead of other parts of India in the matter of literacy, a special committee has already sat and considered the question of founding a university, called Kerala and submitted a formal report thereon

As for Madras, besides the Presidency University of Madras, it has also given an impetus to the starting of an Andhra Uni-

versity in Bezwada by the passing of a bill called the Andhra University Bill Up there in Mysore, which has to its credit a regional university of its own, all efforts are being enthusiastically put forth, for the purpose of organising a linguistic university, namely, Kannada University In these days, when universities of the said descriptions are rapidly springing up in such centres as Andhra desa, Kannada-rajya, and Kerala-samsthana, where the prevailing languages are Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalam, it is regrettable that nowhere in Tamil Nadu, is it possible to see vivid signs of the display of similar enthusiastic endeavours in the matter of founding a Tamil University It may, however, be pointed out here, as a sort of consolation, that certain feeble steps have been taken in the shape of proposals, resolutions, discussions, and declamation, on the subject of starting a Tamil University in Trichinopoly At best, all this may amount to a state of things quite far short of the stage of progress attained by the three other university schemes In the very nature of things, it is the Tamil University that ought to have taken precedence of the other three "Charity begins at home" is a proverb, which has supreme applicability in regard to the present functionaries in whose hands the cycle of education in Madras moves The Minister of Education and the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University are Telugus Nonetheless, all honour to them for having piloted the Andhra University Bill as early and expeditiously as possible The question of founding a Kannada or Kerala University is none of the business of those at Madras, for the simple reason, that those at Mysore and Travancore have been evidently busying themselves in the matter It must, therefore, be plain from this, that Tamil alone now remains behind, to engross the attention of the Madras authorities

By the bye all credit and glory to Tamil, for she has in a unique manner already had an academical mother at Madura, called the Tamil Sangam, corresponding to a University, though in Madras, she has been treated apparently as a linguistic orphan Whatever that may be, the alleged privilege, which Tamil has been enjoying for centuries—a privilege to which the other dialectic triad could not pretend at all, is one, of which she cannot easily be robbed by her modern stepmother, or step-sister, whoever and wherever she may be

It may be, however, contended here with some force that Tamil will be the last of the guests at the table of the present ministerial host of Madras, in the way of partaking of the courses of a university in the modern sense of the term—a university which is a blend of eastern and western ideals At this juncture, it is for the sons of Tamil Nadu—the territorial aggregate of Pandya and Chola, the two ancient Tamil kingdoms of beloved memory, to bestir themselves, with a view to redeeming their honour, and work out their linguistic salvation by setting themselves forthwith to the task of starting the Tamil University—the University which should not be a copy of existing universities, but one adapted to the genius, tradition and requirements of the Tamil People The Tamil University is expected to cater to the educational needs of the districts, such as, Tinnevelly, Ramnad, Madura, Trichinopoly and Tanjore All things considered, it is Trichinopoly that affords better facilities than others for the foundation of a University of the kind within its own limits To enter into details, Trichinopoly is at present the unique seat of three best-equipped first-grade colleges—colleges representing properly the oriental and occidental elements, in the professorial and administrative staff thereof It is literally the head-quarters, nay the most prominent junction of the South Indian Railway, and it is a place which has the great benefit of the refreshing, perennial waters of the Kaveri—perhaps the Cam of the Tamil land, like the Cam of England

Trichinopoly was the scene of the activities of two of the most eminent sages in the Tamil world, Thayumanavar, and Veeramamunivar. The Tamil-padals of the former and the Thenpavany of the latter, are two of the best works, belonging to the Bhakti School, of which the Tamil muse can justly be proud Was it not on the consecrated soil of the Chola kingdom, whose modern half is Trichinopoly, that the greatest Tamil poet trod and flourished as the immortal author of Kamba Ramayanam, under the then Royal patronage ? Is it not clear, from the foregoing, that Trichinopoly is a place which has a tradition all its own, so as to commend itself as a worthy site for the Tamil University ? What is more Srirangam, with its loftiest Gopuram in all South India, is in the heart of Trichinopoly—an example of the great architectural skill and knowledge of the Tamil sons of the past It is but meet and proper that in such

environs, that can boast of being the rendezvous of so much of past achievements, by the Tamil sons, and others devoted to the Tamil Muse, the future Tamil University should, by common consent, be honoured with a habitation.

As for other conveniences, Trichinopoly need not lag behind other parts, which may aspire after the first envied kiss of the Tamil Alma Mater. Even from the point of view of the personnel of the Senate and the Syndicate of the Trichinopoly University, nay, Chola-Pandya University, under contemplation, Trichinopoly can challenge comparison with Madras, in spite of the latter's seniority.

The question of questions is that of the sinews of war. If the Andhras could afford to find money, or if the Andhras could succeed in their attempt at financing the Andhra University, what is there in the way of the Tamils finding the wherewithal to found and maintain their Tamil University? Are the Tamils less patriotic, nay, less philanthropic than the Telugus? Is their thirst for knowledge less intense than that of the Andhras? Are they inferior to them in the matter of wealth, influence, and enterprise? Certainly not. For examples of wealth, influence, and enterprise, one need not go far, but it will be quite enough if we merely mention the names of Chettinadu, Sivaganga, Sivakasi, Virudhunagar, Srirangam and Kumbakonam. With a view to finding further manifestations in the said directions, one should go to Burmah, Ceylon, Singapore, Penang, Straits Settlements, and South Africa, where Tamil merchant-princes, planters, journalists, lawyers, and politicians abound. Are not the representatives of Tamils amongst the foreign communities functioning in Burmah and Ceylon, who have first had the honour to enter the legislative councils over there? What is more, even the first Indian Judge of the Burmah High Court is a son of the Tamil Nadu. Was not the contribution in men by the Tamils, greatest in connection with the struggle for the freedom of the indentured labourers in South Africa, as eloquently borne out by persons like Messrs. Andrews, Gandhiji and Polak? And whose sacrifice has been proclaimed to have been of the greatest amount? If we remember aright it was, again, that of the Tamils, as was reported in the columns of the Madras journals like the *Hindu* and *Swadesamitran* at the time of the great crisis in South Africa. Whilst the Tamils have got such a noble record to their credit abroad, in connection with their social, political and economical struggles, will it be reasonable to suppose, or suspect that they cannot rise equal to a similar standard, in respect of what may be expected of them, in connection with an educational struggle like the one in question, and that too, near their hearths and homes? They are, in our humble opinion, as well-equipped to face intellectual issues, as economical and other issues. We are sure that the most intelligent of them need not be reminded that a big University each in America and Australia, was financed by two solitary individuals, whose respective contributions have been all the resources these seats of learning could call their own. Coming nearer home, we have got an inspiring instance of a University conceived, constructed, and practically controlled by a single Indian, in the person of Professor Karve, of Poona Women's University fame. What is a most encouraging point to be noted in this connection is that, whereas the said universities of America and Australia, were founded and financed by individuals of great wealth, the Poona Women's University was founded by an individual of no means whatsoever, except his name and fame, as a Professor of the Fergusson College, Poona. No doubt, the poet Tagore has founded an international University at Bolpur, namely, the Visva-bharati, to whose sanctum sanctorum have been resorting on lecturing mission learned doctors from foreign Universities, such as Paris, Prague, Oslo and Rome. His case is quite different from that of Professor Karve.

There are many Zemindars, Rajahs, and other landed gentry in the Tamil Nadu, whose resources can by no means be inferior to those of their brethren in Andhra-desa, Kannada, and Kerala. Is not Trichinopoly the birth-place of the late Diwan Bahadur Pethachi Chettiar, whose munificence in the cause of education was admirable? Now that the Diwan Bahadur is no more, are there not other Diwan Bahadurs to come forward and fill the void? Before closing, it may not be out of place, if it is pointed out here that Tamil should be the sole medium of instruction, in the said University and that English, Sanskrit, and Hindi should be included in the list of compulsory subjects

up to a certain standard. Now-a-days, the general complaint is, that in some of the existing Universities, the education is either soulless, or 'foodless' The same should not, however, be the result of the labours of the anticipated University, but on the contrary, it must be both soul-stirring and food-giving instruction that should be imparted within its walls

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CULTURAL UNITY

Ethical Teachings of the Quran and the Upanishads

II

By WAHED HOSAIN, B. A., M. L. C.

IN my first article, published in the last issue, I quoted some parallel passages from the Holy Quran and the Upanishads to show how the Aryan mind arrived at the same conclusion regarding the existence of one infinite, incomprehensible, and eternal Supreme Being as the Semitic races did when they consistently declared the existence of one Supreme God without a second In this paper I intend to quote more passages showing the Aryan and Semitic conceptions of a Supreme Being and illustrating the point that there is a thread of monotheistic ideas running through the earliest sacred books of the Aryan Hindus I desire to point out that the learned Brahmins and educated Hindus have been conscious of the unity of the Godhead and the existence of a Supreme Being who alone is to be adored and worshipped The following passages, taken as types, from *Al Quran* and the *Upanishads* will throw a flood of light on the Semitic and Aryan conceptions of God

PASSAGES FROM AL-QURAN

1 He is God (Allah) besides whom there is none the knower of the seen and the unseen He is the most merciful and compassionate He is God besides whom there is no God, the Ruler, the Holy, the Bestower of peace, the Grantor of security, the Guardian over all, the mighty, the Possessor of every greatness Far be God, (Allah) exalted above the idols He is God the Maker of all things, the Creator of all existences, the fashioner of all images His are the most excellent and beautiful attributes which man can imagine · everything which exists in the heavens and in the earth sings His glory and perfection He is the mighty, the wise —Chap 39. 22-24 Rs

2. There is one God (Allah) There is no God but He, the living, the self-subsisting neither slumber nor sleep seizes Him to Him belongs whatever is in heavens and earth .. He knows that which is past and that which is to come, none shall comprehend anything of His knowledge but so far as He pleases His throne is extended over the heavens and earth and the preservation of both is no burden to Him He is the high, the mighty (Ayat-kursi, Chap 3)

3 Your God is the God who is one in His person and without any participator in His attributes He is God alone, for there is no being which is like him eternal and everlasting, nor has any being its attributes like his attributes

4 He is *allah* the all-hearing the all-seeing the Deliverer from afflictions the Generous, the Gracious the Forgiving the Near-at-hand, who loves good and hates evil, who will take account of all human actions

Say, O God possessor of all power Thou givest power to whom Thou wilt and Thou takest it away from whom Thou wilt Thou dost elevate whom Thou wilt and Thou dost abase whom thou wilt In thy hand is good, for Thou art over all things potent —Chap 3 25

He is *Allah*—He besides whom there is no deity, the most merciful and benevolent, the Bestower of beneficence, the Grantor of provisions, the distributor of pittance, the Giver of sustenance. He is the Restorer of the dead to life.

Re Divine attributes of Allah

He is the Owner, Possessor, and Lord (Rab) of the worlds, the Creator, Nourisher and Supporter of the universe, the Fashioner of all forms, shapes and images without a measure or model, the prime cause of creation, the cause of all causes, the Regulator of the universe, the Protector from difficulties, the Degrader of the disobedient, the Exalter of the obedient, the Doer of justice, the Forgiver of sins, the Awarder of punishment, the Acceptor of prayer, the Bestower of favour and blessings, the Grantor of honour and dignity, the Protector from injuries, the Guardian over all, the Acceptor of repentance, the Punisher of the dis-

[illegible]dient. He is the mighty, the powerful, the [ex]alted and the wise

He is of pure essence, free from all impurities, free from all defects, self-sufficient, self-subsisting, self-effulgent, light of all lights, possessing splendour and glory, self-dependant, ever-existing, ever-living Allah, omniscient and omnipresent, imperishable even when all comes to nought.

He is the beginning and the end, the infinity and the eternity, the manifest and the hidden, the absolute and the one indivisible whole, the great of the greatest, the most intelligent, the most patient, the most magnificent, the most exalted, the high of the highest He is beyond all attributive description

He is the truth and remains true to his promises, the just the righteous draws the righteous towards Himself out of compassion and repels the evil-doer from His presence He is the friend of the good

He pervades the universe and His knowledge extends over all it is He who breathes life into the body and it is He who takes it away it is He who created at the beginning, and it is He who [b]egins with subsequent creations it is He who watches everything and keeps everything within His knowledge

He is a loving friend and does good to his creatures out of love He bestows mercy out of His unlimited compassion —*Free translation of Asma-i-Husna*

The conception of a Divine Being and His attributes by Imam Ghazzali is as follows —

Know that you have a creator who is the creator of the whole universe He is one universal whole and has no partner or equal He has been in existence from eternity and will continue to exist to eternity His existence has no beginning and will have no end His existence is absolute He has no form He has need of nothing but everything has need of him He has no form He is not confined to body or matter He does not resemble anything, nor does anything resemble him The questions *how* and *what* and *where* have no reference to him He cannot be subject of thought or imagination The words great and small are not applicable to Him, as these are the qualities of created beings and things and of matters, and He is neither He has no connection with body or matter He has no dimensions He is not over any place or in any place He is nowhere and yet He is everywhere He is not liable to change His attributes are the same at present, as they have been in the past, and will remain the same in the future Although He is not like anything, He is powerful over everything His power is vast and perfect There is no decrease and increase in it He knows everything, His knowledge grasps the whole universe The number of the particles of sands, of the leaves of trees of the atoms of air and of the thought of man's mind are as much known to Him as the number of heavens and heavenly bodies. Whatever is in the universe is obedient to His will, nothing happens without His will. He sees and hears everything The far and near are the same for His hearing. The light and darkness are the same for His sight. He does not see with eyes, nor does He hear with ears, as His wisdom does not require organs or apparent means. He speaks, but not with a mouth, or a tongue or lips, nor in words of a language As an idea in the mind of a man is a dumb speech without form or language and cannot be heard by men, so is God's word known to those who can understand it "—Translated by K D. Mirza for the Al-Chemy and Happiness.

PASSAGES FROM THE VEDAS AND THE UPANISHADS

1 'The Supreme Being has no feet, but extends everywhere has no hands, yet holds everything has no eyes, yet sees all that is, has no ears, yet hears everything that passes"—Veda

2 'He is the smallest of the small and the greatest of the great, yet is in fact neither small nor great' —Vedas

3 "The Supreme Being who is the subject of superior learning is beyond comprehension of the senses and out of reach of the corporeal organs of action, is without origin, colour or magnitude, and has neither eye, nor ear, nor has he hand or foot. He is ever-lasting, all-pervading, omnipresent, absolutely incorporeal, unchangeable, and it is he whom wise men consider as the origin of the universe" Mundaka Up of Atharva Veda—1 2

4 'He, the Supreme Being, seems to move everywhere, although he in reality has no motion He seems to be distant from those who have no wish to attain a knowledge respecting him, and he seems to be near to those who feel a wish to know him but in fact, he pervades the internal and external parts of this universe' —*Isa Up of Yajur Veda* sec 5

5 'The Supreme Being is but one and he has the whole world under his control, for he is the operating soul in all objects He through his omniscience makes his sole existence appear in the form of the universe" Katha Up. of Yajur Veda 2 2,3

6 "Nothing is more exalted than God he is, therefore, superior to all existences and is the supreme object of all God exists obscurely throughout the universe, consequently is not perceived, but he is known through the acute intellect, constantly directed towards him by wise men of penetrating understanding The Supreme Being is not organised with the faculties of hearing feeling, vision, taste, or smell He is unchangeable and eternal, without beginning or end and is beyond that particle which is the origin of the intellect, man knowing him thus, is relieved from the grasp of death"—Katha Up of the Yajur Veda, 1 3 3

7 "The omnipresent spirit extending over the space of the heart which is the size of a finger resides within the body, and persons knowing him the Lord of the past and future events will not again attempt to conceal his nature · The omnipresent spirit which extends over the space of the heart which is the size of a finger is the most pure light He is the Lord of the past and future events he alone pervades the universe now and ever, He is that existence which thou desirest to know (This was addressed by Yama to Nachiketa) - Katha Up of the Yajur Veda, 2 1 4

8 "The Supreme Being is one and unchangeable He proceeds more rapidly than the comprehending power of the mind Him no external senses comprehend, for a knowledge of him out-runs even the internal sense . He, though free from motion, seems to advance leaving behind the human intellect, which strives to attain a knowledge respecting

Him. He being the eternal ruler, the atmosphere regulates under Him the whole system of the world."—Isa Upa. of Yajur Veda Sec 4

9 *"He overspreads all creatures, is merely spirit without form either of any minute body, or of any extended one which is liable to impression or organisation He is pure, perfect, omniscient, the ruler of the intellect, omnipresent and self-existent. He has from eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes"* —Isa Upa of Yajur Veda Sec 8

10 *"He is great and incomprehensible by the senses, and consequently His nature is beyond human conception He, though more subtle than vacuum itself, shines in various ways.—From those who do not know Him, he is at a greater distance than the limits of space, and to those who acquire a knowledge of Him. He is more proximate, and while residing in animate creatures, He is perceived obscurely by those who apply their thoughts to Him. He is not perceptible by vision, nor is He discernible by means of speech, neither can He be the object of any of the other organs of sense nor can He be conceived by the help of austerities or religious rites, but a person whose mind is purified by the light of true knowledge, through incessant contemplation, perceives Him, the most pure God.* - Mundaka Up of the Atharva Veda 1 8.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc, will not be noticed The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc, according to the language of the books No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published — Editor, M R]

ENGLISH

THE LIGHT OF THE CROSS AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CLAIMS OF CHRISTIANITY *By S Haldar, Member, R P Association, Calcutta The Mahabodhi Society, 4A, College Square Calcutta Pp 132*

Christian missionaries present to non-Christians the best side of the Christian dogmas and doctrines and of the doings of Christians But to be able to form a correct estimate of a religion and the character and conduct of its followers, it is necessary to know the other side also This other side Mr S, Haldar has presented to the public in this book mainly by quoting passages from the works of standard European writers, mostly of Christian parentage and many of whom were adherents of Christianity

The author has done his work very well We strongly recommend it to all non-Christians and also to all Indian converts to Christianity

R C

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE *Chosen and edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch Published by the Oxford University Press price 8 shillings 6 pence (India paper edition 10 sh 6d)*

To those who have had the pleasure of going through *the Oxford Book of English Verse*, a selection of English prose by Q was a possibility to be looked forward to The reading public has at last been presented with an unique volume of over one thousand pages, containing not a mere classified jumble of quotations, but the choicest bits from the colossal mass of English Prose that has accumulated since the birth of English literature brought together to convey to the reader an impression of what England has been and aspires to be in the world of culture Turning over the pages of this anthology one is struck with the wide range that English thought has covered during the centuries that it has been preserved in writing and apart from all other considerations this book should find a place in every library as a picture of the Englishman's mind

Making a selection of bits of prose is a job which requires a genius to execute successfully A prose composition is like a painting and it is just as difficult to choose a little representative bit out of a prose work to show the charm of the whole as it is to cut a section out of a painting and demonstrate with that the beauty of the complete thing Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has proved himself a person of exceptional ability and intuition by carrying out this work with great success

TREASURE ISLAND *By R L. Stevenson Published by the Oxford University Press Price Rs. 12*

This is No 295 of Oxford's famous series "The World's Classics", and is in every way a valuable addition to it A dainty edition of this well-known work of R L S should be welcomed by all

A C.

THE FINAL COUNT (*A Novel*) *By "Sapper" (Cyril McNeil), published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, Warwick Square, London E. C. 4. Price 7sh 6d, 319 pages.*

This is an interesting novel, one of the Bull-dog Drummond series, by the well-known author

Sapper', whose genius in creating stirring situations is not unknown to the reading public. The book is well printed on good quality paper and bound in cloth with an illustrated jacket. It should provide good holiday reading for those who suffer from an over dose of dreamland literature.

THE VANISHING INDIAN (*A Novel*) *By Zane Grey Published by Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, Warwick Square, London E C 4. Price 7sh 6d 420 pages*

The plot of this novel centres round the story of a disappearing race and is developed in a way which keeps the readers' interest ever unflagging. The book is well got-up and fully worth its price.

K

ETHICS OF INDIA *By Prof E Washburn Hopkins Yale University Press*

On the above subject there have now appeared two books by two European scholars, viz., *Hindu Ethics* by Prof McKenzie of Bombay and the present volume of Prof Hopkins, *Ethics of India*, the former being published only a few months before the latter. How different are the angles of vision of men is clearly shown by these two works. Prof McKenzie finds the ethics of India defective, illogical, antisocial, lacking any philanthropical foundation, nullified by abhorrent ideas of asceticism and ritual and altogether inferior to the 'higher spirituality' of Europe. Prof Hopkins's book, on the other hand, presents quite the opposite view. It is not that he has written it by way of criticism of the work of Prof McKenzie. His object is different. 'Although' says he in his preface, 'the West discovered mental India years ago .. yet apart from some erroneous familiarity with India's religions there is little known in this country (America) of what the Hindus have thought and said. as for the field of Hindu ethics it is *terra incognita* to Europe and America. The author would be loath to state how often, across the water and here at home, he has dejectedly listened to sermons in which well-meaning pastors have soothed their sheep with the comforting assurance that no other religion than Christianity ever inculcated purity of heart and sympathy for the suffering.' The author then began to make an investigation and the result is now before us in the form of his new volume, *Ethics of India*. He 'has here gathered together a large number of passages' beginning from the Rig Veda downwards 'from which the moral injunctions and ethical appeals may be conveniently studied. He has written his little book, not to sustain any logical, philosophical, or religious dogma, but to exhibit the ethical teachings of the ancient Hindus, feeling confident that it will be a pleasure to many and a grief to none to know that truthfulness, generosity, kindness of heart, purity of soul, forgiveness, and compassion were taught in India as every-day precepts long before the Christian era.'

Prof Hopkins has written the book for his countrymen but we have not the least doubt in saying that the Hindus themselves will find much to know from it of their own ethics. Indeed there is no work on the subject known to us that could be compared with it. The author has shown both good and bad, and it will make the Hindus think over many things which they may not have noticed before. They will also see many points interpreted in a new light and in most cases these interpretations are right. But in a work such as it is, one, and specially those whose ethics are discussed here, cannot be expected to agree on all the points. But we are glad to note that the points of disagreement are far less than those of agreement. As regards the ethical aberrations pointed out by the author, it is quite true that they exist in some sects, but here is a question. Are the founders themselves responsible for them in all cases? For instance, can Chaitanya or Vallabha be held responsible for the aberrations found in their respective sects? Is the Buddha himself to be blamed for the vicious doctrine expounded in his name in books such as the *Tathagata-guhyaka* and *Ekallavira Candamaha-rosanatantra*?

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

THE HAFT PAIKAR (THE SEVEN BEAUTIES), CONTAINING THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF KING BAHRAM GUR AND THE SEVEN STORIES TOLD HIM BY HIS SEVEN QUEENS. *Author—Nizami of Ganja. Translated from Persian with commentary by C E Wilson B A (London). Vol (I)—Translation (pp.288 XIX) Vol (II) Commentary (pp 212). Published by Arthur Probsthain (Late Probsthain & Co) 41, Great Russel Street London W C.*

Persia boasts of no less than four poets and writers who assumed the nom-de-plume of Nizami and the author of *Haft Paikar* was the last of them. He was born about 1140 A D and died about 1200 or a little later. He is known as the Nizami of Ganja, a town now known as Elizavatpol. He is the author of 5 poems, collectively known as 'Khamsa' (quintet) or Panjganj (five treasures), of which *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* was his first composition at the age of about 26 and the book, *Haft Paikar*, his last production, was finished at the age of 63 (lunar years). This book was written at the request of Nasiratuddin, the provincial king of Azarbaijan. *Haft Paikar*, also known as *Bahramnama* deals with the legendary history of one of the renowned Sasanian kings of Persia named Bahram Gur, who was famous alike for his knightly deeds and marvellous skill at the chase. The story runs that Bahram, then a prince, discovered a secret chamber in a neglected royal palace in which he finds effigies of himself and seven princesses of seven climes (India, China, Khwarizm, Byzantine, Persia, Countries inhabited by the Slavs and 'the West'). After his father's death Bahram sends ambassadors to these monarchs and marries the princesses, for whom he builds seven domes of different colors after the seven planets. These princesses entertain him (as in the Arabian Nights) with seven stories. The stories are mixed with tales of Bahram's valour in chase and other anecdotes.

Nizami, though not a rich man himself, was unlike other poets who courted rich men and kings. It was his poetic fame and genius that attracted crowned heads towards him. His patrons appear to be the Atabeks or rulers of Azarbaijan. He was once invited by the Atabeks of Mosoul and of Shirwan, and once by the rulers of Persia, to whom he dedicated a revised edition of his second volume, *Khusro-Shereen*. His high rank as a poet is admitted by both Persians and non-Persians, by biographers and other eminent poets as Sadi,

Hafiz and Jami. His lofty genius was combined with his blameless character, and probably stands highest among poets, whose lives have been the subject of careful and critical study of European scholars.

The Emperor Akbar was so charmed with the works of this poet that he ordered his court-poet Faizi to compose five works in imitation but dealing with Indian characters. For instance, the story of Laila Majnoon (the third of the five treasures) had its imitation in the story of Nal Daman, a story of 4000 verses and Akbarnama was written in imitation of Sikandernama (the fourth treasure). Imitating *Haft Paikar* (the fifth treasure) Akbar wanted *Haft Kishwar* to be written in a poem of 5000 verses. Though other poems exist *Haft Kishwar* is not available. Very likely this book was never written owing to the untimely and almost sudden death of Faizi.

The translation though literal and verse by verse, is written in such a strain that the reader enjoys the story as well as the beauties of the original. Of course some of the metaphors, especially those alluding to Astronomy, are foreign to European tastes and ideas but are admired in Persia and to understand these the student must consult the accompanying commentary which contains no less than 2000 explanations and in which not only these intricate metaphors but almost all allusions are clearly explained, sometimes quoting similar passages from other poets. The book, therefore will, be very useful and interesting to the European admirers of Persian poetry and will be a great boon to the Indian students of the Persian Language.

AMRIT LAL SIL

BEGUM SAMRU. *By Brajendranath Banerji, published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta. 8 plates + pages 22[illegible], price Rs. 2-8.*

Begum Samru is a welcome addition to the fast growing literature embodying researches in that confusing period the latter half of the 18th century i.e. up to the time when the Indian polities settled peacefully under British Suzerainty. A national history of India is thus being slowly but surely built upon the solid foundation of authentic evidence. Towards the middle of the 18th century the crumbling edifice of the Mogul Empire gave a unique opportunity to local chieftains and foreign adventurers for acquiring wealth and territory. The reverse of Panipat had all but shattered the rising fortunes of the Marathas and gave scope to the ambitions of Haidar and his son Tipu in the south, to those of the Jats and the Rohilas round about Delhi, and of the Sikhs in the Panjab. But they all badly lacked the essential means of gaining their object, *viz.*, a well equipped and disciplined army. The struggle between the French and the English had clearly proved the superiority of the western scientific methods of warfare over the old and worn-out guerilla tactics of the Marathas and set a high price on European soldiers of fortune, quite a crop of whom comes into evidence as one studies the literature of the Panipat period,—De Boigne, Perron, Pauli, Bourquin, George Thomas, Walter, Reinhardt, Rene Madec, Levassault and others who need not all be mentioned here. Having received some military training in Europe and hearing of the fabulous fortunes that could be acquired in India, they came out almost with empty pockets and getting together a few mercenaries from any Indian Society, accepted employment with one or other of the needy Indian Rajas. If the first trials of strength in which they engaged proved successful, the value of their service necessarily increased enabling them to acquire high positions of lucre, trust and honour and an extensive field for their military activity. No feeling of Nationality or patriotism existed anywhere in India at the time, everyone caring for today, no one thinking of the morrow. Utter disorganisation of life and work, of kinship, family religion and of all that could make life worth living, marked this latter half of the 18th century making the advent of the British a most welcome relief from the necessary chaos and unrest. The task of the historian of these times has consequently become all the more difficult so long as the activities of these foreign adventurers as of those who employed these are shrouded in mystery. The *Begum Samru* of Mr Banerji unravels one such mystery, dealing as it does with an important personality, a German named Walter Reinhardt and of his Mussalman wife known in history as Begum Samru.

Reinhardt came to India about 1757 and accepted employment in the French camp at Chandernagore upon the fall of which he took service with Mir Qasim, executing for his master what has been since known as the massacre of 51 British captives at Patna, on October 5th 1763. Being of a grave and sombre nature he received the nickname which was turned in local parlance into *Samru*. Thereupon, he often changed masters, and at last in 1774 he obtained a lucrative job in the service of the Moghul Emperor with Rs. 30,000 a month and a territorial assignment of 6 lacs a year for the upkeep of his regiments and a pack of artillery in the district of Meerut in the Doab, since known as the jagir of Sardhana, where he married a beautiful young wife of Mahommadan persuasion. Unfortunately he was soon cut off by death on 4th May 1778, leaving the management of his corps and jagir to his young wife who in memory of her husband accepted Christianity in 1781.

We have no room here to detail the picturesque adventures of the Begum in her ardent desire to serve the Emperor, who lost his sovereignty by the capture of Delhi by Lord Lake in 1803. With characteristic foresight, the Begum took early measures to be a friend of the British, upon a promise of the jagir of Sardhana being continued to her for life. Here she lived afterwards a peaceful life up to a ripe old age, wisely managing her landed estate and spending her large income on buildings and charity devoted mostly to the Christian religion. Upon her death in 1836, the jagir was annexed to the British dominions. The author has utilised all available materials in Persian, French, English and Marathi, and has produced in the work under notice an authentic biography of the General and Begam Samru which the historians of India cannot neglect in unravelling the necessarily confused accounts of the period.

G. S. SARDESAI

CHATTERJEE'S PICTURE ALBUMS NUMBER 17. *R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, Rs. 2.*

This new Number of *Chatterjee's Picture Albums* contains reproductions in colours of sixteen water colour paintings by Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal

Bose, Gaganendranath Tagore, Samarendranath Gupta, Srimati Pratima Devi, Srimati Santa Debi, Srimati Sabita Devi, Deviprasad Ray Chaudhuri, Ramada Charan Ukil, Pulinbehari Dutt, Ramendranath Chakrabarti, Satyendranath Bisi, T. Kesava Rao, Binodebehari Mukherjee, Purna Chandra Singha, Bipin Chandra Dey.

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF INDIA, *By N Kasturi, B A, being a Summary of "Rise of the Christian Power in India" by Major B D. Basu I M S (Retired) in five volumes R Chatterjee, Calcutta Cloth Gilt Letters Rs. 3*

Major Basu's "Rise of the Christian Power in India" in five volumes is indispensable for an accurate knowledge of the British period of Indian history But some readers may not be able to afford to buy that work, and others may wish to have some idea of its contents before purchasing it There are also those who may not have time to go through its five volumes Mr N Kasturi's book will suit all these classes of readers It is furnished with an index and a list of reference to the bigger work

GENERAL INDEX TO MAJOR BASU'S "RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA" *prepared by Ganga Charan Ray Chaudhuri M A, B L, R Chatterjee, Calcutta Cloth Gilt Letters Rs 2*

Those who have purchased Major Basu's work as well as those who may do so hereafter will find the index to the five volumes handy, convenient and useful.

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GERMAN

INDISCHE GEDICHTE AUS VIER JAHRTAUSENDEN—*Otto von Glasenapp, Berlin 1925, G Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung*

In recent years the interest in Indian lyrics has been aroused in Germany by the translation of Tagore's poems These translations were not made from the original Bengali, but from the English renderings of Tagore In the present volume the author has given us an anthology of Indian lyrics which have been composed during the last four thousand years viz, from the early Vedic period up to the recent times In making his translations the author has gone to the original Indian texts, and he has tried to reproduce the original rythm as far as possible In this work he has been helped by his son Dr Helmuth von Glasenapp, the well-known Indologist of the Berlin University. Dr Glasenapp also supplies an introduction, in which is sketched the development of the Indian lyric from the earliest age up to the modern times

The selected poems are grouped under the following heads I. Selections from the ancient religious texts, II Classical Sanskrit poems, III. Prakrit lyrics, IV. Hindi and Bengali religious poems V Modern poems Naturally in an anthology of 144 pages it has not been possible to give a representative selection of ancient and modern lyrics. The Vedic and other ancient religious poems which are familiar to the German public from the translations by Deussen and others have only been lightly touched. To us it appears that the group of poems in section IV have been most satisfactorily rendered. In them are included selections from Jayadeva, Ramananda, Chandidas, Mirabai, Tulsidas, Dadu, Rammohun Roy and others. The last section of modern poems which contain seven from D. L. Roy, five from Md. Iqbal, one each from Bankim Chandra, Satyendranath Dutta and Tagore cannot be called in any sense representative.

D. B.

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SANSKRIT

SUBODHA SAMSKRITAM OR EASY STEPS TO SANSKRIT (FIRST PART) *By B B. Kamat. 118, Robeson Road, Karachi, Sind*

"This little book" which is meant only for children aims at making the study of Sanskrit easier than what it has been hitherto. The special feature which deserves to be commended of this primer is that the lessons from the beginning form a continued story the story of the *Ramayana* The plan, however, does not appear to serve the purpose of the author Sanskrit Readers written on the line adopted for those of continental languages are still badly wanted in our country

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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MARATHI

THE ART AND PROFESSION OF WRITING," *(1926), by Mr V G Apte Editor, the "Anand", Poona City Size 4¾ × 7¼, pp 336, Price Rs 2-8*

Readers of Marathi literature are familiar with the name of Mr Vasudeo Govind Apte for over two decades as a writer of chaste and classical Marathi—although it is a household word with young children for his delightful, simple and instructive books His new publication "The Art and Profession of Writing" is a welcome addition to the Marathi literature as a whole, being the first authoritative and exhaustive treatise of its kind. It has supplied a long-felt want in that it is mainly intended for the benefit of young persons with literary ambitions, whether they take to writing as a hobby or as a profession

The twenty-one chapters in the book may be roughly classified into three main groups (1) Preparation for writing (2) Branches of literature and points to be borne in mind when writing, and (3) relationship between a writer and a printer or publisher, and other cognate matters. In the chapters falling under group (1) the author warns the young aspirant against the dangers of going about his craft without first equipping himself for it by close observation, deep study, a knowledge of grammar, an acquaintance with the literature and a studied choice of appropriate words and pharses The introductory portion of group (2) contains a brief review of the genesis and development of literature in both of its branches—poetry and prose After giving an idea of the different sub-heads into which poetry is classified, the author has offered some practical hints on composition which may be studied with advantage both by those who are born under rhyming planets and by those who are not. Coming to 'prose writing' the author has with great credit dealt thoroughly with all kinds of writings—novels, short stories, dramas

(including stories for cinemas), witty and humorous writings, history, biography, autobiography, essays, writings on technical and scientific subjects, translations, and other kinds of miscellaneous writings such as reviews, travels, and books specially meant for ladies and young children. People have ordinarily greater charm for fiction, and the number of fiction-writers is comparatively large. The author has therefore rightly devoted more space to 'novel and drama writing," and has made many valuable suggestions The portion regarding other kinds of prose-writing also deserves to be read and digested by young and ambitious litterateurs The practical utility of the book has been enhanced by the fact that the author has, wherever necessary, presented a comparative view of the Literary art and Profession as understood and followed in western countries and in India.

The chapters falling under group (3) relate generally to a writing after it is ready for the Press or the Publisher. These chapters also contain useful information regarding the sizes of paper, the sizes of types, proof-reading, printing, binding and publishing. The author has done well including some information regarding the copy-right act We are tempted to suggest that an appendix giving in brief information about the Press Law and the laws of Sedition and defamation in so far as they concern the profession of writing would be a useful addition

Mr. Apte deserves our congratulations for the thorough manner in which he has dealt with the subject within the compass of 336 pages. The book promises to be a useful companion and guide to all young writers It richly deserves to be introduced as a text book in the Vernacular Training Colleges and in the higher standards of secondary schools.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired, and merits a word of praise

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URDU

FRAHANG-E-ISTILAHAT-I-ILMIA, *compiled and published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Aurangabad Deccan pp 12+512+15 Cloth bound, price Rs 6/-/-*

The need for a compendious Urdu dictionary of scientific terms and technicalities has been felt for very long and a book supplying this great want has been over-due The book under review, the very first of its kind, supplies this desideratum and is published by the premier Urdu literary association, the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu of Aurangabad Deccan. The book is divided into the following twenty sections—astronomy, botany, economics, British administration in India, constitutional history, history of Greece, logic, algebra, geometrical conics, solid geometry, trigonometry, differential equations, statics, metaphysics, psychology, physics, political science, archaeology, and biology It is difficult to comprehend the basis of this curious division A saner and more logical arrangement could easily have been made. Each section gives Urdu equivalents and synonyms of English words and phrases pertaining to that perticular section. All sections do not seem to have received equal care and attention, some being only scrappy and sketchy, while others are fairly copious and comprehensive. The most fortunate sections are those of Astronomy and Botany comprising between them not less than two-fifth of the entire book, and astronomical terms being mostly supplemented with long explanatory notes The publisher certainly deserve credit and congratulation on what they have been able to produce, but the book is in need of considerable improvement,—and that in more directions than one,—and the publishers would be well-advised in having the book thoroughly revised and re-cast before they think of bringing out its second edition The get-up is neat and commendable, but the mis-prints are horrible, many of which remain uncorrected inspite of a very formidable and tiresome corrigenda of full fourteen pages.

ROSH-E-TAUQID, *by Syed Ghulam Mohiuddin Qadri Zoar B A Publisher Zoar, Nizamat Mun-Munzil, King Kothi Road. Hyderabad. Dn Pp 285. Price Re. 1 as 12*

This neat little book is an essay on the principles of literary criticism by a promising post-graduate student of the Osmania University of Hyderabad Part I deals with the principles and methods of criticism in abstract, while part II traces its development in ancient Greece, in Rome, and in modern Europe. The author is evidently a serious and discerning student of Urdu literature,—page after page of his treatise reveal his close familiarity with, and deep insight into the work of each and every Urdu writer, past and present, who is at all worth knowing. His study of the comparative merits of such masters as Sir Syed, Azad, Hali, and Shibli is very nearly perfect The only criticism that an old and "chronic" critic like the present writer can offer is that the youthful author has dwelt rather too much on the merits of the English and other foreign writers and critics. They had no right to occupy such a prominent and dominating position in a work of Urdu literature, written by a Urdu scholar designed for the benefit of Urdu students Barring this one serious drawback, the essay is on the whole a very useful and much needed addition to the treasure-chest of Urdu literature, instructive and illuminating, and refreshing from start to finish.

NISHAT ROSH. *Collected poems of Asghar. Printed by Maarif Press, Azagah (U P). Pp 69+44, written with a portrait of the author No mention of price and publisher*

Among that small band of the living Urdu poets who are real poets not poetasters, or versifiers, the name of Asghar Husain Asghar of Gonda stands out prominent Modest and unassuming, he is not very widely known, yet to those who have the privilege of acquaintance with him or his muse his name is one to conjure with This small collection of his poems might have the effect of introducing him to a larger circle of readers. The book opens with a 'preface', and is followed by a prolix 'introduction' by a admirer, and this in its turn is followed by a long yet lucid and interesting discourse on Asghar's poetry by Maulvi Iqbal Suhail Azamgarh—himself a literary artist of no mean order Then begins the book itself, which covers no more than 44 pages. Yet in this small compass are to be found some real gems of poetical genius. The book would amply repay perusal to anybody who cares to go through it. The sweet diction, the lofty sentiments, and the arresting imagery do not allow the reader to notice the entire absence

of arrangement among the various pieces. Asghar is undoubtedly an acquisition to Urdu poetry, and his transparent merits are sure to get recognition in due course. The get-up is excellent.

A. M.

TARIKHUL UMMAT: *By Hafiz Maulana Mohamed Aslam of Firojpur, Professor of Islamic History at the National Muslim University of Aligarh*

The work is being published by the University in volumes, of which the last up to date is the fifth. The whole work is expected to be completed in eight volumes. The price of each volume is Rs 2

In this work the author has attempted to give the history of the Musalmans on a more comprehensive scale than it had yet appeared in Urdu. But the more important feature of the work lies in the critical method of its treatment, and for that reason the work now occupies a unique position in the whole of Urdu historical literature The author has been successful in his attempt

In the last volume the learned author treats of the last Khalifa of the Abbaside dynasty, beginning with the reign of Mutawakkal to the final sweeping devastation of the Empire by Halakul Khan The author summarises in the end, under the heading of 'a general view', the principal causes of the decline of the Abbaside Khilafat and its tragic fall, the main cause assigned by him being the anti-national character of the Khilafat itself.

M. ZIAUDDIN.

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GUZARATI

KATHIAWADI SONGS, *By Jhaner Chand Meghani, printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Ranpur. Paper cover. Pp. 178 Price Re. 1-0-0 (1926)*

This collection of songs indigenous to Kathiawad, the second of its kind, if anything excels the first The songs are very popular and presented with the background of the illuminating introduction written by Mr Meghani, the very soul of Kathiawad's domesticity, peeps out from them Their charm is manifested in almost every line, and we cannot give enough praise to the talented compiler for the service he is doing to his province and our Literature by such publications.

HINDNA-KARANTU-ADHUNIK ARTHA-SHASTRA *By M P. Gandhi, M. A (Benares) printed at the Bharat Vijay Printing Press. Baroda. Paper cover. Pp. 160, Price Re. 1-0-0 (1925).*

At best books on Economics, taxation and other similar subjects are not many in the Gujrati literature, and good books are few. The present book is a prize essay, in the name of Sir Manubhai Nandshankar, the Divan of Baroda, and it treats of the present economic state of Indian taxation from an understandable point of view, understandable because even laymen would be able to follow its interesting exposition without any difficulty. The rising young writer has a thorough grasp of his subject, with a promise of better work in future.

MANU AND BHANU, PARTS 1 & 11: *By Manibhai Naranji Desai, printed at the Natwar Printing Press, Bombay, Pp. 561. 372. Cloth bound. Price Rs 2-0-0 each (1925)*

This novel depicts in a very interesting way the pitfalls in the life of a wealthy young man. It also gives all the good points of a young Hindu wife, although educated on modern lines; it paints the picture of the normal domestic life of a Hindu family in Bombay. These features are enough to make it popular.

MASTVILAS: *By Bavaji Tulsidasji and Vadilal Motilal Shah, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp, 415. Cloth bound. Price Rs 3-0-0, 1925*

"To thine own self be true": The whole of the contents of this large volume rings changes on this text It is a mixture of Tatwagnan and practical advice, illustrated with stories, told in the vigorous and effective style which Mr Vadilal adopts both in writing and speaking. He is able to communicate his enthusiasm to his readers, and the book will repay perusal and inspire thought

THE TRIUMPH OF VALMIKI. *by Nilkanth Ishwardas Mashruwala, printed at the Navjivan Printing Press Ahmedabad, Paper Cover. Pp. 96. Price Re 0-3-0. (1925)*

The charming allegory woven round the three Puranic celebrities Vashishtha, Vishwamitra and Valmiki, by Mahamopadhyay Harprasad Shastri in his book in Bengali is a masterpiece; it produces the three lines of precept and practice peculiar to each one of them and for which each of them stood out. Valmiki's propaganda triumphed: it set no store by physical force or mental vigour. for harmony in world forces: soul force, purity of heart could alone bring peace to one's mind and happiness into the world This book is a translation from a Marathi version of the Bengali work, but for all practical purposes it takes the place of an original book and is very impressive.

नवरात्रीना गरबा, *By N M. Damani and V.V. Padhear, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press Ahmedabad. Pp.80. Paper cover: Price Re 0-5-0 (1925).*

The Garba or songs collected here, although said to be extremely local, i.e. sung in a place called Chorwad (in Kathiawad), bear all the common traits of those which are heard in other parts of the province in praise of the Mataji (goddess) during the first nine nights of Ashwin. These popular songs embody an account of folklore, and never lack interest

सति मदालस अने सुकन्यानी कथोठी *By Mrs. Vimala Gauri Maganlal Pandya, printed at the Manek Printing Press, Girgaon, Bombay Paper cover. Pp.68,69. Price Re1-0-0 (1925)*

These two stories are written, specially for women to impress upon them the ideals of chastity and purity of married life. The authoress has done her task well, specially as the subjects lend themselves to a good treatment.

TRI RATNA GITA AND SARVA PUJAN VIDHI, *by Mrs. Lalita Gauri Shamrao. Second edition, printed at the Jnanodaya Printing Press, Broach. Paper cover, Pp.288. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1925).*

The Bhagvat Gita, the Vishnu Sahasra Nam and the Anusmriti, are the three gems collected by the writer from the Mahabharat and offered to her readers. The Gayatri Stotora and other prayers form a supplement to the three gems

PRASANNA KATHA KUNJ *by Prasanna Vadan Chhabilaram Dikshit printed at the Deshi Mitra Press, Surat paper cover Pp 70 Price Re 0-8-0 (1925)*

Two short stories of Srijut Prabhat Kumar Mukherji *Parivartan* and *Pragan Panthe* are translated in this small book. The stories are worth reading specially as they illustrate the every day affairs in the life of a present day Indian

BHAKTA CHARITRA *Part I by Manilal Harikrishna Mehta, printed at and published by the society for encouragement of cheap literature at their own Press, Ahmedabad Cloth bound Pp 386 Price Re 1-8-0 (1925)*

Twenty nine lives of some of the best saints of India, translated from the Bhakter Jay of Atul Krishna Goswami furnish a sample of what the remaining parts would contain Tulsidas Ramdas and the tailor saint of Delhi, Parmeshthi, are some of the saints whose biographies are given here The reading is both enlightening and chastening

छोटमनी वाणी, *Vol I Parts 1 to 4 by Bhikshu Akhandanand, printed & published as above, cloth bound Pp 211 Price Re 1-0-0 (1925)*

The verses of Chhotam are popular in Gujarat, and a collection such as is published by Swami ji would greatly help those who are in want of such religious reading

HEAVEN'S LIGHT, (स्वर्ग नो प्रकाश) *by the late Amratlal Sundarji Padhiar, printed and published as above Cloth bound pp 318 Price Rs. 1-2-0 (1925)*

The different ways in which Heaven Happiness—can be attained are set out here in the late Mr Padhiar's attractive style. The ways are the ways of the truthful, trusting devotee of God, and with the writer as the Guide in those ways, the seeker after happiness is sure to get it.

THE IDEAL BOOK OF EXEMPLARY TALES: *by Pandit Shivprasad Dalpatram printed and published as above cloth bound Pp 336. Price Re 0-11-0 (1925)*

Instances of truthfulness, simplicity and other human virtues, culled from all literatures of the world figure in this collection Exemplary traits in the character of Julius Caesar, Khalif Umar George Washington, Guru Gobind Singh, and numerous other celebrities, are to be found here It is a representative and useful collection

Yogatattva By Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya, Printed and published as above Cloth bound Pp 384 Price Re. 1-0-0 *(1925)*

An American Scientist, William Walker Atkinson has under the *nom-de-plume* of Yogi Ramacharak published several works on *Yoga* Mr Pandya though he has based his book on those works has been at great pains to expose the many incorrect ideas and statements of the foreign writer, who though very intimate with the system as prevailing in India, still lacks the intimacy which a native of the country possesses Those interested in the science would find much to engage them here

THE HISTORY OF RAJASTHAN *Vols I & II by the late Ratnasinh Dipsinh Parmar Printed and published as above, Cloth bound. Pp 776 (each) Price Rs 5-0-0 each (1925) Second Edition.*

Those two substantial volumes with suitable illustrations being a translation of Col Todd's annals of Rajputana, priced rupees five each are cheap enough The translation contains footnotes comprising observations in the light of recent research That a second edition has been called for in eleven years is significant of the popularity the work has secured

K M. J.

REPORT ON VISVABHARATI

BY PROFESSOR CARLO FORMICHI

Of the University of Rome

WHEN Rabindranath Tagore was staying last year in Venice he spoke to the people there about his institution of Visvabharati, and he had occasion to say that it had as its aim quite the reverse of the sad dictum, "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet." Visvabharati's motto is, rather, "East is East and West is West, and therefore, they MUST meet" Since last November I have been in Santiniketan, living the life of the people of the Asram, and experiencing that, indeed, no national prejudice, no religious intolerance, no barriers of customs ever make a European feel far from home. European visitors are constantly flocking

to the place; and I think there is not in the whole world a more truly international resort for men of good will and common ideals to meet for an exchange of mutual spiritual help and sympathy One sensibly feels the spirit of the Poet hovering over the place, of the Poet of love and of peace as he has been styled by my countrymen I hardly think there can be anything more valuable on this earth, than love and peace!

But love and peace go hand in hand with freedom Unconsciously the Poet, (true poets are always utterly unconscious of their creations,) has granted freedom on the largest possible scale to everybody who surrounds him, from the old teachers who co-operate with him in the tuition of the students, down to the youngest boy living in the Asram.

From the age, let us say, of eleven years onwards to twenty-five, a boy or a girl has the opportunity of receiving an education in Santiniketan in whatever branch of learning he or she chooses, whether in science or in literature, in religion, in arts, in manual crafts The teachers are, for the most part Indians, but some of them have completed their education in Europe, and there is no want of non-Indian teachers as well. I have to mention only the names of Professor Collins, Benoit, Lim and Bache, who respectively impart lessons in Dravidian languages, in French and German, in Chinese and in music Professor Tucci and myself, as visiting professors, are teaching, respectively Italian literature, Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit to advanced students. The blending of European and Hindu culture is, thus, a living reality which finds also the most efficient support in a splendid and rich library fit both for Oriental and Western studies The lessons are held partly in Bengali, partly in English, mostly in the open air, under the trees Constriction, red-tapism, routine, pedantry are unknown at Santiniketan What the Poet most wants is that the soul of the disciple may find its free and largest scope for expansion. Rabindranath Tagore as a boy suffered the keenest tortures from compulsory teaching. He says that most of what he has learned, he learned by himself, not from others. Out of love therefore, he tries to rescue boys and girls in Santiniketan from the tyranny of constriction and pedantry. Our great Italian poet, Leopardi, says that generally men who have worked themselves up to a high position through very hard struggles and sacrifices, do not allow others to reach the same position before they have gone through quite the same hardships. In some monkish communities, dignities are bestowed on those monks who endure the hardest fastings and penances. As soon as a monk attains to that dignity, he becomes inflexible and almost cruel in refusing to spare only a single one of those terrible austerities he has bravely borne, to any other monk who shows a desire to raise himself up to the same dignity It is human to object to seeing others obtain easily what one has got only after many an effort, many a rebuke, and many a pang.

But there are also men who in their own suffering find the principal reason for rescuing other men from the same suffering. To this very limited number of men Rabindranath Tagore belongs Compulsory tuition was a torture to him, therefore, free tuition is what he eagerly offers to Indian youths.

Tagore's supreme wish is that while the lesson is going on, the attention of the pupil should be kept alive owing to the interest the teacher must know how to rouse in him for the subject of the lesson Dozing pupils are the doom of a teacher There must be electricity in the atmosphere of a school. Some days ago the Poet unexpectedby went on an inspection to realize if the degree of electricity in the air of the primary schools, was just that which he finds necessary for the real profit of the class He at-once thought he perceived that a certain dulness and doziness was in the atmosphere, and perhaps he does not know that I know that he was quite in despair for two days owing to this fact I can tell him now that on that day and at that hour the weather was so heavy and sultry in Santiniketan, that I myself was dozing! He can be quite confident, therefore, that as long as his presence is there at Santiniketan an inexhaustible source of intellectual and spiritual life will never be lacking for teachers and disciples to draw from. I am at Santiniketan for the scientific philological training of advanced students in Sanskrit. For my part I can assert that, so far as Sanskrit studies are concerned, there is every likelihood that Santiniketan should become one of the greatest centres of research. Every opportunity is there, in fact, for gaining the object, namely students thoroughly masters of Sanskrit, as Mr. Ghose, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Patil, Dr. Raja and others; Indian teachers

who are among the most learned and cleverest pandits of modern India,as Vidhusekhara Shastri Kshitimohan Sen, Hari Charan Bandyopadhyaya, etc. visiting scholars from Europe as famous as Sylvain Levi of Paris, Maurice Winternitz of Prague, Sten Konow of Christiania; a wonderful library rich also of precious manuscripts, the simplest and most hygienical possible life, the disposal of as much time as one wants in the fittest spot for meditation owing to the perfect silence one can enjoy and to the suggestiveness of the unlimited plain.

The art-section under the inspiring direction of the great Indian painter, Nandalal Bose, is determining quite a revival of Indian painting, while the school of agriculture in Surul at a mile's distance from Santiniketan is showing India the path of substituting fertility, abundance, wealth and brightness for barreness, scarcity, poverty and gloom

That only one man and this man a Poet should have conceived and carried out such a complicated and perfect educational plan is almost a miracle, one of those miracles that only love, a great love can accomplish, the love of Rabindranath Tagore for India. And you, Indians, are right in loving and honouring your great hero with the stupendous enthusiasm that I have witnessed and am witnessing here in Dacca, you are right in honouring him who gives you the loftiest joys through his poetical genius and the highest example through his life made holy by a truly heroical exertion I know now what the life of Rabindranath Tagore is he is a saint whose austerities do not consist in fastings and in penances but in work that knows no boundary, work in the best modern sense of the word, work by which humanity may profit from the spiritual, the intellectual,the scientific, the moral the practical standpoint You well remember what Carlyle says as long as nations have got a voice through a hero let this be a poet or a prophet, they may rely on a bright future He, then pointing to Italy and Russia, foresaw for the former what by no means he could anticipate for the latter, only because Italy had got her voice. Dante; and Russia was mute, had no voice, namely no hero. India has got her voice through Rabindranath Tagore. Though I am citing to you facts from the objective point of view of an impartial observer, come from a far away shore, I am bound to add that no description, no faithful report can ever make up for a direct observation of Santiniketan Asram. There is something that place which must be felt and wh cannot be reported.

How shall I, for instance, be able speak about its wonderful suggestive religi influence? It was chosen as a resort meditation by the Poet's father, the gr Maharshi, and the very name Santiniket announces that out of the turmoil of t world one gets peace (Santi) there, one fee nearer God.

Perhaps the most interesting and importai side of the Visvabharati institution is th religious education The Poet's notion i that religion cannot be taught; it must sprin up from the depth of our souls spontaneously; it must be considered as natural in th life of our spirit as respiration is in the lif of our body All that we can do is to fos ter and favour religious tendencies by settin man in the fittest conditions for the awaken ing of his aspiration to God. The communi on with Nature, solitude and silence are the best allies of religious contemplation The sight of a glorious sunrise or of a gorge ous sunset speaks for God better than an sermon Yet, every Wednesday, in th morning, all inmates of the Asram gathe in a *mandir* located in the grove. The girl assemble in a group, the boys in another, an alternately they sing a song of the Poet wh listens to his own poem and to his ow music as to something new to him. The son is chosen by the girls or the boys, and it first verse has to give the Poet the hints fo the sermon he extemporarily delivers. On verse, for instance, says "when thou gaves thy banner to man, thou gavest him also th power of bearing its burden." Another vers says "Thou bringest us to the border o death only in order to lift us to thee.' Th Poet speaks nearly half-an-hour quite in rapture and as inspired, while the birds out side sing sometimes so loud that his voic becomes hardly audible The loftiest thought the broadest religious conceptions give t the sermon of the Poet a power of fascina tion that seems destined to let men profess ing the most different creeds agree on th substantial principles of morals and religion I give an example. The Poet maintains tha emancipation from pain is given by love namely, by forgetting our own self, whicl is the only real burden that weighs on u and impairs our strength of endurance Whenever we have some great truth some

'eat cause to serve, it becomes easy for , to go through all kinds of suffering. In ır ordinary daily life we have often noticed ›w easy it is for a lover to accept the ırden of pain for the sake of his beloved, ›w easy it is for a mother to undergo sacri- ;e for the sake of her children The only 'ason is that in all these cases there is love ›mpletely devoted, that is to say, there is 'paration, emancipation from our own self, ıe great burden, the destroyer of our spirit- ıl and moral forces. Love accomplishes the ıracle of rescuing us from pain in under- ›ing pain.

Will not a Christian, a Mahommedan, a arsi, or a Buddhist, readily admit this truth ıat is one of the bases of religious life ? It is hardly possible, being a man, to disagree with the Poet's religious tenets that are those of humanity freed from the bonds of one-sidedness and superstition.

Tagore's task in life is essentially that of unification, of sowing seeds of harmony and peace among men, of brightening the horizon of our life through the charm of poetry, of truth and of goodness.

To understand what Visvabharati, his institution, is, one has first to understand the man, and the man, you all know, is a Poet of world-wide reputation and the greatest and best living specimen of the blending of all Western and Eastern qualifications and virtues.

Dacca, February 9th, 1926

THE EVOLUTION OF PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN BRITISH INDIA

By Dr PRAPHULLACHANDRA BASU

Indore.

The subject of finance in India has not o far been as scientifically studied as its mportance deserves. Hence I may be permitted to draw special attention to a book which has just been published. It is "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British ndia" by Dr. B R. Ambedkar, D. Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.

The scientific study of finance requires a ›reliminary division of the subject into entral, provincial, and local Its technical haracter demands this separation for better tudy. Far too many attempts have led to onfusion because of the absence of this eparation. There is an advantage in studying finance as a whole, viz, to grasp the undamental principles as applying to all ›ranches. But no scientific and detailed tudy,—far less a historical study,—is ›ossible without this separation. Dr. Ambedkar uccessfully attempts such a study, and what ›romises to be the first of a series of three companion volumes is before the public ıow.

The Imperial system of Government in India dates from 1833. The previous multiplicity of systems were sought to be replaced by a uniform one. Thus the Imperial system of finance also came into being. But it proved unequal to the strain as can be seen from the fact that during a period of twenty five years, 1834-58, seventeen years showed deficits, the net deficit, deducting the surpluses of eight years, being about £23 millions The main reason was the unsound fiscal policy, attempting to raise more revenue without having any increase in the wealth of the country. Also the mode of raising it was bad inasmuch as it took little account of the incidence. For example, under the influence of the Physiocratic doctrine of *produit net* the land tax was the heaviest impost. The customs taxes were also heavy and unequal. There were internal and external customs, the former hindering the movement of goods within the country and seriously affecting the market of Indian products of the localities with natural advantages; and the latter, both import and export, discriminating against Indian

products in favour of British goods This system blockaded trade and smothered industry. Incidentally it ruined the finances by reducing the income Thus from 1792-3 to 1855-6, a period of sixty-four years the percentage of customs revenue to the total revenue was only 6.2 During the same period the land revenue formed 54 per cent, of the total, while the salt revenue was as high as 11 per cent But the expenditure might recoup to the people by fostering and helping economic and social progress This, however, was not to be found Of the total expenditure military and quasi-military expenditure formed about 75 per cent, while that on buildings, etc, was about 1.5 per cent, and that on education was practically nil Thus the bulk of the money raised by injurious taxes was spent in unproductive ways At the same time there could not be any economy in expenditure in fact, there was incentive for extravagance The Central Government was responsible for revenue and gave doles to the Provincial Governments The budgets of the latter were thus framed as extravagantly as possible since they were not responsible for raising revenue but for spending it To crown all the Central Government had no distribution of portfolios, and therefore, no Chancellor of the Exchequer there was no centralized system of audit and account, and no appropriation budget

When conditions were in such a pass and when the finances were further muddled by the cost of the Mutiny, attention was drawn to the supreme defect of the system, viz, the irresponsible extravagance it engendered in the Provincial Governments The reformers were, however, not agreed as to the remedy There arose two divided schools, the supporters of the system of Imperialism, that is, of centralized finance, and those of the system of Federalism, that is, of decentralized finance The Federalists claimed that (1) the separation of the revenues and services would lead the ways and means of the Central as well as of the Provincial Governments to be clearly defined, so that each one of them would be responsible for administering its affairs within the funds alloted to it. (2) Such a system would ultimately lead to progress as the sources of revenue could be greatly increased if properly developed in each local area; and (3) it will be more equitable as the existing system resulted in an iniquitous treatment of the different Provinces. But the Imperialists won the day claiming that (1) in practice it would be impossible to separate the sources of revenue between the Central and Provincial as also between the different Provincial Governments; and that (2) from the point of expediency federalism would be bad because (i) the efficiency, that is, the survival value of the Imperial system had been proved during the Mutiny when the full resources of the whole of India were concentrated in the Central Government, (ii) the credit of a Government depended on its income, and as the federal system would divide the revenue the credit or the borrowing power of India would diminish, and (iii) the prestige of the Central Government would diminish if it were made a pensioner of the Provincial Governments, and prestige was the keynote of the code for Asian governance

The net result of the controversy was a compromise by which there was Imperial finance without Imperial management, based purely on convention Some of the most radical defects were removed Thus many oppressive taxes were given up, internal customs duties were abolished, an element of protection was introduced in the import tariff many export duties were dropped, efforts were made to improve the cultivation and pressing of cotton, tea, and other staples, which commanded a good market in Europe and elsewhere The administrative machinery was changed by assigning to each member of the Viceroy's Council the charge of a separate department of administration Thus was created for India a Chancellor of the Exchequer, James Wilson being the first incumbant But the deficits continued to be heavy Wilson said in 1860 that "we have a deficit in the last three years of £30,547,188, we have a prospective deficit in the the next year of £6,500,000, we have already added to our debt £38,410,755" Therefore he had to increase stamp duties, external customs, and impose a new tax, that on income But these were of no avail because the demands for the amenities of civilized life increased fast and compelled the Government to provide them in the form of roads, railways, posts and telegraphs, buildings, and good pay for Government officials. The last was really a scandal. According to Sir John Strachey "the great majority received from £12 to £24 a year, sums less than those earned in many parts of India by common bricklayers and carpenters". At the same

ime economy in expenditure became difficult without providing the Provincial Governments with a separate purse and throwing on them the responsibility of framing their budgets within their means. Thus the compromise was attained by which the rigid constitutional separation of Imperial and Provincial sources of revenue was avoided, and the same apparently obtained by convention The scheme of decentralization, thus proposed by Wilson, was elaborated by Laing, and finally very much extended by Massey But Massey's scheme was too large for the Imperialists to swallow, among whom were Lord Lawrence, the Viceroy, and Lord Napier, the Governor of Madras. So, it failed. In the meantime the budget system so broke down that in the years 1866-70 the actual deficits were £ 7 millions whereas the budget provided for a surplus of about £4 millions — a difference of £ 11 millions between the budgets and the actuals Lord Mayo was so convinced of the rottenness of the system that he courageously inaugurated the compromise set forth above but turned down by the Imperialists.

The development of Provincial finance, thus begun, can be traced through three clearly marked periods. They are (1) budget by assignments, 1871-77 ; (2) budget by assigned revenues, 1877-82 ; and (3) budget by shared revenues, 1882-1921. The period since 1921 is so entirely different that it ought to be dealt with separately.

Taking the first of the above periods, viz, that of budget by assignments, 1871-77 The genesis of the change was a small thing The Central Government found it difficult to manage the construction of roads, and it mooted to hand over the task to the Provincial Governments But the plan was extended while the discussion was going on The method of throwing the burden on the Provincial Governments consisted in making over to them the charges of certain departments of the administration more or less local in character with a net grant. Thus in 1871-72 the charges for the following Imperial services were handed over ; jails, registration, police, education, medical services, printing, roads, civil buildings, miscellaneous. The revenues from these were also handed over. Also permanent assignments were made to the Provincial Governments amounting to more than £4.6 millions. Besides, a special donation was also made by the Central Government. The principle adopted was that such matters which the Central Government could not effectively control should be transferred. The methods adopted were (1) to hand over the revenue from the assigned charges ; this was proper on the principle that tax administration and tax appropriation should go together, and (2) to give a lump assignment from the Imperial treasury. The transfer of Imperial sources of revenue was not considered proper inasmuch as the Government of India, by its constitutional position, remained the sole authority to manage and appropriate the revenues of India The assignments for 1871-72 were declared fixed and recurring; recurring they were but fixed they were not For the Imperial assignments were very properly reduced or augmented as necessity dictated. They were always made for specific purposes, from which the Provincial Governments could not deviate.

To judge whether the scheme was a success or not we should know how the parties concerned were affected. Three parties were concerned, viz, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments, and the people of the Provinces. Provision for ascertaining the opinion of the last party was declared to be illegal under the Indian Councils Act of 1861 (Section 38) ; otherwise proposals were officially made in 1871 —and the fight carried on in their behalf by the Government of Madras—which would have given the people a voice in framing the budget which they obtained only in 1921. The Provincial Governments were greatly benefited by the system as can be seen from the surpluses in their budgets during 1871-77 the period during which it operated. The gain to the Central Government was obvious. There was, however, one unwelcome feature, viz, the large increase in the rates and cesses for purposes of local improvement; the receipts from new resources of income and cesses having been enhanced from £492, 000 in 1870-71 to £981,000 in 1875-76. Also the incidence of the levy was iniquitous in its distribution

But the results so far exceeded the hopes expressed by the Finance Member in 1870, and Provincial management of certain departments was so proved to be more economical than Imperial management that the Government of India proceeded to incorporate additional services into the Provincial budgets. At the same time, it was realized that the system of budget by assignment had the great defect of rigidity The Provincial

Governments disliked it because the assignments remained fixed while the outlay on the services in their charge continued to expand. On the other hand, it was found that the Provincial Governments managed the services more economically than the Central Government and also realized greater revenues at old rates. Thus for the double purpose of augmenting the revenues and of introducing elasticity in Provincial finance, the Central Government substituted in 1877 assigned revenues for assignments as a mode of supply to the Provinces This plan had been mooted but turned down in 1870. But experience since then justified it now.

Thus was inaugurated the second period in the development of Provincial finance, viz., budget by assigned revenues, 1877-82. Assignment was still retained but only as an adjusting measure. Thus the total resources of the Provincial Governments consisted of (1) the receipts from the incorporated services (2) the yield of the revenues assigned, and (3) the adjusting assignment A normal rate of growth was calculated from the past yield from the delegated sources, and in order to avoid the unpleasant controversy which was going on between the Central and Provincial Governments in regard to "normal rate", the Central Government participated with the Provincial Governments in respect of all surplus and deficit beyond the calculated normal revenue in the proportion of half and half. This was highly complicated but very ingenious For the fear of shouldering half of the deficit impelled the Provincial Governments to greater exertion and the hope of receiving half of the surplus stimulated them to develop their resources beyond the normal The assigned revenues were different for different Provinces. The result of this scheme was very encouraging During the period, 1877-82, when it was in operation, all the Provinces except Bombay had, on the whole, big surpluses. These were kept with the Central Government as Provincial balances which the latter rather unceremoniously appropriated in 1879-81 during the difficult period of the Afghan War The justification, however, lay in the fact that the solvency of India was more sacred than the sanctity of the terms of Provincial finance, after all, a domestic affair. Later on the contributions were repaid.

Thus, the scheme of Provincial finance on the basis of assigned revenues was proved to be successful both from the standpoint of the *Central and Provincial Governments. But there was yet left the demoralizing effect of the supplementary assignments which were really doles from the Central Government.* From the experience of Burma and Assam it was realized that elasticity in revenue was a vital condition for the success of Provincial finance There elasticity had been attained by a third category of revenue item, viz., jointly Imperial and Provincial, besides the two existing categories in the other Provinces viz., (1) wholly Imperial and (2) wholly Provincial. With minor variations the scheme on the revenue side stood thus ; (1) Wholly Imperial Land Revenue. Tributes, Customs, Salt, Opium, Marine, Interest, Railways, Irrigation and Navigation, Gain by Exchange (2) Wholly Provincial Rates: Post Office, Law and Justice, Police, Education, Medical, Stationery and Printing (3) Jointly Imperial and Provincial divided into half and half Forest, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Stamps, Registration , also the following divided into unequal proportions Pensions, Other Public Works, Miscellaneous On the expenditure side the division was thus: (1) Wholly Imperial . Interest, Opium, Ecclesiastical, Political, Allowances and Assignments, Civil Furlough and Absentee Allowances, Railways, Irrigation, Loss by Exchange (2) Wholly Provincial Provincial Rates, Customs, Post Office, Telegraph, Law and Justice, Medical. (3) Jointy Imperial and Provincial divided into half and half, Forest, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Stamps, Registration, also the following divided into unequal proportions. Refunds and Drawbacks, Land Revenue, Salt, Administration, Minor Departments, Police, Marine Education, Stationery and Printing, Allowances and Assignments, Superannuations, Miscellaneous, Famine Relief, Other Public Works

The settlements entered into with the Provincial Governments in 1882 differed from the previous settlements in the replacement of fixed assignments by shares as also in their duration Now they were made for a term of five years. The annual settelements were advantageous to the Central Government inasmuch as it could profit by an early revision of the revenue side of the contract. On the other hand, it was a serious drawback for the Provincial Governments inasmuch as they could not adopt a definite financial policy covering a long period of time. This defect was partially removed by the quinquennial settlements. The revision went on

every five years, and its nature depended mainly upon the exigencies of the Imperial treasury By 1904 it was felt that the quinquennial budget system was not sufficient. The Provincial Governments used to be very parsimonious in the first few years lest their expenditure should prove too much for their revenues, and extravagant in the last few years lest their expenditure should shrink below the standard and leave margins to be concealed by the Central Government on the revision of their settlements at the end of the quinquennium To obviate these evils of alternate parsimony and extravagance the Government of India courageously undertook to do away with the principle of quinquennial revision and move towards permanent settlements. Between the year 1904 and 1907 the quasi-permanent settlements were completed with all the Provinces. They were quasi-permanent because they were liable to revision in future on one condition, viz, when it was found that the financial results were unfair to a Province or to others by comparison, or to the Government of India when it was confronted by an extraordinary calamity. The expectations were abundantly fulfilled, for in the years 1909-12 all the Provinces had huge net surpluses whereas most of them were having deficits during the previous five years

The Royal Commission on Decentralization reported in 1909. Following the recommendations the Government of India proceeded in 1912 to make permanent the quasi-permanent settlements These varied with the provinces. The fixed adjusting assignments were partially replaced by increased shares in the following heads of revenue and expenditure. Land Revenue, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Forest, Irrigation. The special grants in aid of specific services were continued on a retrogressive scale commensurate with the calculated increase in the revenues thus in 1912-13 they were Rs 8 2 crores, in 1918-19 R 3 5 crores The result of the permanent settlements cannot be properly essayed, for the War intervened before the settlements really started their work, and on April 1, 1921, Provincial finance in British India entered on an entirely new phase. Yet during the seven years ending with 1918-19, only one year, 1914-15, was one of deficit for all the Provinces, and two others, 1913-14 and 1915-16, bad on the whole.

Before entering into the study of Provincial finance since 1921 it will be profitable to study its nature and scope before that period, that is, the period covered by the above study. It is evident that Provincial finance so far had no constitutional basis. It was based solely on convention. The Government of India brought it in by Rules in 1871 and could therefore revoke it. Also Provincial finance should be distinguished from Local finance which had its genesis in 1855 The Rules put the limitations on Provincial finance These were many and various, promulgated from 1870 to 1912. They may be classified thus: (1) Rules relating to administrative powers, that is, (i) rules of inter-Provincial services, and (ii) rules pertaining to the staff; (2) Rules defining the financial powers, that is, (i) general rules, (ii) revenue rules, (iii) rules of expenditure, (iv) budgetary rules, and (v) rules of audit and account. These Rules most rigidly regulated the exercise of the powers vested in the Provincial Governments. This can be explained by the fact that Provincial finance had no constitutional basis and that the Government of India was ultimately responsible for the governance of India. Thus the criticism of many witnesses before the Indian Expenditure Commission and the Decentralization Commission, on the ground of too much restriction on Provincial finance, was constitutionally defective For the transfer to the Provincial Governments was merely of the usufruct of certain revenues and not the revenues themselves. The revenues were to be deposited in the treasury maintained and administered by the Central Government. Thus the possession of the funds vested in the latter. No expenditure could be incurred except with the sanction of the Accountant-General who was an official of the Central Government. Thus in 1897 when a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council raised the question of the rights of the Provinces, the Government of India correctly replied. "By Act of Parliament the revenues of India are the revenues of the Government of India and of that Government alone. Every action that the Local (Provincial) Governments take in respect of them must be justified by a specific order of the Government of India; the Local (Provincial) Governments derive their powers entirely from the Government of India, and apart from that Government they exercise no financial powers

whatsoever". Thus no legal responsibility attached to the Province for any of the services, not even for those provincialized.

It is, therefore, obvious that the view which affirmed that the relationship between the Central and Provincial Government in British India was one of separation of sources and contributions from the yield was an untenable view In federal countries the State Governments are the law-giving polities, and the Federal Government their creature But in India the Imperial system of government was introduced by the Act of 1833 and remained so till the Government of India Act of 1919 came into operation Here the Provincial Governments were nothing but the regional aspects of the Central Government The Rules limiting Provincial finance prove that the system of Imperial government remained intact after 1870 as it did before that date. Thus the only theory of financial relationship between the Central and Provincial Governments which accorded with facts and agreed with law was that of aggregation of the sources and distribution of the yield The week point of the old situation had been that the administrative and financial responsibility did not rest on one and the same authority as should have been the case. To avoid this defect Provincial finance was introduced under which the Government of India distributed some of its funds among the Provinces and the Provinces undertook to manage some of the services on behalf of the Government of India within the sums thus allocated

Therefore, the criticism that the distribution as between the Provinces was not equitable is inapplicable, for the distribution was not according to the Provinces but according to the departments, and Provincial finance was really of the nature of Departmental finance. Notwithstanding Provincial finance, nothing was provincial in status Provincial finance was only a matter of accounts, the operations on the debit and credit sides of which were subject to stringent control by the Government of India Provincial finance brought on only two changes, viz., (1) before 1870 balances on all services lapsed to the Central Government, now the unspent balances on some, that is, the delegated, services accrued to next year. (2) Before 1870 budget estimates on all the services were sanctioned by the Central Government. After 1870 the Provincial Governments could expend on delegated services as they wished subject to the limitations of fund and the Rules for provincial finance. Yet we must say that provincial finance was worth striving for and has conferred great benefits upon India by delegating to the Provinces what are really matters of detail and therefore can be economically handled by the Provincial Governments.

To relax the Rules the Provincial Governments carried on a vigorous fight with the Government of India. The controversy and the arguments are interesting study and can be gathered from the evidence of Mr. J S. (now Lord) Meston before the Royal Commission on Decentralization and the various Resolution of the Finance Department of the Government of India, especially No. 27 of 1912. Certainly the scope of provincial finance was unduly restricted by a too narrow and too legalistic interpretation of the constitutional obligations of the Government of India. But we need not go into those details, for the time had arrived when the financial arrangements could no longer be looked upon as a matter which concerned the Central and Provincial Governments only. There arose a third party the proposal to take whose counsel had been rejected in 1870, but which now insisted on having a voice in the disposition of the financial resources of the country It was the Indian taxpayer who obtained a constitutional and legal status by the Government of India Act of 1919

The necessity for a change in the form of Government arose out of the political discontent As happens usually under government by an irresponsible executive, the Indian Executive sacrificed progress to order. The reasons were . (1) the Indian Executive was inimical to the aspirations of India because, being composed of aliens, it was out of sympathy with the living forces in Indian society as it was not charged with its wants, its pains, its cravings, and its desires Hence measures of progress were seldom undertaken (2) There were other things which it would do but dare not do for the fear of provoking resistance to authority, thus it would not abolish the caste system, prescribe monogamy, alter the law of succession, legalize intermarriage of castes, or tax the *zamindars* or the tea planters. But progress invol-

ves interference with the existing code of social life, and interference is likely to cause resistance The irresponsible Executive in India was paralyzed between these two limitations, and much of what went to make life good was held up. That there was great advancement in material progress is undeniable But that is greatly due to modernism and would have come under any government that functioned in the last one hundred years Moreover, no people in the world can long remain contented with the benefits of peace and order. It is foolish to suppose that a a people will indefinitely favour a bureaucracy because it has improved their roads, constructed canals on more scientific principles, effected their transportation by rail, carried their letters by *anna* post, flashed their messages by lighting, improved their currency, regulated their weights and measures, corrected their notions of geography, astronomy, and medicine, and stopped their internal quarrels. Any people, however patient will sooner or later demand a government that will be more than a mere engine of efficiency. The demand came sooner with English education and the example of British parliamentary government In face of the insistent popular demand the alternative basis of government was force or consent. The first was tried and probably is even now being tried In the result the Indian Executive besmeared the Indian Statute Book with a set of repressive laws hardly parralleled in any other part of the world. A few instances are Act XIV of 1908, use of Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827; Act XXIV of 1857; Act III of 1858, the Press Act of 1910 the Public Meetings Act of 1908, the unwarranted or indiscriminate use of sections 108 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and sections 120A and B, 124A, and 153A of the Indian Penal Code. The rigour of this regime of *lettre de cachet* and the *Bastille* was untempered by any fear of responsibility on the part of the Executive, for provisions were made to bar all action in a civil court without the sanction of the Executive, e. g, the Police Acts, the Press Act, and Chapter IX, sections 128, 130, and 132 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Act V of 1898.

Then came the halting, reforms of 1909. Election was introduced but only by bodies recognized by the Executive. But the principle was wholly altered in 1919 by restricting the powers of the Central Government over the Provincial Governments and delegating some powers of the latter to the care of the popular representatives. The former subordination of the Provincial Governments to the Central Government consisted of three aspects, viz legislative, administrative, and financial. Although the three aspects are interconnected and interdependent, we are directly concerned with the financial aspect. In finance the Central Government dominated fully in taxation, in expenditure, and in the power of borrowing Thus the new reform first of all brought about the necessary division of functions, and some charges were, by the Constitution, made Provincial, the others remained Imperial, Of the former again, some were "reserved", others "transferred,"—expressions which must be familiar with the readers. The next task was to allocate the revenue resources between the Central and Provincial Governments, and between the "reserved" and "transferred" departments The divided heads between the Central and Provincial Governments were abolished although that was not essential for the new system, but there was a good deal of popular sentiment against the division because of its past history The deficit of the Central Government was made up by initial contributions with retrogressive effect and standard contributions fixed in percentage of the spending capacity of the Provinces

In criticizing the present arrangement two questions arise (1) Can the new financial arrangement be said to be administratively workable? (2) Has it proved itself to be financially adequate? To deal with the first question A good deal of criticism has been levelled, both by the Provincial Governments and by the popular leaders, against the contributions by the Provinces. This is clearly unreasonable Contribution has taken the place of the divided heads of revenue, and it is only on the principle of "heads I win and tails you lose" that a demand for abolishing both can be sustained. Nor is it inequitable to apportion the contributions according to the expenditure of the Provinces, for that really shows the ability to pay, an important factor in all financial responsibility, at least more than a division on the basis of area or of population Turning to the second question, viz. has the arrangement proved financially adequate, we find that the years 1921-2 and 1922-3 were deficit years in all the Provinces, in Bengal and the Central Provinces the deficits were wiped

out by other means. This was inspite of big additions to the revenues by new taxation.

In this connection it is worthy of note that the Central Government failed to organize and marshal the national resources for fiscal purposes, an important function of all governments This was especially so in regard to two sources of revenue, (1) Land revenue The Permanent Settlement cut off the roots of the growth of an important source of expanding revenue, upon which the Indian polity has depended from time immemorial. Thus the land-owners with enormously increased incomes enjoyed under the protection of the State, contribute nothing to the increasing financial burdens of the same State The Government's policy here was dictated, as of old, by its preference of peace and order to progress (2) Customs revenue. A big income could come from this source if the fear of Indian industries being protected against British industries did not frighten the Government of India and the Secretary of State. This elastic resource has not been properly tapped under the influence of extra-fiscal pressure which does not conduce to the betterment of Indian interests.

Thus a deficit in the budget of the Central Government is inevitable. Therefore, in the present circumstances contributions from the Provinces may be taken as a settled issue In 1922-3 all the Provinces had huge deficits If we inquire into the cause we find that the standard calculated revenue in the Provinces was, in each case except Madras, very much exceeded by the actual revenue both in 1921-22 and in 1922-23. On the expenditure side however, the standard expenditure was exceeded so much that, even after the excess in revenue, the Provinces showed huge deficits The Secretary of State was, therefore, right when he said, as a result of the financial Conference of 1922, that the financial stability must be restored by retrenchment in the Provincial budgets. This was of course, resented both by the Provincial Governments and by the popular representatives.

The careful students would enquire into the reason of this increased expenditure. The reason lies in the absurd governmental system, called diarchy, in which there is one fund but really two governments responsible to two different bodies The Montagu-Chelmsford report realized this absurdity. So when it recommended for the certifying power of the Governor, it also recommended for a Proviso by which no taxation even in the interest of the "reserved" subjects should be imposed in any Province without the consent of the ministry (Para. 256). The Proviso provided the only condition of sound finance in diarchy, viz., joint fund for the different departments of the same government and taxation with the consent of the popular representatives. But the Extremist politicians decried the Proviso as a means of making the minister a scape-goat for the executive extravagance. The Moderates, now "Liberals", by their tactless jubilation, frightened the bureaucracy which now bore down all its influence to delete the Proviso It succeeded as it has in so many other things Yet the certifying power was retained Thus the Governor can now (1) make allocation of funds between the "reserved" and the "transferred" departments, which is binding on both, (2) restore the "reserved" budget by certificate, and (3) permit the minister to raise new taxation or loans Therefore, the "reserved" side has little interest in economy and little fear of the odium of new taxation. New taxation is always unpopular, it is more so in a poor country like India. And the odium falls on the minister Also the popular criticism so long was that the Government was neglecting the measures of progress for the sake of the measures for order. The "reserved" subjects are mainly those pertaining to peace and order as the "transferred" subjects are mainly those pertaining to progress. So, the minister is anxious to translate his ideal into action. He has naturally hesitated to propose new taxation because (1) it is rightly unpopular, and (2) he was criticizing the old Government as too costly and does not want to act against what he had been proclaiming as feasible An additional difficulty is his own position. He is responsible to the legislature, but holds office at the pleasure of the Governor. If deadlocks did not arise in such circumstances the situation would have been unnatural Yet the deadlocks have been very few The reasons are (1) The legislature is weak because of political dissensions, and (2) the ministry can afford to stand on one or two minor parties in the legislature and the official block. The latter however, is against the whole spirit of the new system.

Hybrid executives, divided responsibility, division of functions, reservation of powers, cannot make for a good system of government, and where there is no good system of govern-

ment, there can be little hope for a sound system of finance. The primary solution is to have an undivided government with collective responsibility. This can be achieved only when the whole of government derives its mandate from a common source. The obvious implication of this is provincial autonomy

Although the question is political but as the solution affects sound finance, it may be permitted to raise here the question of that autonomy. Against its inauguration is argued that the power will go to the classes and not to the masses. In spite of the painful story of the harsh, cruel, and inhuman treatment which the classes in India have accorded to the masses, such a transfer is neither unprecedented nor unjust In every country there have been downtrodden communities suffering from social oppression and social injustice—to wit the Negroes in America and the Hitas in Japan,—and yet no country has had to be without political power on that account. But that has been so because of those countries having been in possession of military power Military force and moral force are the two chief means to political freedom, and a country which cannot generate the former must cultivate the latter. Thus in India the political problem, upon the solution of which depends the fate of sound finance, is entirely a social problem, and a postponement of its solution virtually postpones the day when India can have a free government subject to the mandate of none but her own people.

ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH AS VIEWED BY MILL

By ABDUL MAJID B. A.

J S Mill, the author of '*On Liberty*' and '*System of Logic*', has been one of the greatest minds that England has produced in the nineteenth century. It would surely be interesting as well as instructive to learn what that great mind thinks of his country and countrymen Here are a few gems culled from his various writings—chiefly from his *Letters.* The italics are throughout mine.

Speaking of his early youth, Mill depicts English life and society in the glowing terms

"Having so little experience of English life, .. I was ignorant of *the low moral tone of what, in England, is called society*, the habit of, not indeed professing, but taking for granted in every mode of implication, that conduct is of course always directed towards low and petty objects, the absence of high feelings which manifests itself by sneering depreciation of all demonstrations of them .....I could not then know or estimate the difference between this manner of existence and that of a people like the French."

(*Autobiography.* Page 33, Watts & Co. 1909).

Speaking of Austin, the celebrated lawyer and professor of jurisprudence in the London University, Mill observes :—

"He had a strong distaste for *the general manners of English life, the absence of enlarged thoughts and unselfish desires, the low objects on which the faculties of all classes of the English are intent*.. He thought that there was .....infinitely more care for the education and mental improvement of all ranks of the people under the Russian monarchy than under the English representative government (*Ibid.* P. 101-102).

Here are Mill's own impressions in his mature age :—

"General society, as now carried on in England, is so insipid an affair, even to the persons who make it what it is, that it is kept up for any reason rather than the pleasure it affords. All serious discussions, on matters on which opinions differ, being considered ill-bred, and the national deficiency in liveliness and sociability having prevented the cultivation of the art of talking agreeably on trifles in which the French of the last century so much excelled, the sole attraction of what is called society to those who are not at the top of the tree is the hope of being aided to climb a little higher in it, while to those who are not already at the top, it is chiefly a compliance with custom, and with the supposed requirements of their station." (*Ibid* p. 130.)

Summing up the futility of his attempts at reforming the English ways and manners, this English philosopher is led to reflect —

"The English public, for example, are quite as raw and undiscerning on subjects of political economy since the nation has been converted to free trade, as they were before, and *are still further from having acquired better habits of thought or feeling, or being in any way better fortified against*

error on subjects of a more elevated character." (*Ibid.* p. 137)

Dr. Alexander Bain, illustrating Mill's "habitual way of speaking of England, the English people and English society", quotes the following none too flattering description of the English from *Mill's Claims of Labour* :—

"*It is a just charge against the English nation considered generally, that they do not know how to be kind, courteous and considerate of the feelings of others.* It is their character throughout Europe. They have much to learn from other nations in the arts not only of being serviceable and amiable with grace, but of being so at all." (Bain's *J.S. Mill*, p. 161. Longmans, Green & Co 1882)

Here is a delicious piece of the delineation of English character —

"*The English of all classes are far less accessible to any large idea or generous sentiment than either Germans, French, or Italians They are so ignorant, too, as to pride themselves on their defect as if it were a virtue, and give it complimentary names such as good sense, sobriety, practicalness which are common names for selfishness, shor-sightedness and contented acquiescence in commonplace*". (*Letters of J. S. Mill* Vol. I Pp 172-173. Longmans, Green & Co. 1910)

In acknowledging Sir Charles Dilke's book, *Greater Britain*, Mill is tempted to remark —

"Not only do I most cordially sympathise with all you say about *the insolence of the English, even in India, to the native population*, which has now become not only a disgrace, but as you have so usefully shown, a danger to our dominion there .. .." (*Ibid.* Vol. II. P 187)

The following generalisation may not be very palatable to the generality of Mill's countrymen :—

"The English, looked at in one point of view *are certainly a remarkably stupid people.* Looked at in another point of view they are continually striking one as a people among whom talent, of a certain sort, abounds This strikes me often, for example, in reading Indian official documents, or in going through a number of a review or a magazine. The fact seems to be that there is a great amount of ability shown in the application of doctrines, while *mere stolidity presides over the choice of the doctrines themselves.*" (*Ibid.* Pp 357-358.)

Here is an excellent testimony to the greatness of the English intellect —

"The characteristic of Germany is knowledge without thought , of France, thought without knowledge, of *England, neither knowledge, nor thought.* The Germans, indeed attempt thought; but their thought is worse than none. The English, with rare exceptions, never attempt it." (*Ibid.* P. 377.)

Another unsolicited testimonial —

"It is remarkable how invariably the instinct of the English people is on the side of the status quo. In all foreign wars, revolutions, &c., English opinion is sure to be against the side, be it Kin people, that seems to be attempting to alte existing order of things. All other nations ac that great political changes may be made, and e governments forcibly subverted, in order to prove as well as in order to preserve. The Eng allow this in theory, but their feelings never along with it in any particular case." (*Ibid.* p. 3(

Continuation of the above :—

"Perhaps the English are the fittest people rule over barbarous or semi-barbarous nations l those of the East, precisely because thev are t stiffest, and most wedded to their own customs, all civilised people. All former conquerors of t East have been absorbed into it, and have adopt its ways, instead of communicating to it th own So did the Portuguese ; so would the Fren have done. Not so John Bull , if he has one fc in India, he will always have another on t English shore." (*Ibid* P. 363) *

A testimonial by Carlyle, endorsed b Mill.—

"Carlyle says of the English that they act mo rationally than most other people, but a more stupid than almost any other people in givi their reasons for it. The second of these propo tions sets a very narrow limit to the first. act well without being able to say why one acts is to act well only accidentally." (*Ibid* p. 37

Further,

"It is characteristic of the English th they have no trust in the attainment of a end by directly aiming at it They thi that if ends are ever attained, it is by some i directness or accident, in some way in whi nobody would have expected it." (*Ibid* p 384.)

And finally —

"Compromise and halting half-way are so natu to the English mind, that if an English mathem tician had to argue his case in an assembly of h countrymen, one would expect him to say that theory the three angles of a triangle may be equ to two right angles, but that in practice they a only equal to one". (*Ibid.* p. 378)

This brief study of the English character ma fittingly be brought to close with a passag

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* It would be mightily interesting, at th juncture, to know what a modern British psycholog has to say on this intense conservetiveness of people .—

"In more primitive communities such as w find among savages, the general stock of ideas assimilated by each individual and all are equall its guardians. Thus the pressure of society upo the individual is incomparably more coercive.. .. Thus primitive societies are intensely conservati and remarkably unanimous in their modes thought. Each thinks as the rest think, and dar not persevere in any innovation which does n find general acceptance." (Stout, *Manual Psychology*, p 334.)

What ! Are then the super-civilised and supe cultured rulers of India intellectually no highe than primitive savages ? That cannot be.

describing the extreme artificiality of English life in another of Mill's writings:—

"There is no place where human nature shows so little of its original lineaments [as England] .... *The English are farther from a state of nature than any other modern people* .... England is the country in which social discipline has most succeeded, not so much in conquering as in suppressing whatever is liable to conflict with it. The English, more than any other people, not only act but feel according to rule. In other countries, the taught opinion, or the requirement of society, may be the stronger power, but the promptings of the individual nature are always visible under it, and often resisting it; rule may be stronger than nature, but nature is still there. In England, rule has to a great degree substituted itself for nature. The greater part of life is carried on, not by following inclination under the control of rule, but by having no inclination but that of following a rule". (Mill's *Subjection of Women*. p. 95, Longmans, Green and Co. 1909).

It is to be hoped that great improvement has taken place in English life and character since the days of John Stuart Mill.

THE CONDITION OF INDIAN RAILWAYMEN

By RAI SAHEB CHANDRIKA PRASADA

General Conditions

NEARLY five years ago I had the privilege of addressing the delegates assembled at the First All-India Railwaymen's Conference at Bombay in February, 1921. The unsatisfactory conditions of railway servants in India then described remain much the same, though a few changes have been made. On the whole the position of the subordinate employees is no better, while the position and emoluments of the higher officials have been unduly raised beyond all reasonable limits. The excess allowed to higher officials is to curtail the dues of the subordinate employees, which are therefore subject to the former. Autocracy has been tightened and the men are left to the tender mercy of those under whom they have to work. Were the superior officers sympathetic to Indian aspirations, it would not have made matters so unsatisfactory as they are today; but as almost all the high officials are non-Indians, bent upon maintaining the supremacy of their own community, what sympathy could Indians expect from such a bureaucracy?

The condition of Indians is deplorable. Wherever we go we find Indians in humiliating circumstances which force them to yield to injustice and to content themselves with what the bureaucracy pleases to give. The prevailing unemployment in the country and the imperfect organisation of the railway employees largely contribute to their helplessness.

Railway Unions

Unfortunately many of our countrymen have not realised the necessity of combined bargaining. And the bureaucracy is not slack in keeping the men disunited. Those of the subordinates who are in better positions than their comrades will not muster courage to take the lead in forming a Union or even to join a Union already formed. Railway subordinates are especially wanting in this courage. Our comrades of the Post and Telegraph Department have done much better in organising their Unions. Should not the Railwaymen follow the example of this sister service?

What keeps the railwaymen from organising themselves properly? As far as I can gather, the men labour under the impression that they would incur the displeasure of their superiors if they formed or joined a Union. It is difficult to drive this fear out of their minds. The higher officials advise the men to join the staff-Councils dominated over by the superiors, where no individual can freely express his opinions. If those Councils be constituted like the "Joint Industrial Councils" in England, consisting of railway officers and *elected* representatives of the men, backed up by a Central Wages Board and a National Wages Board constituted of independent gentlemen, according to the *English* Railway Act of 1921, we should certainly welcome the Councils. In any case the men should have their Trade Unions besides the Joint Councils. In a resolution passed at the Second Conference of All-India Railwaymen in 1922, we have asked the Government of India to amend the Indian Railways Act so as to embody the provisions of the English Railways Act of 1921 for the Joint Industrial Councils, the Central Wages Board and the National Wages Board. We should repeat this request now and push on the Unions of Railwaymen. The railway administrations have their own union, the Indian Railway Conference Association, and there is no valid objection to Railwaymen forming their Unions. The right of Association has been accorded to workers by the highest authorities. It is perfectly legitimate for men to have their Unions for their own good and for the good of the railway service and of the whole country.

Representation in Legislative Assembly

In order to get the necessary legislation passed and to watch their interests, the Railwaymen should have their elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly of India, while the clerks and

other workers should have their elected representatives in the provincial Councils. The Railwaymen have now a fair organisation of their own, with local Unions on almost all the principal railways throughout India and a central body—the All-India Railwaymen's Unions Federation For want of such organisations in 1919-20, the Railwaymen did not get their representation on the Legislative Assembly when the present rules for the Councils were framed. The time is now ripe and Government should establish constituencies for the representation of railwaymen without unnecessary delay.

As the railways are under the Government of India, representation of Railwaymen should be in the Central Legislature The total number of railwaymen on the 31st March, 1924, according to the latest statistics published by the Railway Board was 727,093 Allotting the railways to the Provinces in which the railways have their headquarters, the number of railwaymen by Provinces works out as follows —

Bengal	1,76,411	E B, E I., D S, D H, B D
Bombay	1,77,013	B B, G I P, Barsi, Kathiawad Rlys
Madras	81,686	M & S M, S I, Mysore
United Provinces	60,304	B & N W, O. & R, R & K
Punjab	1,03,093	N W R
Central Provinces	76,359	B N R, Nizam's
Rajputana	8,988	J B R & others
Burma	23,418	Burma Rly
Assam	11 976	A B R
Total	7,27,093	

POSITION OF INDIANS IN RAILWAY SERVICE

In Volume I of the Administration Report on Indian Railways for 1923-24, the Railway Board for the *first time* have given statistics showing the total number of officers and upper-subordinates employed on the 1st April, 1923, and 1924, on the thirteen state-owned railways These statistics are very important and furnish a large part of the statistics we have been asking for since a long time. The Board at long last have listened to the request but have given the number only and not the actual salaries drawn by the members of the different communities, still the statistics published largely reveal the unsatisfactory position of Indians in the two upper classes of railway servants

The total number of railway employees at the end of the financial year 1923-24 of all classes was 7,27,093, as compared with 7,49,680, for the previous year The total number of European, Anglo-Indian, and Indian employees on all railways compared as shown below —

	European	Anglo-Indian	Indian	Total
1923-24 ...	6,642	11,509	7,08,942	7,27,093
1922-23 .	6,883	12,129	7,30,668	7,49,680
	-241	-620	-21,726	-22,587

The total cost of the staff employed on fifteen 1st class railways was Rs 29,02,09,607 in 1922-23 and Rs. 28,18,45,740 in 1923-24 The percentages of this cost on the total working expenses of the same railways were 43·99 and 42 74 respectively. There were increases in the cost on the Assam Bengal, Bengal, Nagpur B and N. W., Burma. East Indian and Nizam's Guaranteed Railway; while there were decreases on the B. B. and C. I., E. B G. I. P., J. B M and S M., N. W., O. and R, R and K., and S. I. Railways

Taking increases in Europeans and decreases in Indians, employed on the individual railways, there were increases in the number of Europeans on the B. B and C. I, M and S M., and J. B Railways, whilst these lines excepting the A. B, B B and C. I. Railway reduced the number of Indians and Anglo-Indians. The three state-worked railways showed reduction in the number of all these races, except the O and R, which had an increase of 7 per cent, among the Anglo-Indians.

OFFICERS AND UPPER SUBORDINATES

The statistics relating to the superior officers and the subordinates drawing Rs. 250 per mensem and above on the thirteen state-owned railways, require very serious attention The total number of these classes were 1862 and 7,378 respectively in 1924 distributed as under —

	Officers		Upper Subordinates	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Europeans ...	1,488	79 92	2,813	38 09
Anglo-Indians	87	4 67	2,782	37 77
Muslims ..	44	2 36	210	2 85
Non-Muslims	243	13 05	1,573	21 29
Total ..	1,862	100 00	7,378	100·00

Similar statistics of appointment of above Rs. 100 and below Rs 250 per month will be equally interesting I hope the Railway Board will arrange to publish them as well Among the officers, Europeans were 4 to 6 of all others, taking all the railways together, but the percentage of Europeans was still higher on the A B (86 per cent), B and N W (92 per cent), B B and S I (84 per cent) G I P (85 per cent), M and S M (83 per cent), R and K. (85 per cent), S I (85 per cent). As stated above, the tendency of the companies is towards increasing the numbers of European officers. This is economically wrong And the position of Anglo-Indians among the railway-officers is hardly any better than that of pure Indians Among the officers there was no Indian in the Agency Department of the A. B, B and N W, B B and C I, Burma E B, G I P, O and R, and R and K. Railways In the Engineering Department the R and N. W and the R and K Railways had no Indian officers in the Traffic either

In the Loco and C W. Departments, there were only 9 Indians out of the 295 officers, viz., one on the B B and C I, A B, 2 on the E B, 4 on the E. I. and 2 on the G I P Railway. In the Stores Department, out of 69 officers, only six were Indians, one on B. N, one on Burma, one on E B, two on N W, and one on O. and R Railway

INDIANISATION

Paragraph 84 of the Volume I of the Railway Boards' Administration Report for 1923-24 gives the following numbers of new appointments made to the superior establishment of state railways during the three years :—

	European	Anglo-Indian	Indian	Total
1921-22 ...	11	10	11	32
1922-23 ...	12	3	8	23
1923-24 ...	10	3	8	21
Total ...	33	16	27	76

Out of the total of 76 appointments, 33, *i.e.* 43 42 per cent, were given to Europeans, 16 appointments, i.e, 21·09 per cent to Anglo-Indians, and 27 appointments, i.e, 35 53 to Indians On what basis or method those appointments were made is not stated. The appointments at least in the Traffic Department are not distributed properly and proportionately according to proper tests of merit. Sixteen of these appointments were in the traffic Department, eight were given to Anglo-Indians and the same number to Indians. Thirty-one were in the Engineering Department, 9 Europeans, 5 Anglo-Indians, and 17 Indians. Twenty-nine were in other departments, of which 24 were given to Europeans, three to Anglo-Indians, and only two to Indians Of these 24 European appointments 10 were in the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagons Departments, for which it is stated suitable Indian candidates were not available How could the candidates be available since arrangements for their training have not been made by the Railway Board? Immediate provision of these opportunities were recommended by the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services in 1916. The Railway Board have been putting this matter off and the promise for better facilities made in paragraph 89 of the Administration Report for 1923-24 is not even definite

In his speech to the I. R C A on 9th October, 1924, His Excellency the Viceroy said that in accordance with the general policy of His Majesty s Government as expressed in the preamble of the Government of India Act and before the debate on railway finance in the Assembly, the Government of India had decided to accept the recommendations of the Lee Commission which have the effect of pressing forward as rapidly as possible the extention of the existing facilities in order that the recruitment of Indians be advanced We desire that all appointments to the Engineering and Traffic Departments should be made among the candidates on the results of University or College examinations and the recruitment of apprentices by competitive examinations conducted by Selection Boards to be constituted of representative gentlemen of all communities concerned.

The position of Indians among the Upper-Subordinates is equally unsatisfactory, because a marked partiality is shown to Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the recruitment and subsequent promotions and privileges of various kinds, as is evident from the above table. The percentage of Indians on the grand total was 24·13, but on the whole the individual railways varied from 11 to 38 per cent. The B. B & C. I. Railway stands best with 38 per cent, next to it is the N. W. Ry with 34 per cent. Then the Burma railway with 34, O. & R. and A. B. with 30. E B. with 29, S. I. with 24. R. & K. 21, G. I. P. 20. B N 18, B. & N. W. 13, and E. I. and M. & S. M. are the worst with 11 per cent only of Indian Upper subordinates. A more detailed analysis will be still more interesting, but I content myself with these observations. Indians have no desire to envy the lot of their European and Anglo-Indian comrades. What is desired is justice to all and no favouritism. Indians should not be denied bare justice. It cannot be said that the preponderance of Europeans and Anglo-Indians is due to dearth of qualified Indians. The racial discriminations of which Indians have been complaining for generations is clearly revealed by the statistics now published for the *first time.*

We stand for justice and fair play. Let our European and Anglo-Indian co-workers have their due shares, but not at the cost of Indians. Let us see what their shares work out to on the population basis. According to the Census of 1921, the population figures are ,—

	Number	Percentage.
Indians and Burmans	315,766,453	99 52
Europeans	175,737	.05
Anglo-Indians	113,041	0.03
TOTAL	316,050,231	100.00

Taking for granted that all Europeans and Anglo-Indians were literate, the figures stood as follows —

	Number	Percentage
Indians & Burmans	22,334,873	98 72
Europeans	175,737	78
Anglo-Indians	113,140	50
Total literates	22,623,651	100,00

As most of the subordinates on the railways are required to possess a knowledge of the English language, the population figures of literacy in English were as under —

	Number	Percentage
Indians & Burmans	22,238,572	81.57
Europeans	175,737	6 95
Anglo-Indians	113,041	4 47
Total	2,527,350	99 99

If statistics were given of those possessing university qualifications, Indians will show a still higher percentage Even taking the above percentages, we find Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who were 6 95 and 4 47 percent. of the total literates in English, held 38 09 and 37 77 per cent respectively of the Upper subordinate posts whilst pure Indians who were 88·57 per cent among the English literates had only 24.14 per cent, of the appointments This is clear injustice and loudly calls for effective remedies.

The remedies I suggest are·—

1. That recruits for these appointments be taken on the result of competitive examinations.
2. That the highest officials who direct the railway policy and hold charge of individual railways should be Indianized.
3. That the Boards who may conduct competitive examinations should have due proportions of representative gentlemen of all communities concerned.

For the first time in the history of Indian railways, His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Reading, took an unusual step and attended the 1924 Session of the I. R. Conference Association, in which not one Indian was a member There the Viceroy said that the "Anglo Indian community

may rest assured that in the extension of this policy of increasing Indianisation, the r interests will receive the most careful consideration and stand in no danger of being overlooked." No body grudges due consideration being given to any community and we take it that His Excellency meant simply justice being done. He could not mean to allow any undue advantages being continued at the expense of the pure Indians.

His Excellency was pleased to say, "I desire to make it clear that I fully recognise that the Anglo-Indian community have played a very considerable part in the working of the railways in the past," and for this reason he gave the assurance. Have not pure Indians played a much greater part in the construction and working of the railways? Pure Indians form 97.50 per cent of the total railway servants against 1.58 per cent of Anglo-Indians and 91 per cent of Europeans. As such this claim of Indians for just treatment is quite strong and valid. It is well known that Colonel H. J. Gidney, representative of the Anglo-Indian community, in his speech on Mr Acharya's resolution regarding the enquiry into the grievances of railway subordinate employees, himself said "I am in entire sympathy with the principle of the resolution. I believe that every labourer given the same work, carrying the same responsibility and requiring the same efficiency, should be given the same wages provided it is a living wage according to his standard of living—a principle to be found in every Government Department except railways." The Royal Commission on Public Services in paragraph 55 of this Report of 1926 laid down equal pay for all officers who do the same work. The All-India Railwaymen's Conference also demands equal pay for equal work.

But Col. Gidney's proviso about the standard of living practically contradicts the main principle he himself has given. Under the cloak of standard of living a serious injustice is being practised upon pure Indians, who are treated as inferior to both Europeans and Anglo-Indians, even where Indians exhibit better work and better qualifications. That is the chief cause of discontent among the Indians. Indians have to live economically because they are poorly paid. The standard of their living is low through sheer poverty and large responsibilites on account of their families and relations. Those among the Indians who are better paid have a decent standard of living.

Surprising was the view taken by Mr. R. N. Maclean. He was misreading the phrase, Indianisation. People have put various constructions upon R. Maclean's words, but I give him credit for emphasising the great need for rapid Indianisation of the higher grades of railway officers and upper subordinates. I refer especially to the posts of the upper subordinates, because there are many practical restrictions against Indians getting into these posts, though in theory all racial discriminations have been moved.

I assure officials like Mr Maclean that Indians will sooner or later be working the railways not only in the best interests of India itself but also with justice to all including Europeans and Anglo-Indians, just like the Japanese, who work their own railways with equal if not greater efficiency than the European officials of the present day, and surely Indians will work with a greatly reduced percentage of working expenses and lower rate and fares for the public.

High Cost Of European Servants

As far back as the year 1870 the eminen Railway expert at the India office in England Mr. (subsequently Sir) Juland Danver, wrote in the Parliamentary Report on the Indian Railways (1839-70).

"One of the chief expenses connected with the working of the railways in India is the high cost of European Agency and the time should now have arrived when the result of the instruction given to natives and Eurasians in the mechanical departments of a railway should be shewn. On the Madras Railway the system of apprenticing Indian born youths as firemen, engine-drivers and mechanical workmen in the Locomotive shops has succeeded admirably and the aim of all should be gradually to allow natives to take the place of highly paid European skill and labour."

He further wrote: "There is no reason also why the more educated class of natives and Eurasians should not fill the superior positions of engineers and assistants," who are more essential today than they were in 1870. The present high cost of working expenses on the state railways in India is entirely due to the European Agency employed at the top of the administration.

The salaries of railway officers were raised in 1921 beyond the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services. From 1922 they have been further increased under the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The salaries and allowances of the higher officials are very high and need cutting down, while the pay and allowances of the lowest employees are too low and should be raised to enable the men to have a living wage for themselves and their families.

Training Of Indians For Mechanical Department.

Upon Sir Juland Danver's advice the Secretary of State for India took up the matter especially, which resulted in a circular from the Government of India dated the 29th June, 1870, impressing upon the railway officers the great advantage of training the natives of the country in all those branches of handicraft that are necessary to the construction and maintenance of railways.

These instructions were issued in 1870, fifty-six years ago, and not even in this year of grace 1926, are full facilities allowed to the natives of the soil, especially to the educated youths, to receive training in mechanical engineering, and the high officials in charge of the Railway administration are bent upon keeping up the costly agency of Europeans. The orders of the Secretary of State for India were defied in India. I cannot do better than quote the finding of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1918:—

"151. Above the skilled workmen is the mistry, or foreman and the provision for training such men is hopelessly insufficient. We were forcibly struck, when visiting the large railways and private workshops throughout India, with the almost complete absence of Indians from the ranks of foremen and chargemen, the non-commissioned

officers of the great army of engineering artisans. At present these posts are filled almost entirely by men imported from abroad. The railway companies are endeavouring to supply this deficiency by training European and Anglo-Indian youths."

Training For The Posts Of Foremen

As regards the training of apprentices for the posts of foremen, the answers given by Government to question No 80 on the 10th September, 1921 and No. 161 of September 1925 are not quite satisfactory The matter has been thrown partly upon the Local Governments who have no interest or powers in the Railways and partly it has been left to the sweet will of Railway officials who are unwilling to advance the interests of Indians.

In April 1920, the Government of India issued a resolution giving a brief account of the part played by the railways in providing artisans and foremen and expressing their confidence "that the managements of the various railways are sufficiently alive to the needs of the time, to do everything possible to create a system which will give middle class Indian youths an efficient system of training and fit them to take their share in the great work of equipping India with skilled mechanics, the sinews that actuate the industrial frame". At the same time they pointed out "that the railways cannot be expected to bear the cost of training apprentices in their shops in excess of their own requirements and the help of local Governments may reasonably be asked to enable expenditure on further developments to be met." Finally the Government of India trusted that the question of the improvement of the apprentice system will be approached by the Railways and Local Governments in full co-operation and with the determination to open widely in the interests of the industrial advancement of the country the excellent training ground presented by the Railway workshops and that the shop management and staff will bring to the task the same spirit of energy and progress which has raised the railway shops to their high level of efficiency

In placing the above resolution on the table of the Legislative Assembly on the 10th September, 1921. (Question No 80) Colonel W D Waghorn added that "Railways generally are enlarging the scope of the training and improving facilities at the shops, as it is fully recognised that the better training of Indians for these posts is a most important consideration; that the rules regarding age, qualifications, numerical strength and stipends to be allowed to apprentices will be drawn up by the provincial Governments and the Railway administrations in collaboration when the schemes are sufficiently advanced," and that "Indian apprentices equally with European apprentices are eligible for admission to Technical Schools and for training in workshops."

After 1921 a few Indian mistries have been promoted to the rank of chargemen nominally, but their positions remain the same as before. In reply to an interpellation put in the Assembly in September, 1925, the Government member stated that "in Bengal and the Punjab the Local Government have institutions for imparting training to apprentice mechanics, which is supplemented by a practical training in the shops of the E. B. and N. W. Railways at Kanchrapara and Lahore The E I, A B, B. N., B. & N. W., B. B & C I., Burma, G I P., M. & S. M., and S. I. Railways also provide in their workshops facilities for the training of mechanics supplemented by theoretical instruction".

The resolution issued by the Government of India in 1920 is lukewarm and half-hearted and consequently we find no or very little progress in the employment of Indians as foremen.

Training For Superior Officers

In 1916, the Royal Commission on Public Services recommended that "A determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India, so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country (India) the staff needed to meet all normal requirements."

Again in 1920 the Acworth Railway Committee laid great stress upon the importance of providing opportunity for technical training of Indians for all branches of railway service and thought that the Railway Board will make substantial grants of money for the purpose of developing such instruction (Paragraph 184 of the Report). In 1922 the Hon'ble member for commerce and Railways promised to the Legislative Assembly that a part of the special grant of 150 crores for capital expenditure would be spent on providing facilities for the training of Indians But very little has been done so far to give practical effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1916

Unwillingness of Indian Government to train Indians for Superior Posts

In answer to question No 79 on 10th September, 1921 Col W D Waghorn on behalf of the Government in the Legislative Assembly said the Government of India had advised the Secretary of State that it was difficult to obtain in India recruits for the superior Locomotive and C & W departments and that no substantial change in the immediate future could be looked for Again in September, 1925, in answer to question No 161 Mr. G.C Sime said that "Mechanics for specialist purposes will continue to be recruited from England" In the administration Report for 1923-24, the Railway Board, however have admitted that the facilities for the training of mechanical engineers in India can be developed and that in this way there would be possibility of further Indian recruitment for the Locomotive and C. and W Departments This admission is not enough. Arrangements for the training should be put in operation without further delay. There is no dearth of suitable candidates among Indians. On the contrary capable young men from our universities do not find an opportunity

Mr. Cole's Scheme

In 1923, a scheme for the training of railway officers and subordinates was prepared by Mr. H. L. Cole, Secretary to the Railway Board. The scheme is excellent and should prove useful.

Great credit is due to Mr. Cole for preparing it, but the controlling organisation that includes the Selection Boards for the appointment of officers and engagement of apprentices is composed entirely of European officials. We need due representation of Indians on all the controlling bodies of that scheme. The Public Services Commission have expressly laid down that the Committee for selection of recruits to all the four different departments of the Railway Revenue establishment should consist of three official and two non-officials, including two Indians. We have not been informed that such Selection Committees have been appointed for the Loco and C W. recruits. Nor has the scheme been brought into force except perhaps in establishing the Railway School of Transportation at Chandausi. As I have already suggested, selection of recruits should be made by competitive examinations.

Railway School of Transportation

The Government member also stated that the Railway School of Transportation at Chandausi is open only to men already in railway employ. The scheme of training there varies for different classes of employees. The first course of three weeks commenced on the first of March, 1925, and training was imparted to the following classes of railway employees—Junior Officers, Probationary Officers, Upper Subordinates, Lower Subordinates. Similar courses have been held with short breaks from the 9th of April, 1925. The total number of employees who can be received at the school at one time is

Officers	10
Upper-subordinates	20
Lower subordinates	75

Outside candidates are not admitted. A similar school for transportation has been in existence for some years at Asansole on the E. I. Railway.

Enquiry into Grievances

The resolution for a Committee to enquire into the grievances of railway subordinate employees, moved by Mr. M. K. Acharya, M. L. A., on the 27th January and adopted as amended by the Assembly on the 5th February, 1925 still remains a dead letter, because of the opposition of the Hon'ble the Commerce Member, Sir Charles Innes, who will not allow any hearing to railway subordinates but will compel them either to submit to the high-handedness of the officials or to leave the service of the railways. His argument is that if appeals from aggrieved men be listened to or entertained, the railway officials would not be able to control the staff, that the efficiency of the railway would be lost, trade and commerce would be thrown back, working expenses would go up, necessitating enhancements of Rates and Fares, and accidents would occur on the line. In the course of the debate he also said "That is a point of principle which I hold very strongly, and all questions of discipline and staff must be left to the Railway administration, and I feel that no employer worth the name can agree that one should be put in a position of intervening between him and his staff." Further on he added "I am constantly asked questions regarding individual cases on railways. I feel it strongly my duty not to pursue those questions, nor to refer them to the agen[t] and I give the house an answer which I kno[w] must disappoint the House". (Pages 780, and 80[9] of the debates). Mr. G. G. Sim Financial advise[r] to the Railway Board, added that the course of a[c]tion proposed in Mr. Acharya's resolution and i[n] the speeches of the Honourable members wh[o] supported it is bound to introduce chaos in th[e] working of the railways all over India and to bring state management to a sudden end.

There was no chaos when the Lee Commission enquired into the unjust, unreal, groundless claims for additional salaries and allowances to the officials who were already drawing salaries higher than in any other country in the world. This gentleman quoted chapter and verse from the Report of the Railway Committee (Acworth), thereby attempting to show that it was the intention of that Committee to give arbitrary powers to railway officials over the employees when the Committee recommended state management in the place of the Working Companies. But one of the sentences quoted by him from the Committee's Report required that the Railway Commission or the Railway Board itself should fix the scales of salaries and conditions of services for its own staff and be free to engage and dismiss them as it thinks proper (Page 770 of the debate). Has the Railway Board done this? Not that we are aware of. True the Acworth Committee meant that the Agent or other officer of a railway should have "the same amount of freedom in dealing with his staff as would be left to a corresponding official under ordinary Company management." But the Committee did not mean that the agents of railway should deal with the men in an unreasonable or a high-handed manner as were the cases of injustice to employees brought to the notice of the Assembly, which the Hon'ble the Commerce Member ignored and did not even care to enquire into. His action is directly opposed to the long standing rules and orders laid down by the Government of India for the protection of Government servants.

The Railway Committee did not give due consideration to the anti-Indian attitude of the foreign bureaucracy that holds sway over the Indian Railways. These officials have utterly selfish motives, draw fat salaries and allowances for themselves, and keep their subordinate employees down and down, and if any of the subordinates has the courage to raise a voice against the injustice, he is summarily dismissed and sent away, causing terror among the rest of the staff. Did the Railway Committee intend such justice to the lower staff? Certainly not. Whenever the men raise any of their grievances, the officials immediately raise the objection of working expenses going up. But no such question was or is raised when increasing the pay and allowances of the higher officials. The working expenses cannot but be high because of the disproportionately high salaries and allowances of the higher officials. If these high salaries be cut down, lower employees would certainly get their just dues without unduly raising the working expenses. Because the officials are already drawing too much for themselves, they are keeping down the poor subordinates. In European countries, the question is labour *versus* capital. Here in India on the state railways, where

there is no capitalist directly concerned, the question is higher officials *versus* subordinate employees.

If the officials are allowed, as the Hon'ble the Commerce Member and his colleagues mean to do, to continue their autocratic powers without any check for appeal, the position of Indians on the railways would never improve They would be kept down perpetually. Certainly this was not the intention of the Acworth Committee The Government members in their zeal misrepresent facts to the Assembly to the detriment of helpless railway employees

Mr Acharya was perfectly right in asking the Government members, "Is there to be only departmental discipline and no departmental justice?" As described by Col Gidney, M. L A, the representative of the Anglo-Indian community, a railway employee gets no redress even when he has a genuine grievance. The order of the junior official is seldom or never upset by his senior or agent. The subordinate appeals to the Railway Board which has stereotyped a reply refusing to interfere with the orders of the Agent The attitude of the Hon'ble the Commerce member leaves no chance for redress by constitutional means, but I would not advice the helpless workers to resort to any direct action The matter needs combined representation and continued agitation.

The officials who have secured for themselves Parliamentary guarantees for their huge salaries, allowances, security of employment, pensions, &c, for which there is no precedent or parallel in any civilised country in the world, will not allow even bare justice to their subordinates, which the ordinary rules allow to every servant of Government, however humble he may be Who will say that such treatment of a hard working class of public servants is reasonable? No Indian agrees to it. The Legisalative Assembly have voted for the enquiry in the face of the strenuous opposition of the Government members and of the European Non-official exploiters of India The Anglo-Indian community, though treated a little better than pure Indians, has many grievances and it is satisfactory to note that its representative voted with the Indians on the resolution under reference. It now remains for the railway servants to show by completing their own organisations whether they are satisfied with the treatment they are receiving from their superiors, whether the railway service on the whole is popular as put forth by Mr E. E Sykes of the Bombay European community, or whether the men resort to railway service and stick to it under necessity through the stress of the prevailing unemployment and for want of other occupations in the country.

By their refusal to receiveappeals from aggrieved members of the subordinate railway service or to carry out the wishes of the Legislative Assembly for an open enquiry, the officials have given a challenge to the workers unkown in the history of public servants in India

On behalf of the men, the majority of the Legislative Assembly who voted for the resolution claimed with very good reasons for the men, in return for their hard work, an adequate remuneration, proper treatment, satisfactory service conditions, a constitutional tribunal to ensure all this from time to time, along with periodical enquiries into the condition of the employees Khan Bahadur W. M Hussanally pointed out that the Chief Mechanical Engineer of the N. W. Railway was a fitter when he started life and was getting now something like two or three thousand rupees a month. Has any Indian, he asked, any chance of rising to become a Loco Superintendent? No. There lies the racial discrimination. Such racial discrimination is at the bottom of most of the grievances of the railway staff. The discriminations are kept alive on the railways in the face of the Royal Proclamation and repeated assurances from the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the Public Services Commission that there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality under the fundamental principles of British rule in India The statistics of railway officers and subordinates published in the administrative Report for 1923-24 clearly demonstrates the racial discrimination of which Indians have been complaining for many decades

Commercial principles are often cited in connection with the Indian railways, merely to keep down the just claims of Indians or to mislead Indian politicians Have even the non-strategic state railways been constructed and worked on true commercial principles during the last 75 years or so? Have all the charges incurred thereon been accounted for on commercial principles? Have not crores of deficits of working expenses and interest charges been cleared off from the general revenues of India? Can any commercial concern draw so largely from such public funds? Is any inventory kept and maintained of the assets and liabilities on account of the state railways in a recognised commercial system and form? Answers to these and cognate suggestions will reveal the real truth

A comprehensive account of receipts and charges incurred on account of the Indian Railways shows a net loss of 322 8 crores of rupees to the Indian Treasury from 1850-51 to 1923-24 and the losses are still growing. How many commercial concerns could bear such losses? But these losses on account of the Indian railways have been borne by the people of India, who are being unjustly treated at their own expense, by the officials who have been placed in charge of the Indian Railways.

Sir Charles Innes said that democratic institutions should not have the power of interference with the executive, but gave no answer when Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas asked the Hon'ble member whether he looked upon the Legislative Assembly as a democratic Institution full-fledged and with all the powers which a democratic institution should have Sir Charles Innes spoke of bitter experience of state management of railways in some democratic countries, but he ignored the excellent results of the state management of railways in our own country, during the seventies and eighties of the last century, when state management fully justified itself both in efficiency and economical working (Page 809)

Sir Charles Innes has been labouring under a serious misapprehension He said *generally*, the railway servants are happy and contented, that the enquiry if instituted would start labour unrest, resulting in strikes on every railway "Once you get," he said, "your railwaymen to believe that if they want to raise their pay, they have merely to

apply to this House, then good-bye to any chance of running your railways, in an efficient and economical manner" (Page 33). *Surely the* Honourable member *is totally unaware of the serious discontent prevailing among Indian officers* as well as subordinates, otherwise he would not have used such language or regarded the resolution as thoroughly dangerous He could not, however be unaware of the unjustly discriminative treatment accorded to Indians From my personal experience during a period of 48 years, and from that I hear every now and then from railwaymen, I can say that the behaviour of higher officials, with some honourable exceptions, is generally arrogant and over-bearing. Even Indians occupying positions in the superior grades are treated roughly and unfairly and they feel the humiliation and injustice to which they are subjected by the officials It is only the adverse conditions prevailing in India which compel these people to bear such treatment.

Lines have been practically drawn in the railway service, beyond which Indians are not allowed to go, for no shortcoming on their part except that they are Indians. Cases do happen where men become desperate and assert their rights. Such men are got rid of on the flimsiest excuse. There is a sort of combination among the upper officials who carry on demi-official correspondence relating to the secret policy concerning the staff. There can, therefore, be no improvement in the railway services unless and until there is Indianization from the top There are many Indians capable of taking charge of the highest appointments in the Railway Commission, but the official class will not allow its stronghold to pass out of its hands

The officials will not listen to individual representations of aggrieved subordinates nor will they allow them to form their unions, while their own combinations carry on all the secret policy to maintain their supremacy For their own combined and concerted notions, the Railway Administrations have formed the Indian Railway Conference Association by means of which constant consultations are made between the Railway Administrations before any line of policy or procedure is changed or adopted

The representative of Bombay Europeans, Mr. E. F Sykes, argued that on the whole the railway service is remarkably popular, that the people who once get into it do not wish to get out of it. This is true, because the men find no other occupation or means of subsistence, since the indigenous industries of India have been killed by the imports of foreign cloths and other articles This has been greatly facilitated by the introduction of the railroad in India. If the people could find other occupations, they would not stick to railway service. For service in the railway workshops they leave their homes early in the morning at about 6 o'clock and do not return to their homes before 6 or 7 P M They seldom find time for a bath, while they have to eat cold meals in the noon outside the railway workshops. Nobody ordinarily lives such a life day after day throughout the year. To call it remarkably popular is absurd. Then take the life of the train staff, who have to expose themselves to the inclemencies of the weather and work day and night on running trains, abandoning natural hours of sleep and rest. Likewise the men employed at stations have also *to work day and night, office clerks have to t* *bundles of papers for calculations they have* *make at home at night and early in the mornin* *These men also sacrifice their health and comfo* *for the sake of their livelihood. Those of the ra* *way servants who enjoy life are some of t* superior officers, who usually sign papers prepare *by the office staff* The remarks of Mr. Sykes a true so far as these officers are concerned. B they are totally wrong with regard to subordinat employees.

In the natural order of the universe, the gift of God are distributed equally and evenly amon all creatures, But through selfishness many me have misappropriated to themselves many undu shares of these gifts to themselves and this in justice is practised by the strong over the weak This has been carried to the extreme by th present bureaucracy in India. The Officials tha are on the top of the Administration get hig salaries, large allowances, extensive privileges i privilege leave, sick leave, furlough, leave o private affairs, etc., with comfortable work an big pensions or gratuities after retirement fro the work, while the lower a man stands i position the lower are his salaries, allowance and privileges The lowest of public servants usually styled as menials, who are called upon to do hard work, are kept on starvation pay meagre allowances, little or no leave or pension The whole of the Civil Service Regulations and the rulings and orders of the Railway Companies tell this tale to the surprise of one who gets a chance to read the rules and regulations attentively Poor men who, being ill-nourished ill-housed, are more susceptible to sickness and disease than the better paid officials ought to get reasonable leave and allowance, but are denied consideration, while those who have plenty are allowed more and more What is the explanation of this? Mere weakness and humble submission of the weak men These men are realizing this injustice on the part of those who have managed to secure high positions for themselves This is no doubt opposed to reason, and justice must be done The men are now claiming better pay, better allowances, due leave, and other privileges, better dwellings, and better conditions of life generally The higher officials are sitting tight, pulling the rope to their own side They get Commissions and some members of the British Parliament to back up their unjust claims for new additions to their already huge piles, time after time, without regard to the poverty of the masses in India, who are made to pay the high salaries and allowances of the officials by taxes direct and indirect.

Some of our own countrymen have joined the officials and claim special privileges for themselves or for their communities, creating communal bitterness, and the whole country is bitterly divided in its own house, to the delight of the bureaucracy If some individuals or communities are to get special privileges with greater allowances of wealth than their due share, where are these to come from? Therefore the mass of the population gets less than its due share. I do not think our friends would ask for special privileges if they realize the injustice to others. I trust our countrymen will seriously consider this matter. I know a very large

majority of our people love justice, whereas special privileges are contrary to justice. We must stand up for and assert our rights as citizens and children of the soil. We cannot do it individually. We must unite and assert our rights unitedly. United we stand, divided we fall. In union alone is our strength. United action in a peaceful manner is sure to secure us justice, though it may take some time. It is a big struggle, but it must be carried to victory.

[This article is the presidential address of Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasada at this year's Annual Convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation held at Madras, specially edited for THE MODERN REVIEW]

BRITISH EXPANSION IN TIBET

By DR TARAKNATH DAS

CHAPTER III

Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Russo-Japanese War, and Younghusband's Expedition to Tibet

THE Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed on January 30th. 1902 The spirit and the motive of the Alliance are to be found in the preamble of the famous document

"The Governments of Great Britain and Japan actuated solely by a desire to maintain the status quo and general peace of the extreme East, being moreover specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for commerce and industry in all nations, hereby agree", etc.

This shows that the prime motive of the Alliance is to keep Russia out of Korea and at the same time not allowing Russia to secure any further foothold in any part of the Empire of China Indeed the possibility of Russian occupation of Manchuria, after the Boxer trouble, was one of the most important factors of the Russo-Japanese trouble, and Great Britain and America also were most vitally interested in trade there The German Government, through the pronouncement of Prince Von Bulow, made it clear that she was not anxious to uphold the hand of Great Britain in Manchuria against Russia Indeed Great Britain herself made an agreement with Russia in 1899 by which parts of Manchuria and Mongolia fell in as spheres of influence of Russia. The Russo-Chinese agreement conferring on Russia the right of building railroads in that very region, gave her certain privileges. It is also to be remembered that Mr. Hay's Open Door Policy, as enunciated in his famous declaration (July 3 1900), did recognise the spheres of influence[1] and it is fully evident also that in pursuance of the very policy, the United States never made a formal protest against any special spheres of influence of any nation Thus preservation of the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire meant opposition to further encroachment by Russia; and that encroachment in the British mind had certainly some reference to Tibet, where Russia was attempting to secure some foothold through the Sino-Russian commercial treaty mentioned before.

The most important provision of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was that if any of the contracting parties be at war with a third party and the third party be aided by any other nation then the other contracting party of the alliance would come to the aid of the ally and they would not conclude peace until both parties agreed to it.

From Chamberlain and even King Edward VII we have it[2] that France was willing to settle all outstanding disputes on colonial matters, even before the conclusion of the Anglo Japanese Alliance Britain was indifferent to this; for she was not at all afraid of fighting France single-handed In case of necessity Russia could be taken care of by Japan. It was also certain that Germany was not going to aid Russia against England in case of a war. If she had that intention she could have accepted the partnership in the Anglo-Japanese-

German Alliance which was definitely proposed in 1901. Thus Britain's position became more secure.

On January 8th 1903, Lord Curzon sent a lengthy despatch to the Secretary of State for India, and only a few extracts of this clear statement of policy is in the published papers on Tibet, and the following quotation from this document will clearly explain the factors involved in the situation

"If we (Government of India) therefore now enter upon negotiations with no other vantage ground than the successful reassertion of our authority on a very inconspicuous section of the border, it does not appear that there is much reason for anticipating a more favorable solution of the Tibetan problem than has attended our previous efforts, unless, indeed, we are prepared to assume a minatory tone and to threaten Tibet with further advance if the political and commercial relations between us are allowed any longer to be reduced to a nullity by her policy of obstinate inaction. The second combination of circumstances that has materially affected the situation is the rumored conclusion of a secret agreement by which the Russian Government has acquired certain powers of interference in Tibet We have ourselves reported to your Lordship circumstantial evidence derived from a variety of quarters all pointing to the same direction and tending to show the existence of an arrangement of some sort between Russia and Tibet. This then is the situation with which we are confronted at the moment when we are asked by your Lordship to advise as to the answer that should be returned to the Chinese proposals for the reopening of negotiations with our Political Officer on the Tibetan frontier It is obvious that any such negotiations are thereby invested with a far more than local importance, and that what we are concerned to examine is not the mere settlement of border dispute or even the amelioration of our future trading relations with Tibet but the question of our entire future political relations with that country, and with the degree to which we can permit the influence of another great Power to be exercised for the first time in Tibetan affairs. It is unnecessary for us to remind your Lordship that the Russian border nowhere even touches that of Tibet, and the nearest point of the Russian territory is considerably more than a thousand miles short of the Tibetan capital, which is situated in the extreme south and close proximity to the northern frontier of the Indian Empire Neither need we point to the historical fact that no other States or Powers have, during the time that the British Dominion has been established in India, had any connection with Tibet, but firstly China, who possesses a nominal suzerainty over the country; secondly Nepal, a State in close political connection with India, and, thirdly, the British Government itself. The policy of exclusiveness to which the Tibetan Government has during the last century become increasingly addicted has only been tolerated by us, because anomalous and unfriendly as it has been, it carried with it no element of political or military danger. At no time during that century do we imagine that Great Britain would have permitted the creation of a rival and hostile influence in a position so close to the Indian border and so pregnant with possibilities of mischief. We are of the opinion that the only way in which we can counteract the danger by which we regard that British interest is directly threatened in Tibet, is to assume the initiative ourselves, and we regard the Chinese proposals for a conference as affording an excellent opportunity for pressing forward and carrying out this policy. We are in favour, subject to qualifications that we shall presently mention, not only of acceptance of the Chinese proposals, but of attaching to them the condition that the conference shall take place not upon our frontier, but at Lhassa, and it shall be attended by a representative of the Tibetan Government, who will participate in the proceedings In our view, the attempt to come to terms with Tibet through the agency of China has invariably proved a failure in the past, because of the intervention of this third party between Tibet and ourselves. We regard the so-called suzerainty of China over Tibet as a constitutional fiction, a political affectation which has been maintained because of its convenience to both parties Our views, as his Majesty is aware, have been for some time in favour of dealing with Tibet alone; and it is upon these lines that we have proceeded with the consent of his Majesty's government, in attempting to open up direct communication with the Dalai Lama In our view, any country or Government, or Empire has a right to protect its own interests, and if those interests are seriously imperilled, as we hold ours to be in Tibet, we hold that the first law of national existence, which is self-preservation, compels us to take such steps as will avert those dangers and place our security upon an assured and impregnable footing In view of the contingency, of opposition, we think that the mission, if decided upon, should be accompanied by an armed escort, sufficient to overawe any opposition that might be encountered on the way, to ensure its safety while in Lhassa The military strength of the Tibetans is beneath contempt, and serious resistance is not to be contemplated At the same time the most emphatic assurance might be given to the Chinese and Tibetan Governments that the mission was of an exclusively commercial character, that we repudiate all designs of a political nature upon Tibet, that we have no desire either to declare a protectorate or permanently to occupy any portion of the country, but that our intentions were confined to the removing of the embargo that at present rests upon all trade between Tibet and India, and to establishing those amicable relations and means of communication that ought to subsist between adjacent and friendly Powers. We believe that the policy of frank discussion and cooperation with the Nepalese Durbar would find them prepared to take part in our mission If some such steps be not taken as we have advocated, a serious danger will grow up in Tibet, which may in one day, and perhaps at no very distant date, attain to menacing dimensions We believe that our territorial position and our indubitable rights, enhanced as they are by complete disrespect shown by the Tibetans for existing stipulations, place it in our power to nip any such danger in the bud before it has developed: and

we earnestly hope that the opportunity be not lost. We regard the situation as one affecting the frontiers, which we are called upon to defend with Indian resources, which is entitled to carry weight with his Majesty's Government; and we entertain a sincere alarm that if nothing is done and matters are allowed to slide, we may before long have occasion gravely to regret that action was not taken while it was still relatively free from difficulty..."[3]

The above despatch, which became the cornerstone of the British policy towards Tibet, makes clear a good many things, and those that are worth consideration are;—(1) So far as the British Government was concerned, the question of Chinese suzerainty was merely a "constitutional fiction and political affectation;" (2) For the sake of India, Great Britain would never allow any powerful nation to have political influence in Tibet. The British Government did not interfere in Tibet aggressively because there was no such menace As soon as Russia appeared on the scene the British attitude changed (3) Although the whole motive of the British Government was to carry on negotiations to bring Tibet within the political influence of Britain, it was made clear to the Tibetan and Chinese Governments that there was no political motive, thus revealing the true nature of British diplomacy (4) Tibet must be controlled as soon as possible so that Russian influence be nipped in the bud, (5) The policy was even to use Nepal against Tibet.

Although a forward policy towards Tibet had been decided upon, the Secretary of State for India was very cautious about the move recommended by the Governor-General in Council. On February 27th, 1903, the Secretary of State for India, among other things, instructed Lord Curzon in the following way —

".. Your Excellency's proposal to send an armed mission to enter Lhassa, by force if necessary and establish a Resident, might no doubt, if the issue were simply one between India and Tibet, be justified as a legitimate reply to the action of the Tibetan Government.. But His Majesty's Government cannot regard the question as one concerning India and Tibet alone. The position of China, in its relations to the powers of Europe, has been so modified in recent years that it is necessary to take into account those altered conditions in deciding on action affecting what must still be regarded as a province of China. It is true as stated in your Excellency's letter that we have no desire either to declare a Protectorate or permanently to occupy any part of the country. Measures of this kind might, however, become inevitable if we were once to find ourselves committed to armed intervention in Tibet, and it is almost certain that were the British Mission to encounter opposition, questions would be raised which would have to be considered, not as local ones concerning Tibet and India exclusively but from an international point of view, as involving the status of the Chinese Empire: For these reasons His Majesty's Government thinks it necessary, before sanctioning a course which might be regarded as an attack on the integrity of the Chinese Empire, to be sure that each action can be justified by the previous action of Tibet, and they have accordingly come to the conclusion that it would be premature to adopt measures so likely to precipitate a crisis in the affairs of Tibet as those which your Excellency has proposed. In their opinion it would have been unwise not to use the Russian memorandum of the 2nd of February as an occasion for pressing the Russian Government to make a distinct statement of their policy and for warning them of our intention to meet any action on their part by more than counter-balancing measures of our own. After the explanations of the Russian Government have been received, His Majesty's Government will be in a better position to decide the scope to be given to the negotiations with China, and on the steps to be taken to protect India against any danger from the establishment of foreign influence in Tibet."[4]

The Anglo-Russian controversy regarding Tibet from now on took the shape of giving an excuse for British action, and a few extracts from the dispatches exchanged between the various parties will give an adequate idea of the developement. In a despatch from the Marquis of Lansdowne to Sir G. Scott, dated February 18, the British Government's position has been made absolutely clear. The despatch in part reads .—

"During my conversation with the Russian Ambassador to-day I referred to the question of Tibet, which we had discussed on the 11th instant. The interest of India in Tibet was, I said, of a very special character. With the map of Central Asia before me, I pointed out to His Excellency that Lhassa was within a comparatively short distance of the northern frontier of India It was, on the other hand, considerably over 1,000 miles distant from the Asiatic possessions of Russia, and any sudden display of Russian interest or activity in the regions immediately adjoining the possessions of Great Britain would scarcely fail to have a disturbing effect upon the population or to create the impression that British influence was receding and that of Russia making rapid advances into regions which had hitherto been regarded as altogether outside of her sphere of influence Should there be any display of Russian activity in that country we should be obliged to reply by a display of activity, not only equivalent to but exceeding that made by Russia If they sent a Mission or an expedition we should have to do the same but in greater strength..."[5]

The attitude of the Russian Government can be measured from the Marquis of Lansdowne to Sir G. Scott covering the substance

of the conversation between the Marquis of **Lansdowne and the Russian Ambassador Count Benkendorff;**

"Count Benkendorff went on to say that although the Russian Government had no designs whatever upon Tibet, they could not remain indifferent to any serious disturbance of the status quo in that country Such a disturbance might render it necessary for them to safeguard their interests in Asia, not that, even in this case, they would desire to interfere in the affairs of Tibet as their policy "Ne viserait le Thibet en aucun cas" but they might be obliged to take measures elsewhere. They regarded Tibet as forming a part of the Chinese Empire in the integrity of which they took an interest. His Excellency went on to say that he hoped that there was no question of any action on our part in regard to Tibet which might have the effect of raising questions of this kind ."[6]

(*Chapter III to be concluded*)

1 The following extract from the circular telegram sent to the Powers by John Hay shows conclusively that he recognised the "sphere of influence" of other nations "The policy of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative unity, *protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty* and international law and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese empire (Italics are mine) (a) U S. Foreign Relations, 1900 p 299 (b) Bau M. J "THE OPEN DOOR DOCTRINE" N Y 1923, p 28 (c) Hornbeck, S K, Contemporary Politics in the Far East. New York 1916 p 236

2 Baron von Eckardstein : Ten Years at the Court of St James, 1895-1905 New York, 1922

3. British Parliamentary Papers on Tibet, 1895-1904, pp 150-156

4. *Ibid*, p. 185

5 *Ibid*, pp. 181-182.

6. *Ibid*, p. 187.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

By Prof. B RAMACHANDRA RAU

BUT for the recent Anglo-German war the economic development of the Empire with the view of making each self-governing part supplement the economic needs of the other parts of the Empire and making the Empire as a whole an independent self-sufficing economic unit would never have been brought to the region of practical politics It was true that some sort of Imperial Preference scheme first worked out by Canada and followed by the other self-governing Dominions was existing prior to the war. It was by virtue of this preference that Great Britain was able to maintain the supreme hold of the Colonial and Dominion markets even though industrial rivals like Germany and America were successfully competing with it. Firstly, England became the workshop of the world through her mechanical inventions, use of capital, a steady supply of raw materials and exclusion of rivals from this supply and the commercial policy of the English Statesmen promoting the growth of the Colonial Empire. By virtue of the inherited skill of her workers and special organisers, the brilliance of her inventors, the possession of raw materials particularly, iron and coal, the geographical situation and favourable climate, the shelter of her patents, the virtual monopoly of the carrying trade of the world and her freedom from Civil Wars or other domestic calamities Engalnd was able to maintain the lead in the race for industrial supremacy till the end of the Victorian Era * but other countries notably Japan, Germany† and the United States of America were fast developing their wealth-producing energy behind protective tariffs and successfully competing with industrial Britain. England soon lost her industrial supremacy and became one among

* For the qualities that enabled Great Britain to assume the Industrial Leadership see Dr. A Marshall—Industry and Trade p. 35 etc.

† See E. E. Williams—"Made in Germany", p 166.

many competing countries—primus interpares—chiefly on account of the neglect of scientific research and technical training, the conservatism of her manufacturers, the canny policy of the trade unions, the hesitation of the capitalists to expand production in face of industrial unrest and a combination of other causes The following table shows how England gradually lost her pride of place as the world's manufacturer :

Country	1871-80	1881-90	1901-10	1911-13	1923
Russia	87·5 p.c.	82·5 p.c.	80·5 p.c.	59·8 p.c.	68 p.c.
Sweden	78·0	74·5	54·0	51·0	61·4
Denmark	68·5	66·0	57·0	54·0	59·0
Germany	86·0	80·0	73·0	68·7	40·0
France	81·5	81·0	66·0	63·0	43·0
Spain	81·5	76·5	59·5	66·5	75·5
Italy	81·5	76·0	50·6	45·0	40·0
China and Hongkong	98·0	97·5	93·5	90·0	93·0
The U. S. A.	90·5	90·5	81·0	76·2	79·0
Argentine	97·0	93·5	89·0	83·0	85·5
India	94·5	96·0	95·5	95·0	95·5
Australia	91·5	95·6	91·0	90·5	93·9
New Zealand	95·5	92·0	90·5	87·5	87·5
Canada	91·0	92·0	89·2	84·7	84·0

While the above table shows the decline of the proportion of British manufactured goods sent to foreign countries the following table shows the advance of the industrial rivals of Great Britain.

Countries	Exports sent by	1870	1900	1913	1923
The U. S. A.	The United Kingdom	34·8 p.c.	18·4 p.c.	15·0 p.c.	10·6 p.c.
	Germany	6·2	12·4	10·2	4·25
	Japan	0·7	4·6	5·05	9·15
Germany	The United Kingdom		12·4	8·1	
	The U. S. A.		19·3	15·3	
	Japan				
France	The United Kingdom	18·8	14·4	13·3	
	The U. S. A,	7·95	7·8	10·6	
	Germany	3·76	9·1	12·7	
Russia	The United Kingdom	33·9	20·0	11·4	
	Germany	42·8	34·6	45·5	
	The U. S. A.	1·55	7·0	37·0	
Italy	The United Kingdom	26·8	21·0	16·2	11·1
	Germany	1·44	11·9	16·7	7·6
	The U. S. A,	4·2	13·2	14·3	25·6
The Netherlands	The United Kingdom	34·2	14·7	8·7	16·4
	Germany	21·5	19·6	27·0	26·0
	The U. S. A.	1·98	14·4	11·3	13·25
Denmark	The United Kingdom	25·0	20·5	16·6	18·0
	Germany	35·3	29·2	38·4	27·2
	The U. S. A.	1·91	14·8	8·5	20·2
China	The United Kingdom	37·0	20·5	16·6	13·0
	The U. S. A.	0·57	7·5		16·7
	Japan	1·95	12·6	22·5	27·9

Countries	Exports sent by	1870	1900	1913	1923
India	The United Kingdom	65·0	68·1	60·0	57·5
	The U. S. A.	0·26	2·4	2·42	6·45
	Germany	0·10	1·75	4·5	3·84
	Japan	1·14	·076	1·78	4·65
Australia	The United Kingdom	61·0	62·0	51·5	52·0
	The U. S. A.	3·0	12·2	13·7	18·7
	Germany		6·6	8·8	0·45
New Zealand	The United Kingdom	58·0	61·5	59·5	55·4
	The U. S. A.		1·0	9·45	15·4
	Germany		1·72	3·4	0·05
South Africa	The United Kingdom		67·5	56·0	52·0
	The U. S. A.		9·0	8·7	12·9
	Germany		2·7	8·05	4·95
Canada	The United Kingdom		24·7	20·3	17·6
	The U. S. A.		61·0	65·0	67·5
	Germany		4·77	2·12	0·34

The chief lesson from the above table* is the fact that industrial Britain was gradually losing its hold on the foreign countries and the European markets. Though deprived of these markets it has been able to continue as the leading supplier to the Dominions by virtue of the Preferential clause coming happily to her aid. During the war-period when food-supplies and raw-materials and manufactures were urgently required the possibility of tapping the Empire resources was realised and the real move towards Empire development was made in the year 1917 at the Imperial Conference. Reciprocal trading advantages were considered as the necessary means to bring about this cherished consummation of Imperial Development. Steady complementary trade between the mother country and the Empire countries was the ideal aimed at. But as the necessary means to bring about this desirable end were not throughly developed the scheme could not accomplish much. As soon as the stress of the war was removed the ardour of the Dominions cooled down appreciably and nothing tangible was done except the facilitating of migration from Great Britain to the Dominions to a limited extent.

The world-wide trade depression in the triennium 1921-23 has once more drawn the attention of the British public to this matter and in order to solve the twin problems of unemployment and overpopulation the development of the Empire trade and resources is proposed as the only practicable measure.* The army of the unemployed persons has been estimated at 1,300,000 persons. The population of Great Britain is on the increase. It is calculated that the natural excess of births over deaths is 10 per thousand and at this rate of growth the natural increase of population would be 430,000 annually. As the stream of emigration is much reduced than before, the net annual increase is about 300,000 much greater than it used to be prior to the war *i.e.* 100,000. A few of the economists propose the control of credit as a remedy for unemployment and for regulating trade on a stable basis. There is a concensus of public opinion however as regards the efficiency of the new remedy viz. empire development and its ability to solve the problem is being discussed with warmth at the present time. As the foreign countries are gradually raising their tariffs † against British goods it would be suicidal if Britain were to rely solely on the intelligence and initiative of its manufacturers to cope with the problem of foreign industrial competition. Germany might not in the near future prove a formidable competitor. As one writer points out "Germany can no longer play the bold game and her spasmodic efforts to remedy her economic distress by deliberate destruction of her currency may be considered the death of Germany's economic Imperialism. Not only is Germany's financial

* Both the tables are taken from F. L. MacDougall—"Sheltered Markets"

* See James Merchant—"Birth rate and the Empire", p. 2.

† See Basil Williams—"Cecil Rhodes", pp. 55-56.

osition hopeless but she has no colonies and ractically no merchant fleet and the whole pirit of the German nation has changed. The arrogant and passionate spirit of ationalism and Imperialism which drove German production to the front before the War has on the whole yielded to a sinister nd meeker spirit and the older order of the ay "Deutschland über alles" has been onverted to the modest one of "Deutschland ui die Deutschen". But America is bound o become Britain's strong industrial rival. According to Secretary Hoover "America is no longer faced with difficulties arising out of war" In the matter of mass production American industrialists are "nearly twenty-ive years ahead of other nations" They are making a bold bid for the Asiatic trade. Both n China and India American firms are on he increase America's foreign trade in the ast fiscal year has increased by 10 p c and mounted to 4531 million dollars and the mport trade declined by about 5 p c. and mounted to 3611 million dollars There was an increase of manufactures in its export trade Merchandise exports increased and exceeded imports by 980 dollars Some of the allies like France and Italy have been extending their foreign trade Italy has been competing with Britain in the case of textile manufactures. Switzerland and Czechoslovakia are becoming industrialised to a great extent A rejuvenated Central Europe as contemplated by the Dawes Committee would mean a complete loss of trade with the European markets Hence the importance of the Dominion markets is receiving much stress While formerly the Empire problem was purely a political one and the interest being solely confined to the Imperial Conference and the idea of Imperial Federation, at present the economic side of the problem receives much emphasis A failure to forge a lasting political link between the different parts of the Empire and the mother country might not produce disastrous consequences, but the failure to cement the ties between the Empire countries by strong economic links would mean a serious blow to the prosperity of the United Kingdom Economic decadence would be the result if the world refuses to support raw materials to Britain and purchase her manufactured products. Great Britain has always been unwisely aspiring to be the world's manufacturer and if the latter fails to take back her goods a self-sufficient Britain would be reduced to the position of a fifth rate power. Political unity is not so essential for the existence of the Empire and the Dominions have already gained independent national status with the right to negotiate independently with the foreign powers They form members of the Imperial Union and the role of Great Britain is no more significant than that of a managing director in a joint-stock concern.

To avert the impending doom the solution of the Empire development is proposed by the Imperialists as the only remedy. While Great Britain has to provide men, money and markets, the duty of the Dominions and the other parts of the Empire is to purchase the manufactured products of Great Britain and supply the needed raw materials for England's manufacturers as they have done in the last century. This would find increasing employment for the British workers for the processes of completing the finished stage of the manufactured goods would mean more benefit to the industrialists than sending partly manufactured goods out of the country The raison d'etre of the British Trade Facilities Act has been the very same object and although the principle involved is rather unsound still the Empire development scheme is free from any defect because the people of Great Britain who settle in the Dominions, would naturally prefer British manufactures The silken ties of sentiment and the mystic sympathy of the indentity in race would act in the favour of the industrialists of Great Britain. Thus the duty of Great Britain is to facilitate the migration of the able-bodied workers to the Empire parts and bring about a redistribution of the White race in the Empire as a whole The Empire Settlement Act was evidently meant to encourage the Empire migration scheme From May 31, 1922 to Dec 31 1923 some 40,000 emigrants had been assisted according to this Act. But as the costs of the settlement have been ignored complete success has not attended on this particular proposal. The new Empire emigration policy of the Domonions reckons this item and as Great Britain undertakes to bear part of the interest involved in the fund set apart for developmental purposes the question of men is solved and that of money and markets alone remains. The Dominions have been requesting the British purchasers to consume their products provided their cost compares favourably with the foreign produce and the quality is

in no way inferior to it. The British Labour party has recently passed a resolution to restrict the flow of the sweated products of the industries from outside into Great Britain The preferential buying of the Empire goods is advocated by Mr. MacDougall Even inter-empire banking is resorted to to link one colony with another and all of them with London. The old Colonial Bank is being reorganised into Barclay's Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) to secure cheap inter-empire finance

If the British purchasers are animated with sentimentalism towards the Empire idea the necessary sacrifice would be made cheerfully, Just a few days back we read in the Times of London of a big demonstration in Hyde Park in favour of Empire goods and the Wembley Exhibition has familiarised the British people with the Empire products and if only a proper system of merchandise marking were to be perfected it would solve the problem of differentiating the Empire products from those of out side. A system of constructive advertisement in the United Kingdom on the part of the Empire Export Produce Associations would popularise their goods and the necessity of finding markets for their goods can be solved easily.

But there are several impediments in the path as regards the complete realisation of this well thought-out scheme Firstly the interests of the consumers and the producers are not identical except in a very remote sense The economic sophists might preach the alluring doctrine of identity of interests between the consumers and the producers The consumers require a steady supply at a constant price and the producers require the very same conditions Hence, both are interested in the volume of production Though this is broadly speaking a correctly worded statement still it is true only when the whole world of producers and consumers are taken into account It is also true in the sense that society cannot be roughly labelled into classes called consumers and producers and a set of measures devised to benefit each class without prejudice to the other class very often the superiority of producers' interest is considered a decisive one and statesmen undertake measures to benefit the producers, but these have tended to lead more to economic retrogression than progress Indiscriminate tariff raising is an instance of this unwise legislation. The consumers required goods and as the scale of the cost of production of the industrialists varies, the consumers would go in for the cheapest and if the Empire producers are unable to bear this in mind it would be detrimental to the success of the scheme Secondly the evolution of a common economic trade policy for the British Commonwealth would confer immediate benefit to all the different parts, but as it consists of many different lands and peoples under different stages of industrial and economic advancement the uniform policy selected would fail to take those differences into account The sprit of narrow egotistic and self-sufficing nationalism has been intensified during the war and is tending to sway the higher economic thought of these countries These tend to become industrially self-sufficing * The basic necessity for economic progress is a wide-spread industrial economy finding scope for continuous economic activity on the part of its workers Agriculture denies this scope specially if it is dependent on monsoon rainfall and is less paying from the material standpoint than manufacturing industries The Dominions and other parts of the Empire which possess the raw materials would aspire towards the creation of the industrial economy stage This by itself would restrict the scope of some of the manufacturers of the United Kingdom—specially those who produce the lower kind of goods

Thirdly the change of policy and preferring Empire-goods to Allies' goods, say of Belgium, France, America and Italy, would create resentment and a suspicion among them Now that the stress of the war is minimised they need not care much for the sentiment of the allies But if any preferential buying and raising of tariff against foreign goods is contemplated there would be a keen struggle for markets and the advocates of the British Empire should not be unwise enough to provoke the anger of other countries. It can exist best as a free trade Empire. †

Taxing food supplies would be resented by the British working classes who are threatening already the very existence of capitalism and if the cost of living is enhanced the struggle between Labour and Capital would be bitter. Even the doughty champion of Imperial Preference, Joseph Chamberlain

* See the recent raising of the Australian Tariff.

† See Harold Cox, Economic Liberty.

had to explicitly state that if food-supplies would be subject to enhanced duties it would be compensated by lowering the duties on tea coffee and sugar. So this new preferential buying plan has to keep this in view.

Again the British people wish to improve their own agricultural conditions. They are making heroic efforts to make agriculture a paying proposition. The splitting up of the big acres into small but economic holdings is recommended and the state has to shoulder the financial responsibility of this rearrangement. (See Ashley Committee's Report) "Defence is better than opulence" said Adam Smith long ago and the British Government has realised that agriculture is a necessary part of the economic structure of the country if it were to be self-sufficing. During the Napoleonic War, the Boer War and the late Anglo-German War alarmist campaigns urging the importance of landed interests were conducted but nothing very marked has been achieved so far as wheat-raising is concerned This might seriously affect the scheme of Empire development.

The Empire migration scheme is disliked by the Labour Party in England* as it is understood to be an attempt to indirectly weaken the Trade Unions by sending away the undesirable labour agitators. The British Labour Party views perversely all the problems of Empire and the Empire Day celebrations are disliked by the Labourites The Dominions specially Australia where the Labour Unions are all-powerful desire only farmers and a very large number of the workers would lower the level of wages if unrestricted immigration into the country is allowed Hence it would take a long time, at least ten or twenty years, before a large number of British workers can find suitable work for themselves in Australia. Hence the Empire Emigration scheme alone cannot prove an efficacious remedy for the present economic conditions of the country (United Kingdom) The Dominions require farmers of the right type who would undertake to make the land their permanent abode ; hence Great Britain is now insisting on de-urbanising the emigrant before he leaves British shores Commercial, financial and exporting interests are decidedly against the Empirist policy. They place their faith on the doctrine of three cornered commerce and are bent upon realising economic internationalism instead of the narrower conception of Empire development.

Lastly there is the possibility of evasion of duties levied on the foreign countries.* Scandinavian timber would be exported from Canada as Candian timber. Brazilian coffee would be imported from the Cape Colony of South Africa. Any elaborate system of certificates of origin and such like devices only give an infinite source of trouble and would not check evasion of this description. (See Lord Cromer in The After War Problems, p. 26 and 27.)

This much of preliminary introduction is needed to state the present attitude of the Mother Country with the members of the Empire and the relation between the United Kingdom i e, the mother country and the rest of the Empire not included in the Dominions would be dependent on the scope, freedom and facilities for the employment of its capital wealth, and provisions for the employment of its middle class people, and the unrestricted hold of the Empire markets. As these tend to become restricted by the industrial development of the Dominions or the entry of foreign powers the tendency would be to fall back upon the Crown Colonies, India and other backward tracts peopled by the black or brown and the uncivilised races The duty of the mother country to the Dominions has been definitely stated to be the one of providing men, money and markets. The main object of the Imperialists is to raise the standard of living of the other half of the Empire so that the industrialists of both the mother country and the Dominions might find the necessary market for their manufactures. The retention of these markets for their industrialists is the object of the advocates of the Imperial Development idea. This policy is never likely to succeed as the Dominions have restricted the rights of the Indian immigrants and as the policy of reserving their country to the White races alone would not meet with approval on the part of the Indian

* See Lord Milner "The Questions of the Hour" pp. 94, 103.

* The continental manufacturers generally send their goods to England to receive a veneer of British workmanship and send these goods to the colonies to take advantage of the Colonial Preference Hence the colonies are forced to change the conditions of Preference and insist on the increase of British Labour or material in the goods from the 25 p c. limit to a higher figure so as to prevent the Anglo-Continental goods from obtaining Preference.

people. Without a frank and explicit recognition of race-equality and the throwing open of rightful opportunities for an all-round development the conception of the Empire is a misnomer Empire development would be construed as a clever device and mask for the profit of the white race alone. It might have faith in the arrogant belief that that it alone is socially efficient to carry out the trusteeship idea of the undeveloped black and brown races of the earth. It might pursue the White Australia Policy* and the White South Africa Policy But they have essentially misunderstood the objects of the Indian people who have settled there. Neither Great Britain nor the Dominions have realised the correct attitude of the Indian mind in the matter of Indian immigration. Indian people do not desire political control in Kenya or in any other part of the Dominions It is racial and legal inequality which they consider as injustice

The Indian people have a strong suspicion that this policy of Imperial development would disable the indigenous industrial system to adjust itself to the complex conditions that would prevail if British manufactures were to be sold in India The dispossessed industrialists would be forced to return to the land and grow the necessary food-stuffs for satisfying the Imperial demands This is the reason why there is an undue emphasis of late in the matter of co-ordination of agricultural research in the different provinces Since the time of Lord Mayo the Indian government knew pretty well that Indian interests lie solely in the development of agricultural potentialities but their half-hearted attempts in this line have not proved to be of much benefit Just at a time when the provincial governments have been doing their best for the improvement of their industrial condition the policy of developing agriculture is considered to be an all-important matter Even for the selection of the right person for the Viceregal Chair agricultural knowledge has become an indispensable qualification. India would be really grateful if even at this late hour the *real handicaps on our agricultural situation are understood aright and the lancet applied at the proper place to heal the disease* Scientific Research is not the only thing required to benefit the present lot of our agriculturists. *The over emphasis on research to the comparative neglect of the important* problems of credit and marketing facilities would make their laudable attempts an absolute failure.

The revival of the Imperial development idea might have indirect effect on the Indian finance policy Every time the fervour of imperialistic expansion catches hold of the Tory party Indian finances are bound to suffer to a certain extent Whenever the Russian bogey was trotted out the strengthening of our frontier policy was resorted to Imperial ambitions in Asia are more disastrous for us than our own famines and other epidemics. The currency shortage and the railway waggon shortage that we experienced during the recent war was no doubt due to the drain of both to the Mespotamian region in Southern Asia So long as Indian Defences and foreign relations are not handled by Indian Statesmen there would be the danger of our resources being used for the furthering of Imperialistic ambitions say British Navalism in the Pacific The present illiteracy and the great burden of disease would remain unattacked for lack of funds Old age pensions, prison reform, and other useful activities of the Body Politic would be held up for want of money Thus the real economic interests would be sacrificed on the altar of Empire patriotism Tariff protection, scientific research, transport facilities, bounties, rebates, control of exchange and local purchase of government stores would be defeated and given up if they run counter to the Empire interests Empire development must never be allowed to influence our policy which should be guided by Indian interests first. Indian interests second, and Indian interests throughout. Otherwise Indian resources would be considered as sufficient compensation for the loss of America, South Africa and the Dominions and exploitation would go on unchecked as before. The present tariff policy does not make due provision for the safeguarding of the Indian interests Protection is granted to firms irrespective of the fact whether they undertake to train our people or not.

Empire development as understood in the above sense would lead to the improper utilisation of Indian resources and if the Indian Legislature were to champion Indian inter-

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* A good account of the White Australia Policy can be had in Myra Willards "History of the White Australia Policy"—pp. 188-193—See also Arnold Wright "Population"—p 122. This author criticises this policy "White Australia Policy" as sheer international injustice

ests the Tory party which is bent on this policy would attempt to take away the political power granted to the Indian Legislature. The reversal of the policy outlined in the Montford Scheme would surely result if we ran counter to this Imperialistic expansion policy. * There would be an attempt to prolong the theory of the ruling race supremacy and the legitimate aspiration of every Indian to guide his own country's policy would be defeated. The hampering and cramping regulations introduced by the bureaucracy would naturally result in hindering the people from growing to their full height and stature.

Imperial statesmen have been asking for real signs of genuine co-operation with the bureaucracy. But if India is to become an active and wholehearted partner of the British Commonwealth of Nations the Britishers must display their courage and imagination towards the improvement of the economic, political and social conditions of the people in India as well as outside The supression of the cotton excise duty has quietened one source of irritation and if other causes for national irritation are removed the Indian people would not lag behind in matters of Imperial cooperation. There is no strong body harbouring anti-Imperial sentiment in India. The repeal of the oppressive laws suppressing political action, the abolition of racial discrimination in criminal trials, the new policy of reducing opium export from India, a sincere carrying out of the Indianisation of the Army, the creation of a squadron as a modest beginning of a Royal Indian Navy, the initiation of new policies in Railway Administration and traffic control, the appointment of a Royal Commission on Agriculture are all instances which prove the influence of the Legislature over the Executive A small white bureaucracy cannot control for ever the political destiny of a vast population rapidly attaining national consciousness Armed strength alone would perpetuate their rule for some time longer but how long would this domination survive? National faith and national will is becoming sufficiently strong and resolute It behoves then that serious attempts should be made to fuse the British and Indian elements in ties of everlasting strength

* See The English Review—Article entitled—Govern or Go—p. 6,8 Jan 1925.

MEDIÆVAL INDIA *

BOOKS on mediæval Indian history are very rare Elphinstone's survey, in spite of its substantial quality, is out of date in many respects and Lane Poole's sketch, splendid as it is, appears insufficient to-day Prof Jadunath Sarkar is a real pioneer in reopening the whole field of research and his monumental works have become indispensable guides to the Museum of Mughal history. Now another Hindu scholar, Mr. Ishwari Prasad, has come forward to illumine the dark recesses of the pre-Mughal period and promises to extend his researches into the Mughal period as well One feels that he has spared no pains to make his survey as comprehensive as possible Specialists in the handling of Arabic and Persian sources may find faults here and there and his flourish of Turgot and Burke, of Mommsen and Croce may strike as a little academic and out of context, yet his book would be welcomed as a very useful and up-to-date handbook by the teachers and the students of our colleges

There is another good point which recommends the book to our attention. The history of *Mediaeval* India is generally considered to be synonymous with the history of *Moslem* India This positive distortion of historical notions is due simply to the fact that very few historians of Moslem India were competent to handle or even conscious of the existence of the Hindu sources of contemporary Indian history. Mr. Ishwari Prasad may legitimately take pride in the fact that he has broken through that unhistorical self-complacency of the Islamists and to unfold before our eyes the tableaux of Indo-Moslem history in which the *vanquished* Hindus play as important a part as the *victorious* Moslems Be it recorded to the credit of the author that he renders full justice to the Islamic conquerors of Hindu India.

"The Islamic conquest did not prove an unmixed evil. It established imperial unity in place of the system of hostile states and taught the people to respect a single authority in the country. It added a new element of youthful vigour to our

* *Mediaeval India* From 647 A. D. to the Mughal Conquest, by Ishwari Prasad, M. A, LL. B, pp. XXXIX+602, Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

national stock and introduced a new culture which deserves to be appreciated. The Muslim manners and customs leavened the habits of the upper class Hindus and much of the polish and refinement that we find in modern society is due to them. The Muslims introduced a new language into the country with a wonderful literature of its own and by constructing noble edifices they brought about the renaissance of the Indian Art."

As a general stock-taking of Moslem contribution to Indian history, the above statement is all right But when Mr. Ishwari Prasad adduces the above as proofs against the finding of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar he overshoots the mark Mr. Sarkar states:

"When a class are publicly depressed and harassed by law and executive caprice alike, they merely content themselves with dragging on an animal existence. With every generous instinct of the soul crushed out of them, with intellectual culture merely adding a keen edge to their sense of humiliation, the Hindus could not be expected to produce the utmost of which they were capable ......The barronness of the Hindu intellect and the meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnation of Muhammadan rule in India. The Islamic political tree judged by its fruit was an utter failure"

Mr. IswariPrasad contests the above statement of Prof. Sarkar by asserting that the condemnation "cannot be predicated of Muslim rule as a whole" (p 513) But the author seemed to have forgotten that in his statements, a few lines ahead (p. 512), he had substantially agreed with Prof Sarkar when he said "The Hindus were overtaxed ...They were excluded from high offices and in such circumstances of distrust and humiliation native talent became dwarfed and stunted and never got an opportunity of showing itself" So we cannot understand how the author could make the "Islamic rule" responsible for the appearance of "men like Ramananda, Chaitanya, Tulsi Das and Todar Mal." This seems to be a palpable confusion of historical issues. That the Hindu mind "soared to the highest pitch and gave expression to the noblest truths" is not so much *because* of the Islamic rule but *inspite* of it. The Islamic empire, like many other empires, failed because of the incapacity to evolve a higher order of political ethics which could reconcile the claims of the government and the governed on a lasting and equitable basis. We grant, however, that the desert of imperialistic caprices and communal intolerance was redeemed by the superb oasis of the regime of Akbar the Great But this noble exception only proves the rule. As an exception, however, it is unique in that age and we are thankful to Islam for giving to world history the portrait of such a great soul It was Akbar's policy of tolerance and confidence, continued more or less under Jehangir and Shah Jehan that bore the noblest *fruits in the tree of Indo-Islamic culture.* That is why Sikandra, Delhi and Agra have become veritable places of pilgrimage for the art-lovers all the world over In architecture and *beaux-arts*, in music and mystical literature, Hindu India has been enriched sumptously by the Muslim collaborators and all gratitude is due to them But it cannot be disputed that Islam as a *political* experiment in India is a failure

We are thankful to Prof. Ishwari Prasad for presenting this comprehensive and thought-provoking study and we expect his future volumes with eagerness

The publishers, the Indian Press Ltd of Allahabad, deserve full praise for showing how printing in India may be both acurate and artistic We wish the author and the publishers every success

K N.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Missionary Education in a Free India

Rai Sahib L S Jha M. A writes on the above subject in the March number of the *National Christian Council Review* He is aware that the people of India intensely dislike the idea of foreigners dominating any branch of the Indian educational system, but still hopes for a future for the Missionary educational institution, provided these institutions give up the practice of imparting religious instruction and concentrate only on the following :

(i) To train pupils in understanding the value of time, in developing æsthetic taste, and in the practical aspects of life.

(ii) To continue to train pupils, but even more intensively than before, in social service.

(iii) To continue more intensively than before the physical training of the rising generation

(iv) To give particular help in the education of girls and women.

(v) To provide for the education of pupils who particularly want to master the English language and phonetics and literature, also for those who want to learn the modern European languages

(vi) To provide for the education of minorities.

(vii) And last, but not the least, to demonstrate the latest methods of education and training, which may have been successfully introduced in Europe and America, e g., the Montessori method, the Dalton plan, methods of physical and moral instruction adopted by such bodies as Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, education through work as tried at the Tuskujee Ins-

titute or the various ways for the measurement of intelligence or moral development which are being tried in the West.

Christian *vs* Moslem Missionaries

In the same journal Mr. John A Subhan writes on the Challenge of Islam to Christianity and exhorts Christians to take up the challenge He begins by giving an account of early rivalries between the two religions Then he says:

Since the nineteenth century there is a change in the methods of its proselytising What is no longer possible now by direct or indirect persuasion is accomplished by preaching and organizing their forces and by multiplying literature, magazines and papers Several institutions have been started for the training of controversialists and of propagandists of the Muslim faith In 1914 leading Muhammadans opened an association in Delhi, under the title of Naziat-ul-Maariful-Qorania for the training of Muhammadan missionaries intimately acquainted with their own religion, and equipped with the knowledge of English and other modern languages Another Theological College Nadwatul Ulma, the Al Azhar of India, is going to be extended, and an appeal has recently been made (and has been generously responded to by Muslims) for new hostels having separate blocks for students from each province in India The Theological College at Deoband is assuming a missionary aspect. In 1915, in Bengal, the 'Society of Learned Men' started the 'Muslim Mission,' which represents and controls the aggressive propaganda of Militant Islam. Another association Ishaat Islam' (the propagation of Islam) has sent a mission to England, where, with Woking as their centre, they are carrying on their propaganda fairly successfully, and have also opened stations in America and Africa Never was Islam so aggressive in the days of its temporal decline as it is to day

If the whole of the account is true it proves two things Firstly, that the Christians are fairly up against it and, secondly, that those Moslems who blame other religionists for organising against them are not justified in so doing The writer continues

Never have Muslim writers devoted so much time and energy to producing anti-Christian literature in English, Urdu and Bengali as today. Never were men and money devoted to such an extent to spreading Islam and opposing Christianity as now. Muslim physicians, engineers, traders, pleaders, teachers, professors, even shop-keepers, are enlisted as missionaries to devote their leisure hours to preaching Islam or to writing anti-Christian pamphlets Paid missionaries on salaries, ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50, are enrolled to carry on proselytising activities

As an illustration of the great progress that Islam has made during recent times the writer points out that

Islam has penetrated even to Tibet and numbers almost 29,000 souls who believe in Muhammad. In Africa where the spread of Islam is surprisingly rapid and where when the Christian Church succeeds in gaining one convert Muslims boast of fifty proselytes, Muhammadans number about 43 millions It is still more surprising to find them numbering 200,000 in America and 20,000 in Australia, lands which were not known to the early pioneer's of Islam. In Europe they number almost 2,400,000 . So vast is the spread of Islam. Is a nation with such a formidable population, scattered all over the world, to be neglected by the Church ? Is such negligence consistent with the command of the Master, 'Go you unto all the world and preach the Gospel' ? How many missionaries are devoted in India to the conversion of 69 million Muslims ? What methods are being employed ? What steps are being taken to make an approach to them who sit in the darkness of Islam ?

The writer does not convince one why with its "darkness" Islam should present such an attractive front to would-be converts. It is evident that people are attracted by Islam because of certain innate excellences and not by mere "darkness" He then works himself up into the highest pich of fanatical zeal and cries

Islam, like, Goliath, armed with low morality and carnal teaching, has proclaimed its challenge in a voice that is heard even in the camp of the soldiers of the Cross, and has cast from its hand a huge iron gauntlet of blasphemous literature in the sight of the Church, and with the act has cried aloud, 'I defy the soldiers of the Cross this day ! Send forth your champion that he may fight with me.' Now should it be said, as it is today the boast of Islam, 'The whole heart had gone out of the men ?' Who of the soldiers of the Cross will go and meet the challenge and say, "Thou comest to me with the sword of blasphemy, and with the spear of persecution, and with the shield of low morality, but I come to thee in the name of the Father whom thou hast grieved ?' And to him who is determined to fight like David, it may be with only five stones in his sling, the promise of the Lord is with him, 'My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness' Who, therefore, will respond , 'I will go in the *strength of the Lord God , I will make mention of* Thy righteousness, even of Thine only,' for 'The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation "

Wanted; Indian Propaganda in England

Major Graham Pole emphasises the need for carrying out effective propaganda in England by Indians in the *Indian Review* for February He opens his article with the following words:

Freedom is the birth-right of every human being and of every nation Believing that, some of us in England have taken upon ourselves the

task of trying to convert our fellow countrymen to the idea that Indians and not Englishmen are the right persons to decide whether India is fit for self-government, and what the nature of that self-government should be. The argument that we are trustees for the down-trodden masses has been exploded by the fact that the masses are no less down-trodden after one hundred and fifty years of our rule and a good deal less well-educated then again one finds in some Indian States, under Indian rule, education on a much higher level than obtains under the British Raj The die-hard element in England has to a great extent given up the "trustee" argument and frankly states that we are in India for our own benefit and intend to stay there for the same purpose.

In his opinion England is overflowing with sympathy for those who are fighting for Indian *Swaraj*, only the sympathy is potential and needs a few years' intensive propaganda to be given an active shape The Englishmen are only ignorant of Indian conditions and that is why they are delaying the granting of Swaraj to India Says the writer

This lack of knowledge can only be overcome by propaganda, by lectures, debates, pamphlets, books and newspaper articles If we could keep up a constant stream of these throughout the whole country for even two or three years the battle of Indian Swaraj would be won But there are only a few of us to do it, and we get little or no help to speak of from India Indian Swaraj can only come by one of two methods, either by a Bill passed by the British Parliament or by revolution in India The second method is unthinkable and in any event would result in untold suffering for the masses The only alternative then is a Bill in the British Parliament. Such a Bill has been produced with a fair measure of backing from members of all parties in India The Commonwealth of India Bill has had its first reading in Parliament and that or any other Bill would be sure of success provided there were a fair measure of unity behind it in India But the Indian parties are divided

But whoever told Major Graham Polo that the Commonwealth of India Bill sort of Freedom was the aim of the Indians? Is it merely party spirit that has kept it from getting universal support in India? We have had enough of English made things. Will our freedom too be branded "Made in England."

Postal Efficiency of India Compared

Mr. K. D. Ghose B A (Oxon) Bar-at-Law writes in *Labour* regarding the efficiency of the Indian postal system as compared with that of other lands. He says

While India compares favourably with certain European countries as regards facilities for postal delivery, she is certainly decidedly inferior to England and America in this matter. Let us take the big towns as our standard of comparison. In Calcutta we have got seven rounds of postal delivery beginning with 7-30 or 8 A. M. in the morning and ending with 7-30 in the evening. In London the Postman comes and knocks at your door 8 or 9 times a day, his last welcome visit being about 10 or 10-30 at night. This delivery late at night is no doubt very highly convenient as letters that arrive in the afternoon or evening, from the provinces, do not lie overnight at the Post office but reach their destination at the quickest possible opportunity Then again, England probably scores off better than any other country as regards swift transmission of letters A letter posted before 9 O'clock at night in any ordinary post box will reach you in any part of England the very first thing in the morning. If one is fortunate enough to receive pleasant letters, his or her day begins well with a savoury breakfast and epistles that never fail to put one in good humour America being too vast, does not enjoy this supreme boon France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy are distinctly worse off in this respect

As regards ordinary postal delivery, the Continental Countries do not compare favourably with India, the rounds of the Postman in Paris, Brussels Rome, Berlin etc, being only 5 or 6 times and the last post being at 6 or 6-30 P.M. And I think it would not be too unkind to say that Italy and Belgium really bear a good deal to learn from India Things are in such a hopeless condition in Italy that it sometimes takes a couple of days for a letter to reach its destination within the same Country But there cannot be the faintest shadow of a doubt that India still lags behind so far as very swift means of transmission (of letters) are concerned. In London, Paris, Berlin etc, there are special facilities for delivery quickly of a letter or Card from any part of the town to any other—say in an hour's time, at a little extra cost In London it is known as the Despatch or Express System and in Paris, the "Tube" System, as the letters or Cards are rolled up and put inside tubes and transmitted underground (by electricy) to their destination in a very short space of time Then in England, letters and Cards can also be sent from one place to another viz. Oxford to London, Oxford to Cambrige and so on, through the Express Post if one is ready to spend only 2 or 3 pence extra India certainly should make honest efforts to follow up other Countries as regards these swift means of communication

Good Conditions for Women Weavers

Stri-Dharama gives us the following information

The conditions of labour for its 400 women-employees in the Trichur Weaving Mills, Cochin State are very fair Payment is made by piecework and the same for women and men Women, however, work for nine hours while men go on for ten, which results in the men making more money than the women. When an employee is going to have a baby she is given

three months' full pay without work to cover the period when she and the baby need care and rest. The health of the thousand workers in that mill is exceptionally good as a result of the fine ventilation and the good planning of the buildings Beauty also has not been overlooked as the frontage of the mills has been carried out in the artistic style of architecture characteristic of Cochin houses and it is a pleasure to look at the place There are plenty of trees in its compound and some of the tall cocoanut-palm tops seem to be peering into the upper work rooms co-operating in the busy life within It is impressive to see the Cochin women so expert in handling the immense electrical power which turns 10,000 spindles

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Spanish Girl Wonder

Eleven-year-old Hildegarde-Fernandez Carbaleira who matriculated at the University at the age of seven, has now finished three of the necessary courses for the Bachelor of Arts degree and is receiving the applause of court and country for her precocity

Hildegarde is credited with having learned to read at the phenomenal age of eleven months. Her latest triumph was a special session of the Federated Society for the Protection of Animals and Plants, convoked to award her individual honors The Royal Princesses Beatriz and Cristina presided, and delivered to the child prodigy a special prize for attainments in literature

At this meeting, Hildegarde drew enthusiastic acclamation from the audience with an address She is an accomplished linguist, and has devoted much of her talent to the piano

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Text Books of History

A Sauri Rajulu Naidu B A, L T writes in *The Educationist* on the teaching of history and says:

So far, the text books for Indian History which have been published and are being used in schools deal overfondly only with military and political transactions History is the story of a nation and its development and progress through the centuries As such political and military aspects are not the only aspects of a nation's history which deserve notice and study The life of a nation is wide and deep and has many and various aspects; so, they have all to be studied. The barometer of the real progress of a nation is the condition of the people at large, and history, to be true and faithful, should try and portray that condition Therefore, not merely should the political and military transactions in the life of a nation be treated of, but the social, religious and cultural aspects should also come in for adequate attention and treatment. Teachers of Indian History therefore should not merely give the political and military facts of Indian History but should try and portray the life of the people at large, their strivings and aspirations in all branches of their existence.

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A Women's International in India

Stri Dharma gives the following news

A historic women's meeting took place in January in Adyar, Madras when women representatives of 25 nations met together to exchange greetings in the great cause of the progress of women and to give news of the chief characteristics of the women's movements in their respective lands The meeting was arranged by the Women's Indian Association, whose President, Mrs. Jinarajadasa, presided, and who felicitously christened it the first International Conference of Women in India The occasion was auspicious for such a gathering owing to the hundreds of delegates who had come from all ends of the earth to attend the Jubilee of the Theosophical Convention, and the list of countries alone will show how varied was the interest of the speeches.—Russia, Sweden Norway Holland, Germany France, Egypt, England, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, The United States of America, South America, Australia, Japan and India From the problem of the geisha life of slavery for prostitution in Japan, through the problem of purdah in India, and of ignorance and dirt in Egypt, the aftermath burdens of war and the political possibilities of women in Europe, to the pressing need for economic equality in industrial America, there is a ring round the world of great causes relating to the happiness of women which is like a ring of Saturn, the Hinderer, binding women's freedom and self-expression, but the meeting disclosed that there is also a great band of women dedicated to the realease of their sisters in all lands. Together they were gaining strength for a good fight through happy friendship, through increase of knowledge, and through spiritual union consecrated to the service of the humanity of the whole world

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A Lead from an Indian State

While the chief Indian Legislatures have been debating and debating whether they will raise the Age of Consent to 13 or 14 years of age and finally could bring themselves only to raising it one year, from 12 to 13, an Indian State has forged ahead and the Ruler of the Morvi State and his people have taken the bold step of raising the Age of Consent to 16 years by the promulgation of a new law Morvi is a small State in Gujerat near the Gulf of Cutch and not far from that other progressive State of Rajkot which was the first to open its Legislative Council to women and which now has several women members of its Parliament. We congratulate the Ruler of Morvi on having accomplished this much needed reform and in having set a fine example to the bureaucracy. His action carried through in spite of the orthodox people shows the Indian Government what Indians would do if left to themselves The present system of Government in British India is really a great hindrance to Social Reform, for al-

most invariably it is afraid to incur any unpopularity not necessary for its own purposes, it weighs down the scales on the side of conservative and reactionary elements

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Fundamentals of good Education

The Indian Educator publishes an article on "what is meant by National Education" by Mr. T V. Appasundaram M. Ed. (Leeds) in which the writer points out the following as essential features of national education The article evidently was not written with a view to enlighten Sir Abdur Rahim, but it would provide salutary reading to the fiery knight who traces back everything in the Bengali Mahomedans' brain to the cultural traditions of Bagdad and Damascus.

(1) A fundamental thing in a scheme of national education is that the organ of education should be the pupil's mother tongue To be educated in a language other than one's vehicle of thought must cramp intellectual developement in all kinds of ways. In our judgment, if the pupil is educated in his mother tongue, there will be a spontaneity of mental unfolding passing in sympathy into larger areas of interests and activity.

(2) Again, the content of the educational thought must be largely Indian. Historical traditions must not be eliminated, and our teachers and students should know what is our share in the heritage of the customs of the race Indian history must be taught with the precision of a scholar and with the passion of an Indian patriot If we are to teach arithmetic, the sums must deal largely with the Indian concepts. If Botany is taught, the beginning must be made with Indian botany and not with the Botany of a foreign land The same idea can be worked out in the field of Poetry, Drama and Art.

Late Professor Harold Maxwell-Lefroy

M. Afzal Husain gives a short account of the life of Prof Maxwell-Lefroy in *The Agricultural Journal of India* as follows

The news of the tragic death of Professor Harold Maxwell-Lefroy was received with a feeling of keen personal loss by all his old colleagues, his many pupils and his numerous friends in India, where he was so well known and so much respected

Harold Maxwell-Lefroy was born on 20th January, 1877. He received his education at Marlborough College and King's College Cambridge, and in 1898 graduated with a First Class in the Natural Sciences Tripos. It was at the University of Cambridge that he came in contact with the great entomologist Dr. Sharp, on whose suggestion he went to the West Indies and joined the Imperial Department of Agriculture. There he started his career as an applied entomologist and laid t foundation of his future reputation. In the We Indies he served from 1899-1903, and did mu valuable work.

In April 1903, he was appointed to the India Agricultural Service as Entomologist to the Govern ment of India (Imperial Entomologist) and joine at Surat. His Headquarters were transferred t Muzaffarpur in October 1904 and to Pusa in May 1905. The present Entomological Section of the Phipps Laboratories was organized under his supervision. He worked in this country for nine years and during this period contributed numerous papers on Indian Entomology and wrote his most useful book "Indian Insect Pests" (1906), and pro duced his monumental work "Indian Insect Life" (1910) In 1910 his first son died at Pusa, and this sad bereavement was the main cause of his leaving this country He resigned his post on 30th November, 1912

On his return to England Maxwell-Lefroy was appointed the first Professor of Entomology at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, where he created a centre of entomological education and research which attracted students from all over the Empire and sent out trained entomologists to every corner of the world

During 1915-16, Maxwell-Lefroy revisited India as Imperial Silk Specialist and presented a report on the development of sericulture which will for ever remain a source of help and inspiration to those engaged on the extension of this industry.

His services were secured by the Military Department in 1916 and with the rank of a Temporary Lieut-Colonel he was attached to the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, and put in charge of the fly problem.

During 1917-18, he was attached as Entomologist to the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies

He was the Honorary Curator of the Insect House, Zoological Gardens, London, for the last 12 years

Professor H Maxwell-Lefroy had a very vast and varied experience of entomological work and possessed an enormous store of knowledge based on personal observations, and his death has made a breach in the rank of applied entomologists which it will be difficult to fill

His magnetic personality affected all who came in contact with him, and he infused in his co-workers and pupils the same enthusiasm for work which he himself possessed Generations of students at the Imperial College of Science and Technology will hear of his zeal and emthusiasm for Entomolgy, his sympathy for his pupils and his anxiety to render every possible assistance to those who deserved it In India, he will be long remembered by his co-workers as a generous officer and a perfect gentleman.

The treacherous darkness of the unknown has claimed many victims from amongst the ranks of scientists and one more name has now been added to the roll of honour. To a warrior death on the battle front is the greatest glory, and what death is more glorious than that of a warrior who, in pursuit of knowledge, falls fighting against the most terrible enemy of mankind—ignorance, and Harold Maxwell-Lefroy was killed in action on 14th October, 1925.

Progress in Agriculture in India

The same journal also publishes an account of recent progress made in India's agriculture with special reference to the work done by the Government Department of Agriculture Regarding the improvement effected in the principal crops we are told

The improvement of wheat which is the main food crop of the people of Upper India, and which was grown in an area of over 31 million acres last year, has been carried out mainly on agricultural stations in the Indo-Gangetic plains of Northern India. The work done in evolving heavy yielding rust-resistant types of good milling and baking qualities, similar in class to Manitoba wheats suitable both for internal consumption and export is one of the finest achievements of the department. No variety of any other crop is so well-known in India to-day as the wheats commonly known as Pusa 4 and Pusa 12 These were evolved at the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, and are now being grown in an area of about 1½ million acres the area is gradually increasing not only in the United Provinces and the Punjab but also in the Peshawar Valley, North Sind, Kathiawar, the Central Provinces, the Nilgiri Hills, the Southern Shan States and the Simla Hills They have, too, made for themselves a home even in far distant Australia where they ive at several agricultural shows, carried off first rizes In the Punjab, 8A and Punjab 11 are the wo varieties which find most favour In the United rovinces, the Pusa selections and Cawnpore 13 re widely grown In the North-West Frontier rovince, Pusa 4 has completely established its uperiority over the local wheats In every wheat-rowing province the improved departmental wheats re slowly ousting local varieties

The premier crop of India both as regards rea and outturn is rice On the average it occupies nearly 30 per cent. of the total cultivated area i India, this amounted last year to over 78 illion acres In the rice-growing provinces ifferent varieties have been isolated and tested nder varying soil and climatic conditions, the ost promising varieties have been propagated on overnment or on private seed farms, and large uantities of the improved seed given out to cultivators The area sown last year with improved eed supplied by Agricultural Departments amounted to over 600,000 acres, but this is only a part f the total area now cropped with improved ces, for cultivators are themselves slowly propagating and distributing these improved paddies he improved Indrasail, Kataktara and Dudshar addies of Bengal, the Bhondu and Gurmati elections of the Central Provinces and the Dahai f Bihar and Orissa are now household words in heir respective rice tracts

Another crop of great importance in India is otton, the area under which rose to 23 million cres last year. Of late years the Indian crop has een extremely important in the world's markets wing to the fact that the yield of American otton has been below normal. The export demand or Indian cotton has risen in consequence, English pinners' takings rose from 67,000 bales in 1922 o 176000 in 1923 and 257,000 bales in 1924. Much of this cotton was of superior staple. As the world's demand for this fibre is increasing faster than the supply a period of high prices would appear to be inevitable.

The area under improved varieties evolved by Agricultural Departments amounted last year to over 2⅓ million acres, of which the greater part was sown with long staple cotton of the American type In the Punjab the area under Punjab-American type is now reported to be well over two-thirds of a a million acres. The area under Cambodia—a somewhat similar type of exotic cotton grown in Madras—exceeded 200,000 acres last year. In Bombay and the Central Provinces, too, the area being sown with seed of improved vareities is rapidly increasing.

Great progress is claimed to have been made in the breed of sugarcane. We are told

Twenty years ago it was supposed that sugarcane in India did not produce fertile seed and that there was little scope therefore for improving the crop by selection Dr Barber, a member of the Indian Agricultural Service, dispelled this idea by raising thousands of seedlings from cane seed at Coimbatore—a discovery which has enabled the department to breed a very large number of entirely new types, for when grown the seed resultant plant shows wide variations in botanical, agricultural and chemical characters. The promising types evolved at Coimbatore are, after a preliminary test there, sent to Pusa and the provinces for further trial. Co 205, Co 210, Co. 213 and Co 214 are four of the most promising kinds evolved up-to-date In the Punjab and the United Provinces Co 205 is doing exceptionally well, while Co 210 and Co 213, after having been tested at Pusa, are now being grown on a large scale in North Bihar where they are giving from 50 to 100 per cent. more juice per unit area than the local varieties common to this tract. Their introduction, in fact, promises to revolutionize the whole sugar industry in this part of India, where white sugar is manufactured in large factories on a scale not equalled in any other part of India

In regard to jute we are informed that :

Two main species of jute, namely, *Corchorus capsularies* and *C olitorius* are cultivated in India One of the most successful pieces of work of the Bengal Agricultural Department is the isolation of superior yielding strains of both these species, and the distribution of seed of these trains to the cultivators

Much progress has also been made, we are told, in the cultivation of *juar*, linseed, tobacco, oil seeds, fruit, potato, fodder crops, cocoanut tea, coffee, beans and pulses. Cattle breeding and rearing must occupy an important place in any picture of agricultural progress. The journal says.

As regards the improvement of cattle generally India is passing through a phase similar to that which prevailed in England about the middle of the eighteenth century, but with this difference:

in England the improvement of cattle by selective breeding was initiated at that time by "gentlemen" farmers, while in India it is being done by Government. The foundation of distinct breeds is now being laid by Agricultural Departments, and improvement is being effected in those breeds by selective breeding, crossing, better feeding and housing. In this way the milk yield of the herd of Sahiwal or Montgomery cows on the Pusa farm has been doubled within the last 15 years. Several of these cows have given over 6,000 lb. of milk in a lactation period, while one of the cross-bred Ayrshire-Sahiwal cows in the herd has given 12,000 lbs which is about 12 times the yield ordinarily obtained from cows of draught breeds of this country In years to come cattle breeders will trace with pride the origin of their pedigree herds to the Pusa and other Government herds which are to be found in India to-day for from these herds bulls of good pedigree are already being supplied to cattle-owners for stud purposes. In this work of cattle improvement the Veterinary Department is rendering valuable assistance. The excellent results obtained by the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Muktesar in the immunization of herds against rinderpest by the simultaneous method of inoculation is worthy of special mention

But this deals only with the *breeding* of good cattle They suffer from a want of proper food, as

In India generally there are no pastures worthy of the name, and fodder crops as such are not commonly grown. In most parts of the country moreover, many useless cattle are kept which get their share of the very limited supply of fodder available, to the detriment of those that are deserving of better treatment Under these circumstances no great improvement can be effected by better breeding without first improving food supply Better feeding is as important as better breeding, in short On Government cattle breeding farms new fodder crops such as berseem (Egyptian clover) are therefore being grown, and different methods of storing fodders tested Accurate information regarding the digestibility and feeding value of different cattle foodstuffs is being collected, and facilities for a thorough training in animal husbandry and dairying provided by the opening of the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore.

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Tolstoy on Freedom of the East

The *Current Thought* publishes some hithorto unpublished letters of Count Tolstoy in its February number One deals with the freedom of the East. We reproduce it below:

I know that in China there exists a teaching implying that the chief ruler, the "Bogdikhan," should be the wisest and most virtuous man, and that if he be not such, then the subjects may and should cease to obey him. But I think that such a teaching is merely a justification of power, and as unsound as the teaching of Paul circulated amongst the European nations, which affirm that the power are of God. The Chinese people cannot know whether their emperor is wise and virtuous, just as the Christian nations could not know whether our power was granted by God to this ruler and not to that other one who taught against him.

These justifications of power could stand when the evil of power was not much felt by the people but now that the majority of men feel all the disadvantages and injustice of power, of the power of one, or a few, over many, these justifications are not effective, and nations have to alter one way or another their attitude to authority. And the Western nations have long ago made this alteration It is now the turn of the East. It is, I think, in such a position that Russia and Persia, Turkey and China now find themselves All these nations have attained the period when they can no longer remain in their former attitude towards their rulers As was correctly remarked by the Russian writer Gertzen, a Gengis Khan with telegraphs and electric motors is impossible If Gengis Khans or men similar to them still exist in the East, it is clear that their hour has come and that they are the last They cannot continue to exist both because owing to telegraphs and all that is called civilisation their power is becoming too oppressive and because the nations, owing to the same civilisation, feel and recognise with especial keenness that the existence or non-existence of these Gengis Khans is for them not a matter of indifference as it used to be of old, but that almost all the calamities from which they suffer, are produced precisely by this power to which they submit without any advantage to themselves but merely by habit

In Russia this is certainly the case I think that the same is true also of Turkey and Persia and China

For China this is especially true, owing to the peaceful disposition of its population and the bad organisation of its army, which gives the Europeans the pretext of robbing with impunity Chinese lands under the pretext of collisions and difference with the Chinese Government

The Chinese people cannot but feel the necessity of changing its relation to power

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Islam and Christianity

The Islamic World says

Islam and Christianity are engaged at present in a life-and-death struggle The Gospel preachers are doing their best to win over a greater part of humanity to Christ They are bent upon recruiting their evangelistic efforts. Although they work in all creeds and persuations Islam is their special target Rev C F Saywell writing in the *Church Missionary Review* makes a strong appeal to work among Muslims. He says —

The Moslem world is accessible to the Gospel as never before. Of the total Moslem population of 234 000,000, no fewer than four-fifths are now accessible to every method of missionary approach and movements towards Christianity are reported from Abyssinia (where there are now about 7000 converts from Islam,) Persia, and elsewhere. In Java there are 37000 converts and in Sumalia over 8000.

Take again the *Mass Movements* of Africa and India Every year thousands are entering the Church by baptism in Nigeria, particularly Southern Nigeria. Last year in connection with C. M. S alone there were 12,700 baptism in that part of Africa......in India we have a similar story. In the Telugo mission of South India the number of the Christians has doubled in the last five years—it now stands at something over 68000 for our own church, and in all Churches over 320,000

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The Romance of the Druse Revolt

In the same journal we find an interesting account of how the Druses were led to revolt against the French in Syria. We give it below in part

It all happened about a year ago Adhan, a famous Bedouin Sheik, was suspected by the French of plotting against them and they ordered his arrest Adhan had once given Soltan, leader of the Druses, refuge with his tribe in the desert, and so upon hearing of the intentions of the French he fled into the mountains of the Druses, toward Crea, where Soltan's castle is situated. Several of Soltan's men were with him

They were already in Druse territory some four miles from the castle, when the French soldiers overtook them and arrested Adhan As they were leading him away he shouted to the Soltan's men —

"I am in the mountains of the Druses as the guest of Soltan Pasha Atrash, and I am on my way to his house "'

The Druses hurried on to Crea, to the Atrash Castle When the Soltan heard what had happened he burst into tears Then he went into his chamber and prayed for many hours, The next morning he sent a letter to the commander of the French garrison at the citadel at Soueida, which read "This man, though he has not set foot in my house, came as my guest I beg you, by our sacred laws of hospitality, to give him provisional freedom on my personal honour until his case may be heard There was no answer That night Soltan called his two brothers and five of his bravest warriors. When they arrived at Soueida they found the jail empty The French, anticipating Soltan's attack, had taken Adhan into the citadel, where they had barricaded themselves

Soltan returned to Atrash He declared war on the French. After sending out the general for mobilization, which brought to Atrash within twenty-four hours 10,000 superb troops, fully equipped. Soltan called out 400 men of his personal bodyguard and headed Soueida. He intended to forestall any attempt by the French to remove Adhan to Damascus.

As they came to the top of a little hill on the way to the city they saw on the plains below three tanks crawling their way to the citadel Soltan instantly divined their purpose · they had been sent to take Adhan from the fortress to Damascus.

As he saw the tanks lumbering over the plain Soltan seemed to go mad. Then, with a terrible roar, he sent his horse flying down the hillside. As he rode at a frantic speed towards the tanks he threw his rifle aside. The tanks—two-men affairs—opened fire. The bullets whistled by him On he rode. So fleet was his white horse that his men were almost 400 yards behind him,

Full tilt alongside one of the ambling iron fortresses he drove his horse. With one leap he was atop the tank The men inside, because of the heat and because they had feared no attack, had left the hatch open, he tore his scimitar from his belt and dropped inside With furious sweeps of blade he slew both men.

In the meantime his men had captured the two other tanks and killed their crews.

But the retaliation of the French was swift. They sent a message to Soltan the next day telling him they were going to destroy his castle, and gave him time to remove his most valuable possessions Then aeroplanes came, dropped tons and tons of bombs on the castles. Soon it was only a heap of tumbled stones

Three months later the French, for political reasons, made peace with Soltan He exercised great influence throughout Syria, moreover, the French themselves really admired him a great deal General Sarrail offered to rebuild the castle at the expense of the French Government. In an eloquent letter Soltan refused. A house that was not able to protect its guests ought not to be allowed to stand, he declared. The French had been right in destroying it.

This is the man who has led proud Druses into another fierce revolt against the French.

"He is the bravest man in the East," says William Seabrook, traveller and writer, who with his wife, recently returned from a visit to Soltan and his cousin, Hussain Pasha Atrash. He is absolutely fearless in battle. And yet the most curious part of it all is that when he is not in battle he is as kind and gentle as a woman The man is almost Christlike in his holiness He is an ascetic and prays continually

"Throughout Arabia he is noted for his goodness and kindness He was coming home one day from the desert on his white mare. It had been a very hard day for him and he was worn out. He met an old wanderer on the road, who asked him the road to Soueida Tired as he was, Soltan dismounted, placed the old man on his horse, and walked alongside all the way to Soueida It's small wonder that songs are sung to him all over Arabia."

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Calcutta University Criticised

The Educational Review says

It is a great pity that the University has yet done very little in the two directions in which reform is urgently needed, the raising of its academic standards and the improvement of its schools. Its degrees have now become a bye-word in the educational world of India, though there are some persons of outstanding merit hailing from the province of Bengal Its products are being beaten hollow by

graduates of other Universities in all competitive examinations and the average is ridiculously low. Secondary education in Bengal is easily at a lower level of efficiency than in any other province of India and the University cannot free itself altogether of all responsibility in the matter. It will pay no attention to the nine hundred schools which send up candidates for its Matriculation examination though it is not ashamed to lead a parasitic existence by living more or less on their examination fees. The Government has been anxious to start a Board of High School and Intermediate Education but the main obstruction is the University of Calcutta which wants control over the Matriculation examination and wants to appropriate all the money of the ill-leaked boys who apply for the examination. We hope the University will soon turn a new leaf now that it has won its main point of getting money for the post-graduate department of the University.

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Indian Forest Service and Naval Training

The same journal also says

In spite of the great forests available in India, it has till now been the practice to send members appointed to the Imperial Forest Service to England for special training. This ridiculous state of affairs will now stop and arrangements will be made to further expand the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun to enable the highest training in the subject to be given in this country. Together with the formation of an Indian Navy about which His Excellency the Viceroy made an announcement the other day, there is to be provision for the training of Indian cadets for service as naval officers.

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The "Blue Stocking"

The following unkind lines appear in *The Sind Collegiate Miscellany*

Have you never seen an old young woman, forbidding, with monster goggles which remind you of the glasses which the men in Mars are supposed to wear—bony, angular, lean with her clothes hanging on her person as from a clothes' peg—a woman who is a walking library and a mine of useful knowledge? Have you never met with a woman who had found her books but had, in the process, lost her looks? I am sure you have, for Blue Stockings in colleges are as common as Blue Bottles in the season.

The Blue Stocking has heart-breaking habits. She is up even earlier than the lark, and applies herself to her books with a zeal which ultimately gives her a stoop. She disdains such prosaic things as regular hours of food and sleep. To her, man does not read to live, but lives to read. She makes examinations and a first class the end and object of her life.

No doubt, the Blue Stocking comes out from the College a veritable encyclopedia. But in the process the price which she pays for this doubtful gain is terrible. She loses her peace of mind she loses her health; she loses all pretentions [illegible] good looks. She comes out from college a veri[illegible] able wreck and a fright. And what is the educa[illegible] tion for which she has paid this stunning price. She knows Bacteriology, but cannot look afte[r] her own health. She is aquainted with the Vernier the Coefficient of friction, the refraction of light and the angle of incidence, but she does not know enough of the law of motion to move out of the way when a car threatens to run her down. She knows that cutlery can be had from Sheffield, but she cannot sharpen her pencil without slicing her finger. She is acquainted with the latest theories of Eugenics, Psycho-analysis, Freudism, and Relativity, but she is herself incapable of becoming a mother or of nursing a baby. She knows that figs can be had from California, sausages from Chicago, and vodka from Russia, but she cannot turn her hand to make an omelet, or cook a plain dish of rice. In short the Blue Stocking knows everything but can do nothing.

And what a world of beauty, and what a sense of life the Blue Stocking misses! What if she knows the parts of a flower the, stem, the stamen the pistil, does she appreciate, the marvel of a bed of Chrysanthemums? What if she knows her Dickens, her Shakespeare, and her Tennyson by rote, has she ever lived one single hour of crowded life?

The youth who has written the above had evidently forgotten at the time of writing that not all (as a matter of fact only a few) girl students who are good at study are "Blue Stockings." Many first-class girl graduates retain their good looks and make excellent mothers. And very many of them cook as well as and perhaps better than ignorant women. The "Blue Stocking" is a fast disappearing species and most modern girls value health and looks as well as knowledge. Moreover, there are numerous young students of the male variety from whose shoulders shawls flutter as flags from a flag-staff whose goggles and general appearance would send shudders through the Martian man, and such male members of universities are commoner even than "blue bottles in the season." These males go on adding to the convolutions in their brain at the cost of their muscles and very soon they begin to rival the match-stick in thinness of body and inflammability of head. They stoop till one fears that they would trip themselves up by their own head and look not at all as if they would have been accepted as models by the Greek sculptors. They mug up the labours of Hercules but pant and gasp to lift half a maund; they recite tales of bravery and courage but funk the street dogs; they know how easy it is to produce every; kind of goods at home but clothe themselves, from shoe-nails to the thread used in sewing

their cap, in foreign stuff; they know all about fighting from *Kurukshetra* to the breaking of the Hindenburg Line but end up every friction with "I beg your pardon"; they know every bit of art, æsthetics and good living but go about defacing furniture, disfiguring books, spitting and howling like savages; and the ideas they have of "hours of crowded life" make honest citizens pray that their lives be packed with eternal loneliness

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Hinduism and Buddhism

Pandit Shyam Shankar M A (Lond) writes in the *Maha-Bodhi*

It is erroneous to speak of Hinduism and Buddhism as two distinct religions The relation of Buddhism to Hinduism is that of Puritanism to Christianity, i e, of a part to a whole Hinduism is broadbased enough to contain within it Buddhism Jainism, Vedic ritualism, Vedantism, Vaishnavism, Shaktaism, Shaivism, Ganaptyaism, Sauraism, Smartaism, Sikhism, Brahmoism, Aryaism, Animism and many other ISMS i e, sects and subsects If we consider the term "Hinduism" with strict logic we cannot but conclude that it is a miscellany of all the Indian systems of religion derived from the Indo-Aryan parental stock as well as from its interrelation with the Indo-Non-Aryan systems of religion

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Early Marriage

The following quotation from an article by Dr T Bowen Partington in *Health and Strength* as reproduced in *The Health* will be found interesting.

I would warn young men and women against marrying too soon and thus becoming immature parents All leading physiologists place man's maturity at about twenty-four and a woman's at twenty If continence in thought and life controlled our social relations, it would be best for the human family if marriage did not take place until maturity, Under present conditions they often marry before, but for sixteen, seventeen and eighteen year old girls and twenty year old boys to marry is a decided physiological and psychological mistake. Children cannot parent normal children

A great sociologist says that four to six per cent more children will die in their first year who are born of mothers who married at eighteen than children whose mothers married at twenty, and that six to ten per cent more children whose fathers married at twenty will die in their first year than children whose fathers married at twenty-four

In conclusion, I appeal to every one of my readers. Do not rob your children of their birth-right If the initial moment of every child born into this world were intelligently planned, its parental rights respected, its advent warmly welcomed, its environments wisely chosen, we should see the next generation greatly superior to this.

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The Hard Lot of Teachers

Satya Kumar Ghosal writes in *The Teachers' Journal* on the hard lot of the present day school master The beginning of his articles which we quote below, is bitter but the writer shows later on that the bitterness is not unprovoked.

There was a time when those upon whom devolved the charge of education—the gurus of the ancient times—occupied a respectable, and perhaps an enviable position in society, being held in high esteem by all, high or low, rich or poor. But O the times! O the manners! From what a height the teachers of the present times seem to have fallen, fallen on evil times and evil tongues too! They seem to have been born to be drifting listlessly on the current of life, there being no one on earth to look to their interest and welfare, even to keep them from starvation in these days of hard struggle for existence They seem to be treated like the most worthless and useless beings on earth—the scum, as it were, of society. Yet it is they who have been entrusted with the most sacred and the most onerous task of educating the little children for whose future it is the teachers alone who are accountable to the guardians and the educational authorities

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The Milk Supply of Calcutta

The Bengal Co-operative Journal gives an account of the above. The contributor is Mr S K Ganguly, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal. We are told

The milk supply of Calcutta is obtained from three sources —

(1) From mofussil,

(2) From the town itself, that it is, from local cowsheds,

(3) From the suburbs of Calcutta

It is estimated that about 3,000 maunds or 2,40,000 lbs are consumed daily in Calcutta About 800 maunds of milk are brought daily *via* Sealdah Station and about 50 maunds *via* the Howrah Station—the farthest station from which milk is brought being about 25 miles There are about 15,000 milch cows and about 1,100 milch buffaloes in Calcutta (Mr J R Blackwood's Survey and Census of Cattle of Bengal) The total quantity of milk derived from the cowsheds within the present municipal boundaries of Calcutta is about 1,000 mds Lt-Col Matson's figure in 1918 was about 500 mds and this was for the old boundaries of the city The quantity of milk which is derived from the suburbs of Calcutta is also about 1000 mds

The population of Calcutta is 10,77,264 and the daily supply of milk in Calcutta is estimated to be 3,000 mds. So the average supply per head of

population is 1·7 chittacks. The average supply available per head of the population in the city is thus much lower than what it ought to be. Allowing half a seer per head—an estimate which is by no means excessive or extravagant—there should be a supply of 13,465 mds The present supply is thus deficient in quantity.

Of course this statement does not take into account the facts regarding whether or not there is a demand for further supplies of milk. The poverty of the majority of Calcutta's 10,77,264 men, women and children stands in the way of their consuming half a seer of milk a day We are further told that

The milk trade is mostly in the hands of the goalas who have no idea of the principles of economic dairying and who are indifferent to the laws of sanitation, The live stock has been deteriorating in consequence of unscientific breeding and want of proper feeding, tending, housing, etc The price of milk has doubled within the last ten years and is likely to go up still further unless there is a considerable improvement in the present method of production and distribution of milk This, in brief, is the nature of the problem with which the city of Calcutta is faced.

Co-operation has developed to a considerable extent in the milk trade The writer says ·

The Co-operative milk organization as it exists at present is composed of two parts .—(1) *the Rural Societies* which are the producing centres and (2) the *Milk Union* or the distributing centre

The society is the unit of the organization and this unit generally covers a village and its members are the *bona fide* milk producers whose primary occupation is agriculture, with milk production as their secondary occupation

The Union does useful work for

The Union takes delivery of milk at certain stations or collecting depots from societies The Union maintains group depot managers who transport the collection by rail direct to Calcutta In Calcutta a responsible officer of the Union takes delivery of the consignments and distributes it among consumers.

The Union has got in its office a pasteurizing plant and a boiler. All distributing cans are properly sterilized Milk is generally distributed raw to individual customers but the supply to the hospitals is pasteurized The Union has got a motor lorry and has also introduced the cycle lorry system of delivery The milk is also carried by hand carts and coolies for delivery to customers The Union is at present supplying milk to 5 hospitals, 4 hotels and a large number of individual customers through a number of depots,

This co-operative organisation has been fairly successful as can be seen from the following figures.

Profits of the Milk Union.

Year.			Profit.	Loss.
1919-20	...	...	...	5,515
1920-21	.	...	2,173	...
1921-22		.	8 590	...
1922-23	...	..	13,524	...
1923-24	...	...	15,472	...
1924-25	.	...	20,146	.

Other details

Year	No. of Societies	No. of members	Maximum daily yield which is obtained during February to July	Minimum daily yield which is obtained during August to January	Average outturn per member
1921-22	47	2,468	32 mds	19 mds,	·56 seers
1922-23	52	2,040	35 mds	26 mds.	68 seers
1923-24	54	2,155	55 mds	36 mds	1 02 seers
1924-25	63	2 909	83 mds	55 mds	1·14 seers

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Indian Religion, Ram Mohan and Rabindranath

Dr Sten Konow writing in *The Visva Bharati Quarterly* on Indian Religion of To-day, says that whenever in ancient times outside impulses and ideas entered India they were so thoroughly Indianised that we could not now distinguish them from purely Indian thought of those days Mahomedan thought, though partly utilised by Hindu religious reformers such as Kabir and Nanak, failed to exert any great influence on the religious life of India and showed more of conflict than co-operation and interpenetration with Hinduism Then

The Portuguese came with the double aim of winning riches and of preaching the gospel of Christ The result was some Indian converts and a small ethnic element of mixed descent. But it is hardly possible to point to any interchange of religious ideas, or indeed of any perceptible result of this Christian propaganda It is easy to understand why such was the case In Indian civilisation religion has always played a prominent part, and the leaders of Indian thought have not been inclined to allow themselves to be influenced by ideas and conceptions which were avowedly in conflict with their own, especially when they were backed by physical power The Indian thinker is open to conviction, but not to force.

Then came the English who displayed an extreme religious toleration and spirit of noninterference. This brought the English and the Hindus to approach one another in a friendly spirit and led to developments in the 19th century which may well be considered as the beginning of the Modern Era in India. Says Dr. Konow

There are not many names in modern History which more deserve to be remembered with gratitude than that of Rammohan Roy (1772-1833). Already as a child he showed that to him religion was a reality and not a form of outward worship. He had to leave his home, because he could not reconcile the numerous ceremonies of orthodox Brahmanism with the craving of his spirit. He became homeless, and during his wandering he tried to grasp the truth of all religion in intercourse with the particular religious conceptions of Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity

Ram Mohan Roy studied Christianity and found in it, not the religion for a new India, but an inspiration to infuse new life into the petrified remains of what was India's spiritual glory in the past and present it to the nation which was fast degenerating because of the absence of a truly spiritual life Of Ram Mohan Dr. Konow says

Rammohan Roy's attitude is, in a way, a revolt against the worship of authority, which has so often framed the religious mentality, not only in India but all over the world The Buddha in his teaching also refused to recognise the authority of the Vedas But then his case is entirely different He believed that truth had revealed itself to him, in its purity, for immediate intuition has in India been considered, since the oldest times, as the highest realisation,—and he simply proceeded to expound the truth as he had seen it, and thus founded a new religion Rammohan did not lay claim to direct revelation He was a man of the modern age, who used his own intelligence and his own heart as tests of the ancient scriptures, and in so doing he showed to his compatriots how the beliefs of their ancestors could be reflected in the modern mind and thereby be reborn, how the superstitions and later unworthy accretions could be eliminated therefrom, and yet the old fundamental notions held firm

Every religious tradition abounds in things which the modern man cannot accept, nevertheless only the superficial critic will draw therefrom the conclusion that the religion itself is at fault In the East as in the West there have been many who have made this mistake, and it is well for India that a man like Rammohan became the leader of the modern development, when the influence of the West began to make itself felt in Indian thinking He was too great a personality to be blinded by appearances, and he was too deeply imbued with Indian religiosity to become dazzled by the apparently more modern tenets of Christianity as preached in the 19th century. *I am not sure that Rammohan's importance has always been realised in India* I have been told that some people have found fault with him because he had come under the influence of European thought. Such critics, however, overlook the fact that religious ideas are not mathematical formulae, with a meaning which has the same value at all times. There is progress and development in human civilisation, in which progress all the civilised peoples of the world have their share. And religious ideas have also their life and their growth. The same formula does not mean the same thing to us as to our ancestors. Modern man is a child of his time and his mental horizon can no longer be entirely shaped by the development within one single country.

Two alternatives open to Rammohan were, either to accept the tradition as it was together with everything in it against which his inner self revolted, or to throw it overboard entirely. He could not do the former and he was wise enough not to do the latter. He knew that a religious belief is not like a dress which can be worn or changed at will. With a thousand threads is the religious belief of today connected with inherited notions, which cannot be thrown away without injury to the deepest human feelings Rammohan, therefore, showed the way to a renewal of ancient Indian religiosity in a shape which is not repugnant to the modern mind and though the precepts of Jesus may have brought more than one Indian over to the Christian camp, there are many more who have learnt from him to find rest and hope in the belief of their fathers.

Rammohan was as you all know, the founder of the Brahma Samaj, which has not it is true, many enrolled members, but which has nevertheless exercised an unexampled influence in Modern India It has become one of the most important centres of those efforts which aim at creating a modern India, without severing connection with the past Rammohan's successor, the noble and unselfish Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), carried on the work begun by the founder and won new friends for the young movement. The purity of his life and the nobility of his character secured him a firm place in the estimation of his people, who still speak of him as the Maharshi His religious mentality was of the same kind as Rammohan's, and his conception of God, Who should only be worshipped in the spirit, was unitarian in its wideness. But he was none the less throughly Indian, and he saw in the Upanishads the purest source of religious truth He was still more convinced than his predecessor that Christianity could not give India what it needed, and on the whole his leadership meant a distinct strengthening of the national base of the Samaj

It is of interest to take note of this, because it is typical of the whole development Foreign elements may be assimilated, and there may be visible traces of a strong impulse from outside, but the Indian framework is so substantial that it overshadows the whole

Dr Konow draws important conclusions from his study of the history of the Brahmo Samaj He says

The development of the Brahmo Samaj, as this was evolved out of the intercrossing of Eastern and Western notions in the 19th Century, seems to me to teach us two different things

In the first place a unitarian creed will naturally take its colouring from the spiritual atmosphere of the individual nation within which it gets a footing and I would like to add that it can never become a living faith unless it does so, because it will otherwise remain a mere formula, without the living contents which the emotional growth of a people brings about. I therefore think that every attempt at creating a really universal creed through a fusion of the religious ideals of the different peoples and civilisations will always result in failure

In the second place I believe that we can draw the inference that a people like the Indian, with a long and rich spiritual development, has nothing to fear from the influence of foregn civilisations, and need not shut the door against Western ideas. They will not overgrow the national substratum, but may become like a looking glass, reflecting it in its purity, free from the impermanent accretions which have grown up through the vicissitudes of its historical development. It conduces only to the good of men to be rubbed against other men.

Besides, the policy of the closed door is not any more possible in the modern world No nation can shut its eyes to the fact that there are other nations, with their different interests and ideals. Seclusion will lead to starvation, not only physically, but also spiritually. Just as we have to import foreign goods and adopt foreign inventions, we must also accept such thoughts and ideas as are useful for us. We must all the while, however, take care to maintain a certain equilibrium between exports and imports. A too great excess of the former is a sure sign of poverty

The question presents itself whether we should accept as final the conclusions that there is little or no hope of uniting the ideals of the East and West in a common creed, which may lead them on to exert themselves for the sake of higher and universal aims:

He does not find much to hope for in the religious zeal of Christians, Buddhists and Mahomedans as manifested through missionary activity. For

In all these movements we often see a tendency to adopt the methods in vogue in the past century, competition and struggle for supremacy The immediate aim may not be, in this case, to acquire power and prosperity, but the main endeavour nevertheless is to win over as many people as possible to our special faith And the question naturally presents itself will not this spiritual competition repeat itself in the struggle for wealth and influence, as happened in the past century?

Then Dr Konow says

There is another way Each people, each civilisation can make an attempt to purify its highest ideals, in the light of the spiritual aspirations of the others, and then all of them can join together in the promotion of such aims as are common to all. There must be no abandonment of individuality, nor must any individual be missing, because then the harmony would be incomplete, and for the same reason there must not be any patronage of one by another, but a free co-operation of civilisations and nations, where each is able and willing to give of its best Each must be allowed to do so with all the weight of its individuality, a reservation which it becomes necessary to emphasise because we have become so accustomed to neglect those who cannot hold their own This is the way pointed out by *Visva-bharati*, Rabindranath Tagore's gift to his nation and to humanity

Visva-bharati has been described as an international university, but it is not meant to be an ordinary centre of research, like the old universities of Europe Research is to be carried on with a human interest and without bias or prejudice. And the aim is partly of a practical kind: to train **Indians to greater efficiency in agriculture and** handicrafts, **to teach them how to prevent and** to combat **diseases, etc. I should like to say in this place** that I **have been much impressed with the excellent** work **carried out in connexion with the Visva-bharati** in **its department of rural reconstruction,** called **Sriniketan, in Surul.**

But this is only a part of the whole, and the **leading idea is a much wider one. It has** been **evolved under the impression of the** world-wide **disaster brought about by the great war and** the **mentality which led to it, and it is the result** of a **fervent wish to create a new atmosphere in** the **world, as the only means of avoiding a** repetition **of the disaster. Power and might cannot** remain **the highest aims of the peoples of the world** Man **will never cease to strive for material** prosperity, **it is true, and his endeavours for such** purposes **will lead to material progress and further** the development **of human civilisation, as they** have **done at all times. But man must learn to** understand **that his own interests are intimately** bound **up with those of other human beings, and** also that **riches and wealth can never satisfy the** innermost ***cravings of the heart. Its ultimate longing*** goes **beyond them, towards the universal** sphere of **harmony and bliss, towards transcendency.** And it **is only this higher realisation which is** able to **sanctify life itself, and to make man feel** that he **has done justice to his innermost self,** because he **is not only an individual but also a man,** with **higher ideals and broader aims**

Respect for his fellow-beings and sympathy **with their highest longings is the** necessary condition **of the Indian conception of divinity.** Visva-bharati therefore tries to extend the mentality which meets us in Indian *bhakti* so as to comprise the whole human world. It invites men from all parts of the globe to come together, in mutual respect and good-will, in order to learn to know each other, as human beings whose ideals may differ, but who all belong to one higher Unity

But, as its Founder knows, this aim cannot be achieved unless each civilisation, each nation, is able to present its highest ideals with all the strength and power of its individuality The immediate aim of Visva-bharati must therefore be to strengthen the spiritual force of Asia and especially of India, so that its high value may become apparent to the whole world That is necessary for the sake of India, as for that of the world which has shown a tendency to overlook what is weak While, therefore, I cannot help looking on the Visva-bharati as connected with the movement, which can at the present day be observed everywhere, for making India strong and powerful it must not be lost sight of that the means aimed at is not to develop a spirit of contention and competition, but one of co-operation in order to widen man's horizon and teach him to look beyond the interests of the moment, and even those of the individual person and nation, towards the higher sphere where all men can meet, in mutual respect and good-will, for the promotion of the happiness of the whole world.

India, where the idea of *Ahimsa* had its home, has her mission in the world, but cannot fulfil this unless she puts her own ideals, undiluted and unmixed,—such as are purely Indian—into the scales. She must remain *herself*, for the sake of the world, as well as for her own sake. For she

must make certain that, in the harmonious concert of the world to which we look forward, her own tune is not missing.

It is a small beginning which has been made,—we who have worked in the Visva-bharati know that only too well. But we also know that spiritual ideas cannot die, if they are filled with truth They will live and sprout, and when the powerful political constellations of the present day have crumbled to pieces, they will survive and shape the future. We confidently hope and we firmly believe that Rabindranath Tagore's ideal is an eternal truth, and not only a dream, that the day will come when the world will speak of him, not only as a poet, but still more as a prophet, and above all as a healer, who has laid the world under deep obligation in showing the way towards good will, towards harmony, towards peace.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Eternal Mosul

The Literary Digest furnishes the public with the Turkish view of the Mosul "decision" It is quite evident from the following that the Turks seriously dislike the recent arrangement

An official Turkish view is that of Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who in an interview given to a Serbian newspaper, the Belgrade *Vreme*, declared:

"We cannot waive our rights on Mosul, I do not mean 'we do not wish to waive them', but that we cannot waive them' There are means by which the dispute may be solved and our sovereignty maintained. Our proposition for a plebiscite was refused. Then let them find some other solution ; but we want it well understood that we never will waive our rights of sovereignty on Mosul The only unsolved question existing between Great Britain and Turkey is the question of Mosul Therefore, advantage must be taken of this fact and this dispute must be solved peacefully "

The "British plaything, called the League of Nations," irately remarks the Constantinople *Jumhouriet*, has unanimously given Mosul to Irak, "that is Great Britain," and it declares its belief that the British have "vowed never to come out of Mesopotamia," In the view of this newspaper—

"This decision is a proof that the institution called the League of Nations does not in the least respect the ideals of justice and right It proves once more that the League of Nations is the servant of the strongest, namely, Great Britain, and is far from being an international institution of justice, which respects the rights of nations Only in medieval ages do we encounter such unjust and tyrannical decisions.

"So long as the plaything called the League of Nations can neither give Turkey her rights nor deprive her of them, its decision is quite worthless to us. As the case was during our campaign of nationhood, so now the rights of the Turk are safe under the sharp beyonets of the Turks, and we know perfectly well how to take back with our own hands 'Turkish Mosul'—given to Great Britain by the League of Nations just as we saved Adana, Broussa, Smyrna, and Constantinople. So we will neither recognise this decision nor obey it."

The Constantinople newspaper goes on to say ironically that the whole affair is a comedy, but it may yet bring the Turks and the British face to face, and then the comedy may be changed to tragedy, and it adds a Turkish friendly warning to Britons

"If the British public are not on the alert and blindly follow their statesmen, sooner or later they will be witnesses of a slaughter-house It will be a real pity for humanity if the British nation be deceived, because, we may say, they are still slaves to the intrigues of their statesmen."

And with the Russo-Turkish treaty behind them the Turks will not stop at anything to retain their prestige intact. They think that

The British plan is to develop negotiations on the one hand and on the other to create disturbances on the Mosul front Naturally, the British with their usual alertness will see that the blame is thrown on the Turks It is not improbable that some day a fierce and bloody battle will take place in the East

"We should not be surprized if Britain continues her provocative actions She will send mercenary armed brigands to our borders, and quite naturally the Turkish forces will march against them The next day the British Foreign Secretary will make outcry in order to raise the rest of the world against us In as much as this is the situation. Turkey will naturally have to make all provisions for her safety "

In view of the fact that a treaty of friendship and mutual benevolent neutrality has been signed by Russia and Turkey, it is of interest to note a statement given by Russia's Foreign Minister Tchitcherin, to the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Mr. Tchitcherin is quoted as saying that after the Locarno Treaty the international situation became acute, but the Mosul decision made it even perilous, according to him and he added

"Naturally, Turkey does not desire war but, no doubt, the Turks are prepared for any sacrifice for the most vital question of Mosul Instead of solving the controversy the League of Nations has created a new crisis Russia will not join the League of Nations because *it is not* an institute for peace, but, on the contrary, serves to brew intrigues.

The Russo-Turkish Treaty must not astonish any one. It was quite natural that the Eastern nations should sign, a treaty for their safety as the Western nations signed one for theirs at Locarno."

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The useful White Ant

The following account appears in the *Literary Digest* and may console those who have suffered from the white ant's destructive inroads

The name of the white ant, or termite, has so long been a synonym for destructiveness that it is surprising to learn that it has its good points Franz Spelling states as a result of his observations during ten years in the former German colony of East Africa, that these creatures play an important role in the economy of nature He gives an interesting data in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart) concerning these creatures, particularly the species *Termes bellicosos*, the one most frequently found in his vicinity, beginning by the statement that to the white ants the natives of the immense and barren plateau of Unyamwezi are largely indebted for their crops of maize and millet. He writes in substance,

"The ground, mostly a course soil derived from the weathering of granite rocks, has but little fertility, and the art of improving it by fertilization is unknown to the negroes But the termites crumble the layer of humus much as earthworms do in our own latitudes Furthermore the fertility of the ground is improved above all by their habit of building their moundlike nests, which consist chiefly of a rich and fertile loam. It is almost incredible what enormous amounts of earth are thus brought from the interior to the outer surface of the land The natives have good reason to treasure these nests, which rise to a height of six to ten feet upon a base 25 feet in diameter I have often seen a hot fight for possession of such a mound. The only way of settling the combat was to divide the fields of the two sets of combatants by a line drawn through the middle of the mound The mounds are scattered like oases, dark green and thickly overgrown, in the otherwise semi-barren fields"

The crops specially raised on these fertile mounds are beans, onions and tobacco, and the author tells us that if the Africans were not so lazy and indifferent to their own welfare, they might soon possess rich fields by the mere process of scattering the soil in the nests over the rest of the field during the rainy season Another important use of the nests is the employment of their material for building It makes excellent stuff for walls and for the floors of the native huts. When the millet crop is ripe an excellent threshing floor is obtained by razing the mound, pouring on water, and stamping it down with the feet. We read

"By hollowing out the termite mound, the native smiths make themselves a sort of furnace, in which they smelt copper in a primitive manner.

"Even Europeans have learned to value the termite loam, since mixed in the right proportions with sand it furnishes an excellent material for making bricks and tiles.

"The natives are great lovers of the fungi which the ants raise, and each year in January and February they excitedly await the day when suddenly the entire surface of the termite mounds is covered with a yellowish granular deposit which contains thousands upon thousands of fungi spores. The termites have brought them fourth overnight from the interior. The layer covering the mound consists of the same light porous masses of fungi which are found in clumps of varying size in the fungus gardens inside the nest The entire mound is at once covered with grass and green twigs in order to protect the fungi from the rays of the sun, which are injurious to their growth After another four and twenty hours the harvest is ripe The mound is now covered with countless small cap fungi or 'mushrooms' about two inches in length and about half an inch in diameter. The mushrooms are quickly gathered and dried in the sun, being utilized the year round as a favourite dainty in the form of a stew or broth One morning to our great astonishment we found the walls of our kitchen thickly covered inside and out up to the roof with these little mushrooms—for us a gift of doubtful value under the circumstances."

Another delicacy provided by the termites consists of their own bodies and those of their larvae, both much prized by the native tribes

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The Religion of the Modern Japanese

The Literary Digest gives us the following interesting account of the religious quest of a Japanese intellectual and of what he found at the end of his quest

To be compelled to choose among a variety of religions and, in the end, to weld them all into one religious faith is the experience of a Japanese writer, which is interestingly set down in the New York *Herald Tribune* Yusuke Tsurumi, a well-known contributor to American magazines, was brought up amid the formalities of Buddhism and Shintoism but it was not until the invasion of Christianity that he began his quest for God He was seriously troubled by some of the teaching he heard from missionaries. He could not believe that his mother who had given him her all, would be wiped out of existence because she had not known the Christian faith, he could not believe that immortality was denied his ancestors, who had not had the opportunity of hearing the Christian Gospel. He could not accept the theory of original sin, nor could he believe that his soul's salvation hinged upon baptism But he continued his quest for a faith or religious philosophy to which he could attach himself and in the end he found one. But he does not give it a label, and he does not put his creed in words.

The rest is in the words of Mr Tsurumi

"The flood of Western science and Christianity that invaded the country after 1898 stirred the conscience of the whole nation. The vague loneliness of my early boyhood gradually changed into

a strong religious quest. I was rather precocious and read a great deal. The books that came my way were, of course, different from those that would come the way of an American boy. In the case of the latter, Christianity is the religion. In my case I was thrown into the formidable problem of the conflict of religions.

"The religious and philosophical books that come the way of a Japanese boy or girl are of four different kinds—Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism and Christianity. Your aching conscience and inquisitive mind have to grapple with this stupendous problem of comparative religion But as a nation we are not strong on speculative philosophy. We have a nature that craves for action and not speculation. Therefore, we look at religion not so much to see how it philosophizes as to discover how it functions. We look at the manifestations of religion in human conduct Of course, I was not conscious of these things when I was going through the first conscious quest of religion"

"When I tried to approach religion through the question of eternity, I failed When I was told that the right approach to religion was the recognition of original sin, I could not accept it. Yet there was something that made me constantly pray It gradually dawned on me that I believed in a sublime scheme in the universe I could not go on living without believing that there was a meaning in all our apparently independent actions and deeds. The Japanese have a passion for harmony. We do not think in terms of individuals. We intuitively turn to the oneness of all the surroundings Our individual self is important only in its relation to the whole scheme of the family, the village, the State, the world, and the whole universe. Look at the Japanese garden It is never an independent garden It is always fitted into the distant mountains or the surrounding woods. It is harmony with the surroundings that we are trying to accomplish, The same with religion My intuitive reaction was not so much concerned with the eternity of my own soul. It was the conception of the sublime scheme of the universe that thrilled me It was again the existence of a great will that guided the unfolding of the scheme that was inspiring to me

"It might run into the danger of the Oriental fatalism. The mentality of fatalism is to submit.. The faith of the sublime scheme is to contribute Here I feel the unconscious influence of Buddhism I never studied Buddhism seriously until quite recently In going through this great teaching I was astonished to find in me so much imprint of this It was indeed, a grand scheme of the world that the great thinkers of India thought out centuries ago. However, the greatest driving power of my own religion was not the mere conception of the sublime scheme of the universe. There was another thing that gave a driving force to the faith in the sublime scheme of life. That was the intense love of my own mother. I could not bear the thought that she was wiped out of existence. I gradually realized that the loneliness I felt in my boyhood was the unconscious quest of the soul for eternity. Here I now see my subconscious Shintoism. The ancestor worship is the dominant note in the Japanese life. Being constantly under the influence of Christianity, I thought that I was free from the power of Shintoism. In my religious reverence toward my mother I now see the unseen power of the ancestral cult altho in a different way from the old Shintoism. That is why I refuse to be labeled. The complex life we live makes it impossible to say definitely under what influences we have arrived at a certain kind of faith. In me I clearly see the mixing influences of Christianity, Buddhism, Shintoism and Confucianism. And that is the religious and intellectual life of a modern Japanese."

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The Italo-German Friction

Regarding the Tyrol affair the *Living Age* says

Mussolini's temperamental outburst against Germany in the Italian Parliament on account of that country's alleged aggressive intentions in Tyrol is the culmination of a strained situation that has existed since the Peace Treaty but that has been aggravated by a number of events during the past three months. It is a somewhat broader question than the present incident indicates for it involves Switzerland, and also, though much more remotely, France

In the first place, Italy has proceeded with a somewhat rough hand to Italianize the German-speaking Tyrolese transferred to her by the Treaty. Under the new educational law, the use of their native tongue in the public schools, which for the most part is guaranteed to minority nationalities under the Peace Treaty, is gradually being taken away from them. The Italian authorities naturally try to prevent the formation of societies designed to perpetuate Irredentism among the quarter of a million Germans in their annexed territories, a royal decree has prescribed under heavy penalties that all families of Italian or Latin descent that have adopted German names shall resume Italian names and that all place names shall be Italianized. According to the German papers, the requirement as to family names applies also to those of pure German descent, and in fact it is almost impossible to distinguish between the two groups. Another measure greatly resented is the action of the Italian Government in refusing Tyrolese suspected of unfriendliness to the Italianization programme their right under the Peace Treaty to elect Italian citizenship, thus threatening them with the prospect of forcible deportation These and similar measures have naturally begotten exaggerated reports north of the border of still other arbitrary acts. For example, a false rumor was circulated that the monument of Walther von der Vogelweide, the great Tyrolese Minnesinger, had been removed from Bolzano and that the monument of the Empress Elizabeth at Meran had been mutilated or destroyed

Last summer an unusual number of Italian peddlers entered Northern Tyrol, which still belongs to Austria, and aroused the distrust of the already excited population A report spread that they were Fascist spies sent to study the ground preliminary to an invasion by Mussolini's partisan bands. Some of them were perhaps political agents, for the Italians in their turn had conceived the idea that German Nationalists from Tyrol to Bavaria were organizing to recover the

'lost territories' south of the Brenner Pass. In any case several arrests were made, and, although explanations satisfactory to both Governments appear to have cleared up these incidents they left their seeds behind and among measures of retaliation mooted in Germany is a tourist boycott of Italy and a campaign against the purchase of Italian goods.

In a large way the Fascisti are the aggressors, although there are plenty of belligerant militants on the other side of the border. The Fascisti movement is also the more comprehensive. A very busy committee is said to be working in Milan under the supervision of Gabriel d'Annunzio 'for liberating North Tyrol and Ticino'--The Italian-speaking canton of Switzerland. This committee and its sympathizers are endeavoring to have Ticino children educated in Italy in order that they may grow up Italian patriots. They are said to be employing subsidized agents in Ticino to stir up hostility there against the German-Swiss cantons. This has naturally provoked a sharp reaction in Ticino itself, where a Pro-Ticino Union has been organised to fight Italy's agitation.

Here Italian ambition comes directly into conflict with French interests, for France cannot tolerate Switzerland's being reduced to a bilingual republic with a weakened Latin element. Moreover, France is already watching with distrustful eyes the growth of Italian annexationist sentiment on her own southeastern frontier, where the Italians under her own flag are already very numerous. On the other hand, a section of the French press, especially that leaning toward Fascism in France itself, stands with Italy in its controversy with Germany. Even as moderate a daily as *Le Temps* traces the present friction back to Italy's opposition to Germany's design of absorbing Austria. Italian Tyrol, it should be borne in mind, has four Members in the Italian Parliament, all of whom are German-speaking, German in sentiment, and anti-Fascist in politics. *Le Temps* points out that Italy's measures in Tyrol, ill-advised as they may be, only parallel Prussia's methods in her Polish-speaking territories before the war.

The Forger Prince of Hungary

Prince Ludwig Windisch-Grätz was at the head of the Hungarian Plot to forge French Bank Notes which stirred the European press for a considerable time. The following romantic account of his early adventures from his memoirs appears in the *Living Age*.

My grandfather was Field-Marshal Alfred Windisch-Grätz, who crushed the revolution of 1848 at Vienna, Prague, and Budapest. My father was also a general. He fought in every one of our wars after 1848. He was one of the last soldiers of the old army.

I wanted to go to sea. My father forbade it. That settled the question. I entered the military academy angrily and unwillingly and took up an active military career. I served for three years in the artillery at Krakow, my native city, where I was born on October 20, 1882. Then the Russo-Japanese War came along. General Hubner volunteered to make a study of the siege of Port Arthur. I went as his adjutant at my own expense. We spent two months in Peking. Port Arthur had fallen, so our mission came to naught. I personally requested to be detailed as military attache with the Russian army. This was granted me on condition that I take upon myself all responsibility for reaching that army.

The Russian forces were already retiring behind Mukden. I had to get through the Japanese lines to reach them. Supplied with letters from an English liquor house, I smuggled myself through the Japanese lines as its agent and reached the Russian cavalry corps of Mishchenko at Fakumen. I was with these troops during the last phase of the campaign, and was captured near Mukden. The Japanese treated me very well and let me go. I left on a Norwegian freighter for Japan. We ran into a typhoon. The captain and I had ourselves chained to the bridge, and lived on champagne and coffee. We were stopped by Admiral Togo's fleet a few hours before he fought the battle of Tsushima.

From Japan I went to the United States via Honolulu. I looked around the country a little, from top to bottom. In New York I fell into a den of thieves in a slum saloon and had to shoot a mulatto. As a consequence I spent the night in jail with prisoners and street women.

I have been an ardent hunter. I hunted lions in Africa twice. In Sudan I met Slatin Pasha. He spoke Arabic with a perfect Viennese accent. Finally I returned to Hungary and had myself transferred from the artillery to the Sixteenth Hussars. I also married Marie Szechenyi. During all these adventures my property had run through my fingers. I began to manage my estates. I owned big Tokay vineyards, and so I founded a stock company, recalled my experiences in Manchuria, and now and then worked as my own wine agent. In that way I restored my fortunes.

Mussolini advised to be Good

Mussolini, the strongman of Italy, is today the most hated man in the world. Hated outside Italy and adored within it. The Anglo-saxon people seem to have taken his success rather badly; for if he were to set up Italy as a great "power," it would take the bottom out of Nordic Superiority. *The New Republic* of America seems to think that Italy should, even for the sake of gratitude, if not wisdom, cease to be self-assertive and practise the gentle art of sitting at the feet of the *gurus* of the world—the Anglo-saxons. It says

Among all the larger nations in Europe, Italy should be most conscious, not of the irresponsible independence of her national power, but of its de-

pendence on the goodwill and the assistance of other nations. France, Spain, Russia and Germany—all of them threw off a foreign yoke and earned by their own efforts their right to national self-assertion. But Italian national expansion was the child of a sympathetic environment In 1848 the Italians were defeated in their armed efforts to throw off the Austrian yoke They owed the acquisition of Lombardy to the assistance of France They owed the acquisition of Venetia to the victory of the Prussian army at Koniggratz They owed Trieste and the recovery of the Trentino to the combination of diplomacy, propaganda, French heroism, British tenacity and American economic power and credulity which won the World War The British and American peoples will be obliged to pay over $150,000,000 a year for scores of years for the privilege of assisting Italy in emancipating the last remnant of Italians from the Austrian yoke In the light of this reiterated dependence on foreigners for their own national emancipation and expansion Italians should *recognize* a peculiar obligation to treat national minorities within their borders justly and to place a modest and equitable interpretation on the Italian national mission A great Italian during the days of Italy's humiliation and need gave the first eloquent and luminous expression to the national idea as the antithesis of imperialism and the blood brother of democratic self-government and international institutions Mussolini's philosophy is the opposite of Mazzini's but Mazzini's is the more workable, as Italy will *learn to her cost.*

Whether the British and the Americans helped Italy to *win* the war or *vice versa* should be judged in the light of the profits the various nations made as a result of the war Italians will certainly not top the list of winners Moreover some people think that the Americans fought the war from an other than philanthropic motive and the British to save their skin None of them risked anything "for the privilege of assisting Italy" Mussolini is asked to remember how in the past other nations helped Italy to be free and modify his conduct accordingly Mussolini might with equal logic ask these other nations to pay Italy an annual tribute for services rendered in the past in the way of giving them a civilisation He might also ask the Americans to write off the British debt to them as a return to robbing the Indians" by the latter and handing over the loot to the former's ancestors, and the British to make an annual payment to the Germans for sending Blucherto Waterloo We do not know if Mussolini's philosophy is the opposite of Mazzini's ; but we have a suspicion that Sir Austen Chamberlain does not always carry Bentham and Mill in his pocket nor does president Coolidge refer every action to whoever is America's favourite philosopher.

—

J. M. Keynes on the French Franc

The New Republic publishes an open letter, from Mr J M Keynes, addressed to the French Minister of Finance (whoever he is or may be) In this letter Mr Keynes analyses the French curreney problem and offers some valuable suggestions. He says

More than two years ago I wrote · "The level of the franc is going to be settled in the long run, not by speculation or the balance of trade, or even the outcome of the Ruhr adventure, but by the proportion of his earned income which the French taxpayer will permit to be taken from him to pay the claims of the French rentier." I still think that this is the root idea from which your plans ought to develop

Now it is obvious that there are two methods of attaining the desired equilibrium. You can increase the burdens on the taxpayer, or you can diminish the claims of the rentier. If you choose the first alternative, taxation will absorb nearly a quarter of the national income of France. Is this feasible ? If it is ever safe to speak about the political atmosphere of another country, I should judge from recent indications that the French public will certainly refuse to submit to the imposition of a burden of additional taxation sufficient to satisfy the claims of the rentier at their present level.

If, therefore, I were in your place, I should not as a politician, give another minute's thought to new taxes, but would concentrate, so far as concerned the fiscal part of my office, on consolidating and administering the taxes already voted

Since this by itself is not enough, your next bussiness—provided you accept my conclusion as to the mind of the French public—is to consider coolly how best to reduce the claims of the rentier. Three methods offer themselves: first, a general capital levy second, a forced reduction of the rate of interest on the public debt , third, a rise of prices which would reduce the real value of the rentier's money claims Unquestionably, the first is preferable on grounds of virtue, justice and theory

But it is not practicable as it would not be received well by the French public.

The second method is attractive, if only because it offers no administrative difficulties. I believe that some authorities in France have favored it Nevertheless, I should decline this expedient also, if I were in your place, because, unlike a general capital levy or a depreciation of money, this species of discrimination is truly named repudiation, and repudiation of the national debt is a departure from financial virtue so extreme and so dangerous as not to be undertaken but in the last emergency.

We are left, therefore, by a process of the exclusion of alternative, with one exit only—a rise of internal prices , which leads us away from the fiscal field to the price-level, the foreign exchanges, the gold in the Bank of France, the volume of foreign investment, and the balance of trade. Here I must invite your attention to an interesting paradox.

The successive French Ministers of Finance have done their best to inflate the currency They have brought down the gold-value of the franc considerably, but

The great army of your predecessors have failed, in spite of all their efforts, to depreciate adequately *the internal purchasing power* of the franc. Your present difficulties are due, not to the inflation of the notes or to the fall of the exchange (for these events are tending all the time to help you out of your troubles), but to the failure of these factors to diminish proportionately the internal purchasing power of the rentier's money claims.

Mr. Keynes explains his contention with the following facts

In December, 1925, the gold value of the franc on the foreign exchanges was 19 percent of its pre-war parity, world gold prices were about 158 percent of their pre-war level therefore on the pre-war basis a note-circulation and a franc-price level amounting to 830 percent (for 158 ÷ 19 - 8'3) of their pre-war figures would be justified

Wholesale food prices in November, 1925 were 490 percent of pre-war, retail prices in Paris (thirteen items) were 433 percent, and in the third quarter of 1924 the cost-of-living index for Paris stood at 401 percent These figures may understate the real rise of prices, but it certainly seems that French domestic costs are not above five times their pre-war figure. This means that the prices of purely home produce, converted at the present rate of exchange, are not much more than *half* world prices, and are actually below their pre-war level in terms of gold. Thus the inflation of the currency has produced its full effect on the exchanges, and consequently on the prices of imported commodities, but has largely failed to do so on the prices of home produce

He concludes

That, whilst the solution of your fiscal difficulties can come about in no other way than by a rise in the internal price level, it is not so clear that this need be accompanied either by further inflation or by a further fall in the exchange.

Then how are the French to lower the internal purchasing power of the franc ? Mr Keynes says

All you have to do is to stabilize the note circulation and the franc-exchange at near their present level and to allow time for internal prices to rise correspondingly

He supports his view by giving the following reasons

What are the explanations of the present low level of franc prices ? I think that they are (1) time element—internal prices move slowly but will move as they should in time (2) the hoarding of bank-notes on an even greater scale than formerly, leading to a sluggish circulation of the available currency ; (3) excessive foreign investment by Frenchmen, due to lack of confidence, which drives the exchange down below the figure appropriate to the trading position, and (4) the legal restrictions on rents, etc.

These influences should be remediable as regards (1) by the mere lapse of time, and as regards (2) and (3) by the restoration of internal confidence. The right strategy, therefore, is to restore confidence and then just wait.

For the stabilization of the exchange he recommends the fixing of a minimum dollar rate and sticking to it even at the cost of parting with some of the gold in the vaults of the Bank of France In his own words

There are two matters on which the government of France needs to exercise an iron resolve—to fix the franc exchange at a minimum figure even if it costs gold to do so, and collect the taxes in full These are the indispensable measures. Heroic efforts to increase the rates of taxation are at this stage, efforts in a wrong direction, and will not be successful

The fineness of the ethical considerations which stand against partial repudiation of National Debt but in favour of inflating internal prices with a view to rendering National Debt Bonds relatively valueless is truly microscopic

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"Oriental Nerves," A New Species of Madness

James Lincoln McCartney M D writes in the *China Journal of Science and Arts* describing a state of mind found among single Westerners living in the Orient He deals with this mental state, which we would call exasperation, in a half serious vein which none the less will provide useful reading for those restless reforming spirits in India who complain about everything and tackle, systematically nothing. The writer says

These psychoneuroses or "Oriental Nerves are one and all the result of a conflict in the patient's mind This conflict according to Freud is carried on between the desires created by the repressed libido or subconscious urges, and the demands of the cultural environment of the individual

Prison neuroses, for example, are invariably due to the mental conflict between the ego urge of the prisoner who desires release and the pressure of the cultural standards which resulted in his incarceration The ensuing neurosis or, if severe, psychosis, is a flight from reality and an endeavour on the part of the individual to substitute a self-produced product of psychic phantasy, for the unbearable reality that he is actually a convict and confined.

War neuroses, otherwise known as "shell shock" are due to the conflict between the self-preservation urge in the soldier and the self-immolation urge. The resulting neurosis, or "shell- shock," is again a

flight from reality. The soldier unconsciously fears that he may develop into a coward, and the flight into sickness, with the resulting symptom of a phobia, is developed with the aim of removing him from the front, where his fear of betraying cowardice might overpower him, to a position of safety in the rear, where his fear of cowardice would not be put to so severe a test.

The environment provokes the sufferer in many ways viz—

Business in China is not conducted on the same systematic (we might say efficient) lines as it is in Western lands If business were conducted in China on the same efficient lines as in America there probably would be no cause for Occidentals going to the Far East. There are numerous hindrances and delays and vexations, which many unwise Occidentals criticize and find fault with. This results in a definite dampening of morale, for these methods which have been in vogue for some two or three thousand years cannot or will not be changed just because the new arrival finds fault with them The Oriental, and especially the Chinese attitude, is (more or less) never to do to-day what can be put off until the morrow Chinese are accustomed to taking time to come to decisions, in fact, business is done over the teacup rather than the telephone as in America, and friendship plays an important part all of which is extremely taxing to the nerves of the modern rushing Occidentals.

The feeling of being under constant observation and the desire to maintain the prestige that the Occidentals feel their position or their nationality demands are important factors in helping to bring about the psychological condition conducive of Oriental Nerves.

In regard to this matter of being under constant observation anyone who is at all familiar with Oriental habits, well knows that almost his every act is discussed by the natives about him, and his character and temperament are gauged to a nicety It would be an eye-opener to many foreigners if they could see themselves as their Chinese neighbours see them. Although the foreigners may never learn the natives' real opinion about them, they always have the feeling that they are living in the public eye, and most Occidentals are not accustomed to this, it naturally produces a strain on the nerves which at first they are not likely to realize

As to the remedy the writer says

The man or woman who succeeds in China and avoids getting Oriental Nerves is the person who approaches the new environment with a spirit of cheerfulness and a charitable attitude towards the people with whom he or she plans to live and associate, which attitude is only gained through an understanding of the people. Men who have succeeded in China, and women who have remained the social attraction they are, are those who have worked with the current, while at the same time lending the full strength of their personalities and characters in helping to bring about better conditions

A true understanding of a foreign people can only be gained through the personal contact of the native languages. The knowledge of the language of a people carries with it far more than many seem to realize It affords a deeper understanding of the customs and institutions of the people and more important still a sympathy towards these customs and institutions, which it seems is difficult to acquire in any other way Few Occidentals in China who speak Chinese express dissatisfaction or show symptoms of Oriental Nerves from living in China, in fact, most of them are real chinese "boosters," even to the extent of being enthusiastic over the Chinese dietary Furthermore, with a knowledge of the language, it is easier to appreciate the othermans' viewpoint. Few, if any are there who can interpret the enthusiasm and feeling on which one depends for genuine interest and sympathetic appreciation.

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A School of International Relations

The Woman Citizen says

Plans for the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations are rapidly going forward this winter, it is expected that the school will open next fall at Johns Hopkins University with an initial endowment of a million dollars. This school will be the first attempt of its kind to further sound international relations by approaching international problems scientifically About two years ago an eminent group of editors, business men and educators launched the idea of the school, to be established as a memorial to Walter Hines Page, our ambassador to Great Britain in the period of the World War. The idea has drawn to it many other prominent men and women, and heading the movement, as chairman of the trustees for the endowment fund, is Owen D Young, internationally known for his services on the Committee of Experts that formulated the Dawes plan Mr Young explaining the Page school, says

"A great body of information must be created and mobilized in some single place about all the questions which affect international relations Some of these problems are economic, some are embedded in racial psychologies some historical, geographical, military, and some partake of two or more of these origins, There are experts in all of these fields, but it is doubtful if there exists a man whose business it is to interrelate them There are schools that teach many aspects of international relations, but none that is comprehensive, devoted solely to this vast subject. And certainly, there is no such place in the world where anybody can go and learn all there is to be known of these fundamental facts and interrelations. The Page School, as I see it, will become such a place It will have a three-fold purpose (1) to develop a *science* of international relations . (2) to ascertain the facts as far as they can be found on any particular problem, and (3) to produce a continually growing body of individuals trained in that science and available for service in government, business or education. If we are to make our aspirations for peace effective, we must supply a science, a systematic body of things known."

Among those associated with Mr Young are Franklin Roosevelt, Julius Barnes, Edward L Bok, John Finley, William Allen White, George Wickersham. Among the women who have been most active are Mrs Herbert Hoover, Mrs. Samuel C.

Henning, Mrs. Mary C. B. Munford, Mrs. H. O. Wittpenn, Mrs. Irwin Laughlin, etc. And women's organizations have been helpful in furthering the effort. Johns Hopkins has announced that women will be admitted, as they are always admitted to graduate work at that institution

The Page School Fellow appointed by the Commission for the Relief of Belgium Educational Foundation, is now at Johns Hopkins studying labor problems. He is Hubert Carton de Wiart, a graduate of the University of Louvain, the son of Count Henri Carton de Wiart, former Premier of Belgium, who, as minister of justice in 1914, drew up the Belgian reply to the German ultimatum demanding free passage to German armies. He is working along the lines that will probably be pursued by the school next fall

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The Breadwinning Woman

The New Republic says

For woman to work is of course no new phenomenon. Since the Cro-Magnon days and probably longer, she has always done her fair share and frequently more, of whatever was necessary—including a great many things for which, according to the experts of the present generation, women are physically and mentally incapacitated

Under the old theory, which is still assumed by most people to fit the facts, the typical family group was supposed to be centred about one breadwinner, the husband and father. It was the duty of the wife in all except the favored upper classes to do the physical work of the home and to share with her husband the moral responsibility for the proper rearing of the children.

If this theory ever fitted the facts, it no longer does so. Today 8,500,000 women are gainfully employed in the United States. They constitute one-fifth of all the workers in the country and both numbers and proportion are steadily increasing. The latter has grown from 14.7 percent in 1880 to 21.1 percent in 1920. Today women are 64.2 percent of all domestic workers, 47.4 percent of professional persons, 15.6 of clerical employees. In a group of four representative but dissimilar cities where the status of 40,000 working women was intensively studied by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, women gainfully employed were nearly two-fifths (38 percent) of the total number of females over fourteen years of age.

There is a popular theory that women who work are mostly girls filling in a few years before they marry, but the facts accumulated by the Census Bureau and the Department of Labor leave this theory without even a wooden leg to stand on. It is true that there are 3,500,000 women gainfully employed who are under the age of twenty-five, a large proportion of whom presumably are unmarried; but these constitute only two-fifths of the total number. Of the 8,500,000 nearly two million are married.

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Indian and Chinese Civilisations Compared

K. Shiratori gives us an interesting surve[y] of the two civilisations in *The Young East*. We quote in parts from his article

India and China were the two main fountai[n] heads of Oriental civilization, but in their characte[r] Indian culture and thought are almost the exac[t] opposite of Chinese culture and thought. It is [a] very interesting problem for students of Orienta[l] history to see how the characteristics of thes[e] two different civilizations grew and developed.

RELIGION AS CENTRE OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

Indian civilization is constituted with religio[n] as core and centre, the distinctive feature of it[s] thought being found in the greatest importanc[e] attached to a future world transcending realitie[s] of mundane life. Needless to say, Indian civilization has many phases, is quite complex in though[t] and is expressed in various forms and sects o[f] religion. It may, therefore, appear to be too ras[h] to generalize its characteristic in this sweepin[g] way, but in my opinion this view of Indian civi[l]ization is in the main correct.

In other words, Indian literature, arts an[d] science have sprung from religion and the socia[l] organization, manners and customs of the India[n] people have also been built on the foundation o[f] religion. The contribution made by Indians t[o] world civilization was religion with attendan[t] philosophy, literature and arts. The philosoph[y] and view of life, which are found in the Upanishad[s] were expressions of thoughts and ideas peculia[r] and exclusive to Indians, the like of which ca[n] not be seen in religious thoughts of any othe[r] races. It is from this philosophy that a world re[-]ligion has appeared in the form of Buddhism. Th[e] religion and the civilization it produced hav[e] spread all over the greater part of Asia from ver[y] early times and are now gradually extending t[o] Western countries.

On the other hand Chinese civilization had it[s] centre in politics and Chinese thought was confin[ed] to the sphere of real life. To the Chinese peopl[e] politics were all and everything, all racial life and all cultural activities being regarded by them a[s] things subordinate to politics both spiritually and materially. Politics were the object of thei[r] highest aim and ambition, there being nothing els[e] they desired more to attain than a political Utopia. The Chinese, of course, had religions, but thes[e] were of a very primitive kind. In fact, religious rites were recognized by them only when they were made rites possessing political significance. This was in striking contrast with India, where the Brahmans occupied the highest social position and religion ruled politics. In India it was religion that ruled supreme, while in China it was politics that constituted the pivot around which the national life revolved.

A comparison of the social condition of China with that of India presents an interesting contrast. While in the latter a rigid system of racial and tribal discrimination came into existence, in th[e] former all men were equal in social standing. As a well known and frequently quoted Chinese saying puts it, in China "kings, princes, generals and ministers come from no particular stocks," and

a plebeian of to-day might be a king to-morrow while a king of yesterday might fall to the position of a plebeian to-day

But what was the result of the contact of Indian and Chinese thoughts in Japan? The influence which Buddhism had in Japan over literature and the daily life of the people was exceedingly great On the other hand Confucianism also exercised a great influence upon the thought and life of the Japanese people but produced no such evil effects in Japan as it did in China

From a comprehensive observation of the history of Japan it is seen that the Japanese possessed capacities to adopt both Indian and Chinese thoughts to a certain extent and that while making both of them their own they did not allow themselves to be overwhelmed and dominated by either In other words, the Japanese had the advantage of being in a circumstance in which mundane and supermundane thoughts existing side by side could harmonize or restrain each the other

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Discovery of America by Buddhists

S Watanabe writes in *The Young East* on the doubtful hypothesis which claims the discovery of America by Buddhists Besides other traces of Buddhism among the antiquities of America there are

Images and sculptured tablets ornaments, temples etc, abound, that cannot well be ascribed to any other source with any show of reason Among these may be mentioned the following -

An image of Buddha found at Palenque, sitting cross-legged on a seat formed of two lions placed back to back, closely resembles similar images found in India, China, and Japan A large image found in Campeachy represents accurately a Buddhist priest in his robes An elaborate elephant-faced god found among the Aztecs is evidently an imitation of the Indian image of Ganesha A Buddhist altar of stone was also found in Palenque Figures of Buddha sitting crossed-legged with an aureola around his head, and placed in niches in the walls of the temples at Uxmol, Palenque, etc, are exact counterparts of images found in niches both inside and outside of Buddhist temples in Japan, China, and India A perfect elephant's head is found sculptured on the walls at Palenque, the *elephant being the usual symbol of Buddha in Asia, and no elephants being found in America* Then there is an old Mexican image in the Ethnographical Societies' Museum at Paris which depicts Buddha sitting in the cross-legged attitude, with an inscription on either side one of the characters being evidently intended for the Chinese character incorrectly for Buddha engraved by a sculptor who did not know the Chinese written language On the walls of Uxmal etc are astronomical diagrams and images, representing among other images the dragon which causes eclipses by swallowing the sun a thorough Chinese notion, but instead of scales it is covered with feathers, showing the idea that it can

The enormous temples or palaces at Palenque and Mitla are almost counterparts of Buddhist temples that are found in Asia, particularly in North China, Mongolia and Java, the large pyramidal bases and the mode of construction all seeming to point to Buddhist origin There is a Buddhist cross or symbol of Buddha carved on a pillar at Palenque The ornaments in the walls of the temples in different parts of Mexico are similar in design to those of many buildings in India and China

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Greece's Dictator

The Current History Magazine gives us the following account of General Pangalos, the dictator of Greece

Probably in no country is politics so charged with drama as in Greece Here politicians rise and fall with startling suddenness The entry of a new Premier to office in Athens resembles in public excitement and interest the crowning of a new heavyweight champion or the winning of a world's series with us Politics, in short is Greece's national sport.

The present political champion of Greece is General Pangalos He has dissolved Parliament and rules the country today as a dictator Strange to say, he possesses few of the characteristics which are the usual stock-in-trade of dictators He has none of the personal magnetism that has won many of the famous despots of history from Alexander to Mussolini the blind allegiance of their followers One of his chief lieutenants described him to me as a "man not loved by his friends and hated by his enemies He is a poor speaker When Minister of War he used to address Parliament as he might a company of soldiers using the colorful and profane language of the barracks Physically he is in no way imposing Short and slight, with a cynical, almost sneering expression constantly on his undistinguished face, he is the last man in the world that one would imagine to be a military dictator

What is the secret of Pangalos's rise to power? An examination of his career I am sure, will show that the man has reached his present high estate largely because of a single characteristic—his utter recklessness This man to achieve his ends is willing to go to any extreme- summarily execute his political enemies, plunge his country into war or stir it to revolution And, strangely, it is this utter recklessness which now appears to make it possible for him to bring order out of the chaos which has characterized Greek politics since 1915

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A Cool House in Summer

The Scientific American tells us of a novel way to keep the House cool in summer It is as follows

Dr Willis L Moore, for twenty-years chief of the United States Weather Bureau former President of the National Geographic Society and founder of the *National Geographic* Magazine, has found a practical way to maintain the air in his home at Pasadena, California, both cool in summer and hygienically moist in winter

In summer, the Professor takes in air from a large scoop on the roof, washes it, cools it in a simple apparatus and then passes it all through his house by means of ducts. In winter, he maintains the relative humidity of the air at seventy percent, where it ought to be, by means of a special humidifying heater.

The summer apparatus consists of air-scoops on the house roof, an air washer and air cooler, a fan and eight inch conduits leading to the various rooms, also registers for controlling the inflow. With this simple equipment Dr. Moore has found that the house may be closed as tight as a drum, yet in the extreme heat of summer the temperature will not exceed 80 degrees.

How Hot Air Affects Us

The same journal says:

Few people know the effect on the contained moisture when we warm our air. For each 18 degrees that we heat it, air *doubles* its capacity for holding moisture. What, then, is the corollary of this statement? It means that since we do not usually give our air a chance to take up this needed moisture, it goes without.

No, *it does not entirely go without it*: abstracts all the moisture it can get from our woodwork and our furniture, which dry up, shrink and crack. Far worse, it takes moisture from *us*.

As was recently pointed out in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, when we take cold air from out-of-doors at freezing temperature and at a relative humidity of 80 percent and heat it to 70 degrees, we thereby reduce its relative humidity to only 20 percent. We then live in this air and so we become kiln-dried, along with the woodwork. Office buildings, heated to nearly 80 degrees, often have a relative humidity of as low as 15 percent.

Thus we get the hot-house habit. We become hypersensitive, afraid of every chill and every little draft. We also get colds, grippe, even pneumonia, because the dry, thirsty air of our houses blots up the moisture of our throat passages and reduces their natural resistance to infections.

The Heart of the Plant

The Journal of the American Medical Association, one of the leading journals of medicine, has the following:—

Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, F. R. S., the Indian scientist, has announced at Calcutta the second of three remarkable discoveries he has recently made with regard to plant life, and given a demonstration of the "heart beats" of plants with delicate instruments that he has invented. Thirty-two years ago he began his researches. He found that inorganic substances exhibited fatigue similar to the fatigue of animal muscles, and that the fatigue in both was removed after a period of rest. This led him to investigate the characteristics of the simpler forms of life, as shown by plants. After long researches he was able to prove what he was convinced of before—that the life mechanism of the plant is identical with that of the animal. He discovered how plants may be shown to respond to stimuli, and arrived at the following conclusions, which he demonstrated on the eighth birthday of the institute in Calcutta which bears his name: The plant possesses a differentiated nervous system which can be proved by throbbing pulsations which take the place of the heart beat of the animal and which show violent spasm exhibited at the crisis of death. By his optical lever he was able to demonstrate the activity of the cells of the plant in the propulsion of sap from the roots of the tree to the top-most leaves, thus solving a problem that had baffled inquiry for two hundred years. The location of the heart of the plant was made by means of an electric probe in circuit with a sensitive galvanometer. Bose introduced the probe step by step across the stem. As soon as it came into contact with the pulsating layer an electric response was received and recorded by the galvanograph. Each active cell during its phase of expansion absorbs water from below, and expels it upward during the phase of the contraction. Bose likens the heart of the plant to the elongated heart of some of the lower animals, such as the earthworm, in which the peristaltic action propells the circulating fluid. To measure the heart beat of the plant, which is less than a millionth of an inch, it was necessary for it to be enormously magnified, which is done by Bose's magnetic amplifier. A mirror is attached to the astatic magnetic system, the reflected beam being thrown on a screen or photographed on a film. All this Bose performed before his audience, which was able to see how chloroform, for instance, at first immensely excited the plant, stimulating it to great vigor. Then came the death spasm. Rapidly and spasmodically the beam of light fell until it came to rest, indicating that the plant had died.

The Bose Institute, which lies in the centre of one of the busiest industrial quarters of Calcutta, is a beautifully designed building in Indian style. It consists of a large and acoustically perfect lecture demonstration room, with numerous laboratories. Bose's great pride is that his institute is entirely Indian, in inspiration, in personnel, in architecture and in craftsmanship. On one side of a quiet garden quadrangle a new building is rapidly appearing. It is designed to be the first of a series of hostels which Bose proposes to erect for his students. Those hostels, designed in typically Eastern style, are intended to house students from all over the world, whom it is the ambition of the founder to attract to Calcutta. It is probable that Bose will spend a considerable portion of next year in Europe. He has invitations to lecture at the Sorbonne and in Berlin.

Clutch of Crime !

Will it Tear Down the Church ? And—if it does, what will Happen ?



Chaos would reign in all parts of the civilised world Your property would be valueless Your business would be wrecked Your home would vanish Your family would be unsafe You and your neighbors would revert to the social condition of the cavemen when the strongest arm swinging the biggest club, took whatever its owner desired !

It is the Church that has sustained whatever progress we have today Religion rules mankind It is the backbone of our laws It is the corner-stone of our faith in one another, without which there could be no business no social stability

It is the plain duty of every citizen to support the Church without which Brooklyn could not support us Are YOU doing your part The Church wants YOU Not just your money but your presence at Church services, your active interest in Church enterprises your work for Church extension your personal effort in evangelization

Non-churchgoers are exerting a most insidious influence Smug indifference is responsible for all that is wrong with our city Do you sit idly by and criticise ? Are YOU a shirker ?

Prove yourself a good citizen, show your gratitude for the good things you have in life by going regularly to Church---any Church There are 783 of them in Brooklyn ---one within walking distance of every home

An Ugly Omen.

This is one of a series of full-page advertisements against crime in the Brooklyn *Eagle* The cost of the drive is assumed by several hundred Brooklyn citizens, who hope thus to bring the public to a vivid sense of the stupendous extent of crime in this country"

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Indian Sculptures

Five important pieces of Indian, Siamese, Cambodian and Javanese sculpture, has been given to the Boston Fine Arts Museum by Dr Denman W. Ross. Two of these are here shown]

The first is a typical black basalt head of Buddha of the usual massive type, stated—to be a head from one of the seated Dhyani Buddhas of the smaller perforated stupas of the upper platform of the Borobudur monument.

The second is a stone head of Buddha, lacquered and gilt, undoubtedly the finest specimen of Siamese art in the Museum and amongst the best known. Early Siamese art (before the eighth-century), like the early art of other areas in Indo-China, is closely modeled on India Gupta tradition Southern Siam (Lopburi, Korat, etc), from the eighth to the twelfth century, was a province of Cambodia, and the art is essentially Khmer True Thai or Siamese art developed in the north (Sukhodaya-Sawankalok), gradually traceable southwards (Pitsanulok, Lopburi), it is only after the foundation of Ayuthia (1350 or 1460) that it



Head of Buddha, Borobudur Java, late 8th Century

Ross collection

predominates in the whole area now known as Siam and sets its stamp on all the art of Cambodia The Thai type is very unlike the Khmer, in place of the straight brows and level eyes, *full lips and* impassable serenity of the latter, we find sloping Mongolian eyes, an aquiline and even hooked nose smaller mouth, and a high degree of nervous refinement, representing a Sino-Tibetan ethnic type very unlike the older Mon-Khmer

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Head of Buddha — Siamese, 10th-12th Century
R... collection

"Strange Companions"



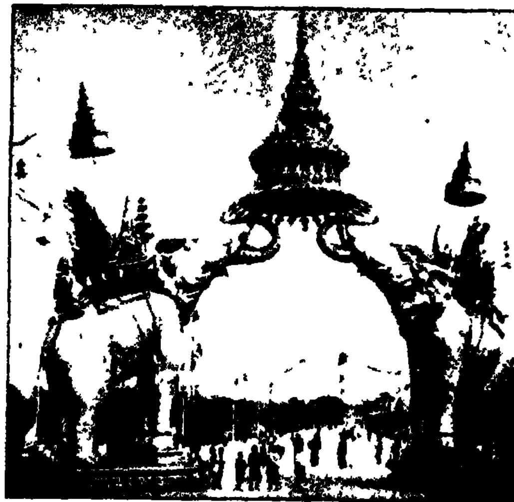
"British imperialism and Russian communism compete to devour the world"

—

Decorated for a Festival

In this striking fashion, with the emblem of the sacred white elephants, the streets of Bangkok are drest for great occasions, such as coronations

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Festival Decoration in Bangkok, Siam

Cover design of the Children's *Friend of Nippon*



Cover Design of the Children's Friend of Nippon

From the Oldest City in the World

The eleventh chapter of Genesis tells us how Abraham and his kindred left their ancestral home in "Ur of the Chaldees" for a journey which was to end in the land of Canaan. For over two thousand years that was all that the world remembered of the once great city of Ur, possibly the first great city to be built in the world.

Such Babylonian histories and traditions as had come down to modern times through the great Greek historian Herodotus or the ancient Babylonian priest Berosus, did not mention Ur. The 'Chaldeans' were remembered through references to their remarkable knowledge of 'magic,' by which was meant, of course, the science of ancient times. But their city was forgotten except for that one brief mention in the story of Abraham.

About a half century ago it was rediscovered. A huge mound of dirt, rain-washed and featureless, was known to be standing in the desert just west of the channel of the Euphrates River and about one hundred miles up stream from the present shore of the Persian Gulf. Some bricks inscribed with the curious wedge-shaped writing of ancient Babylonia were found near this mound. When these inscriptions were translated they proved that the great mound and some smaller ones surroun-



One of the copper bulls from the remarkable relief found at Tell el Obeid near the site of ancient Ur.



The Bull from the frieze in the temple of Nin-har-sag carved in white shell



A Statuette found at Ur, belonging to 28th B C



Birds carved out of white limestone found in the ruins of the temple of Nin-har-sag at Tell el Obeid

ding it are all that is left of the city where Abraham was born

Little work was done on this mound until after the World War The conquest of Babylonia by the British armies then opened up the country for archeologists During the past three years Major C L Woolley, commanding a joint expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania has been making extensive excavations in the mounds that mark the ancient city.

Not only has Major Woolley discovered great temples and other buildings which belonged approximately to the time of Abraham, some four thousand years ago, but he has carried the history of the city many centuries farther back When Abraham was a *boy in the house* of his kinsmen of Ur thirty-five or forty centuries ago, the city was already more than two thousand years old It had already been a great seat of civilization and commerce for a period much longer than the time from the birth of Christ to the present day

The oldest written inscription ever found in the world turned up not far from Ur, at a place now called Tell el Obeid, probably one of the suburbs of ancient Ur This inscription had been placed originally in the foundations of a temple, just as we still place boxes containing newspapers and other mementos in the cornerstones of modern buildings The inscriptions is carved on a small tablet of stone in the curious picture writing which was then in use at Ur Scholars of the University of Pennsylvania have translated it It says that King A-an-ni-pad-da, who ruled Ur in those days, dedicated that temple to the Goddess Nin-har-sag It was written, the experts believe, about the year 4500 B C, more than sixty-four centries ago.

The excavations have yielded, also, many remarkable art objects some of which are illustrated on this page The walls and courts of the great temple of Nin-har sag as well as of other public buildings, were decorated with painted or sculptured scenes

Among the treasures found at Ur is a wonderful relief showing a procession of bulls and made out of cast and hammered copper Other objects are made of bits of white shell inlaid on a ground of black bitumen This bitumen is our modern "crude oil" or asphalt It was collected at the oil springs and seepages which still exist in Babylonia It served the masons of Ur as mortar and the artists of the time as a cement to stick their reliefs and carved plaques to the walls

The people who founded Ur were the famou Sumerians, a people who must have been one of th ablest and greatest of all history, but who wer totally forgotten until modern scholars began t dig up and read the records which had bee buried for so many centuries in the ruins of th Babylonian cities No one knows for certai where the Sumerians came from The mos plausible theory is that they came from India possibly by overland migration but more probabl in small boats along the shore of the India Ocean and the Persian Gulf

Some time in the millennium between 5000 B and 4000 B C, these Sumerian immigrants arriv in what is now Babylonia The country w inhabited then by rude tribes who eked out a un-certain existence on the low and tiny islan scattered among the marshes at the head of th Gulf The Sumerians introduced civilization Th already knew how to write and make record They possessed tools of copper They wore cloth Presumably they had tamed some animals, incl ding a variety of buffalo They had kings and wise men (who were also priests) and some ide of religion

By 4500 B C., possibly by two or three centu earlier, there were at least five great cities in the lo lands near the Euphrates River One of these w Ur The head of the Gulf was further north th than now, and Ur was on the seacoast Silt depo ted by the two rivers is responsible for th hundred miles of land that now separate site from the shore Another great city was Eri a few miles farther down the shore from Farther east, also near the then coastline was anoth city named Lagash Up the Euphrates so thirty miles was Erech and on an arm of the ri was the fifth city, Larsa These five made up th earliest Sumerian state, the first civilized countr in the world

In the twenty-five centuries that elapsed from those days to the time of Abraham, Sumeria suffered many vicissitudes Kings and dynasties came and went A semitic people from the hill country the north and west came down and conquer the five cities They absorbed the writing, the arts the civilization of their victims Wealth and pro perity grew. Other cities were founded, includin the great Babylon, a hundred miles farther up the Euphrates Finally in Abraham's time, the twen or more cities then existing on the Babylonia plains had become the commercial and artist centers of the world.

NOON

JEHANGIR J VAKIL

The noon is like a maiden with white lips
Just parted in an ecstasy of dream.
The wind that passes over the silver tips
Of grass, uncovers from her eyes the gleam
Of tired hair, and silence over her face
Broods o'er the rose that was her mouth, and broad,
Curved, drooping petals veiling stars No trace
Of busy life is here, no men abroad.

The fields are empty, and the peasants' huts,
With low thatched roofs, seem dozing in the
Before their door a lonely peacock struts,
The cock, self-conscious, gives his hens a ru
A lonely peasant girl with dreamy stare
Smiles to herself, unwinds and winds her h

BEERBHUM, (*Beng*

Santiniketan

NOTES

British Self-criticism and British Vitality

An article in our present issue shows that John Stuart Mill thought of his countrymen. There have been other great English authors who have subjected their own people to similar criticism. We are, for example, reminded in this connection of Wordsworth's sonnet to Milton, in which he writes

> We are selfish men;
> Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
> And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.

Such criticism of the British people by British authors has never blinded us to the strength, greatness and vitality of that people. The power of self-examination and self-criticism is a sign of such strength, greatness and vitality, and the power to stand such criticism is a still more convincing proof of these qualities. It would be profitable to ascertain our own powers of self-examination and self-criticism and that of bearing such criticism. What Mill wrote or Wordsworth wrote must have been true, but it represents perhaps only one side or phase of English life and character, and, may be, the faults they pointed out were not abiding characteristics. There must be something more abiding in the intellectual, moral and spiritual qualities of the British people which has made them great. We do not refer here to their vast empire and wealth. We refer to the fact that Great Britain has produced great poets and prose-writers, great thinkers and scientists, great philosophers and historians, and great philanthropists and social workers (not of the imperialistic and exploiting variety but real lovers of humanity like Howard the Philanthropist). Not to speak of other great achievements of the British people, their great literature could not have been produced if English society had been rotten to the core.

This we are bound to say inspite of the grievous political and economic wrongs inflicted on India by England.

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India's Military Expenditure

The following table of the percentages of their total 1925-6 budgets devoted by some western countries to military expenditure is taken from an article contributed by Mr Leland Olds to the *Federated Press Bulletin* of America.

Country	Percentage of Budget devoted to Military Expenditure
United States	21.7
Great Britain	13.1
France	18.1
Italy	9.3
Holland	20.2
Belgium	9.4
Switzerland	16.9

In India in 1925-6 the revenue receipts amounted to 131 crores and 35 lakhs, and the military expenditure to 56 crores and 28 lakhs of rupees. Therefore the military expenditure was nearly 43 per cent of the total budget.

It has been estimated that in 1926-7 the total revenue will be 133 crores and 43 lakhs and the military expenditure will be 54 crores and 88 lakhs. Therefore the military expenditure will be a little more than 41 per cent of the total budget.

Some apologists of British rule in India argue that in working out this percentage of military expenditure, the revenues of the provincial governments ought also to be taken into account. We do not know whether similar revenues of other countries are so taken into account. But we will do so in the case of India in order to satisfy these apologists. We have before us the estimated revenues for 1926-7 of the following provinces:—

Province	Revenue
Madras	16,34,20,000
Bombay	14,51,00,000
Punjab	14,49,00,000
U P.	12,89,68,000
Bengal	10,76,78,000
Burma	10,35,31,000
Bihar and Orissa	5,63,83,000
Total	84,99,80,000

To this let us add 6 crores for C P and Berar, 2 crores for Assam, and 1 crore for

N.-W. F. Province, which will bring up the total to Rs. 93,99,80,000. Let us make this 95 crores in round numbers. Adding 95 crores to 133·13 crores, we find the total imperial and provincial revenues of India for 1926-7 to be 228·13 crores. Out of this 54·88 crores or a little more than 24 per cent are provided in the budget for military expenditure.

So even after taking into consideration the revenues of the provinces, indigent India's military expenditure is a higher percentage of her budget than that of the United States, the richest country in the world, which is 21·7 per cent of her revenues! *For a rich country to spend even a high percentage of its revenue on its army is easier and less injurious than for a poor country like India to spend the same or a higher percentage of its revenue on its army.* Moreover, India's expenditure is incurred not for her own sake alone, but mainly or at least partly for British imperial purposes. If India were not Britain's property, Britain would not force India to spend such a large part of her revenues ostensibly for India's defence.

From Japan's budget statement for 1924-5, published in the Japan Year Book, we find that Japan's military and naval expenditure combined formed a little more than 30 per cent of her total revenues. With this we may compare India's 43 per cent in 1925-26 and 41 per cent in 1926-27 *for military expenditure alone*. If we take Japan's military expenditure alone, we find that in 1924-25 it formed only 14 per cent nearly of her total revenues. In the case of India, whether we consider the income of the Central Government alone or take into account the incomes of the Provincial Governments also, her military expenditure forms a much higher percentage of her revenues than that of Japan.

Even according to the Report of the Government's own Retrenchment Committee, published in 1913, India's military expenditure is still excessive. The Committee say in their Report:—

> We do not . . consider that the Government of India should be satisfied with a military budget of Rs. 57 crores, and we recommend that a close watch be kept on the details of military expenditure with the object of bringing about a progressive reduction in the future. Should a further fall in prices take place, we consider that *it may be possible*, after a few years, *to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores*, although the Commander-in-Chief does not subscribe to this opinion. *Even this is more in our opinion, than the taxpayer in India should be called upon to pay*, and, though revenue may increase through revival of trade, there would, we think, still be no justification for not keeping a strict eye on military expenditure with a view to its further reduction.

The italics are ours.

According to the Brussels convention, no country should spend more than 20 per cent of its revenues for military purposes. India is forced to spend much more.

And yet we have literate members of the Legislative Assembly who, instead of concentrating their attack on the huge and unjustifiable military budget, sneered at expenditure on the archaeological department! It was merely digging old ruins! That India's civilisation is being proved by the department to have been glorious and of immemorial antiquity is nothing.

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To Our Contributors

Our contributors are respectfully requested to bear in mind that it is easier for the editor to publish short articles promptly than long ones. We do not mean to suggest that contributions should be almost like paragraphs but it would be convenient if they did not exceed four thousand words. What has led us to say this is that, in addition to short ones, there are not a few long articles in our hands which have been waiting publication for a long time. Typewritten mss are preferred.

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Extraterritoriality in China

It is said the Extraterritoriality Commission in China has studied the Chinese Criminal Code and Commercial Code, and is perfectly well satisfied. Of course, a country may have excellent codes but the administration of the laws may not be equally good. But, if that be the case in China, she need not be considered unique in that respect. Here in India neither are all the penal laws and regulations excellent, nor are they justly administered, particularly when the offenders are Europeans, or Indians suspected to have done something politically wrong.

The foreign members of the Extraterritoriality Conference have also visited the courts and prisons in Peking. If a really impartial non-British foreign jail commission were to

enquire into the condition of Indian prisons and the treatment of Indian prisoners, shocking revelations would be made.

—

The Leper Problem

We read in a Japanese paper that both in India and in Japan, the Governments are far from dealing adequately with the leper problem. It observes that

> Segregation is absolutely necessary, especially as the disease seems to stimulate the sexual instinct, and liberty means propagating diseased children and spreading the disease There is no reason why the disease should not be extirpated in a generation, though the very horror in which it is held causes people to run all sorts of risks and to make others run risks so long as the fact of having a leper in the family can possibly be concealed.

—

Educational Backwardness of the United Provinces

The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh comprised in ancient times what may be called the heart of Aryavarta. But at present these provinces are the most backward in education in the whole of British India The following table will prove the truth of our statement

Province	Number per thousand who are literate	Percentage of total scholars to population
Assam	72	3 02
Bengal	104	4 18
Bihar and Orissa	51	2.48
Bombay	95	5 05
Burma	317	4.23
C P & Berar	49	2 44
Madras	98	4 3
N-W F. Province	50	2.5
Punjab with Delhi	46	(Punjab) 3 75
Delhi		4 2
United Provinces	42	2 38

As the people of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are naturally not less intelligent than Indians of other provinces, it is difficult to ascertain the causes of their educational backwardness. What is also most curious is that these provinces contain a larger number of universities than any other province, namely, four, and there is likely to be one more at Agra in the not distant future. This last one is a necessity and ought to be an affiliating one. Instead of clamouring for more universities after the establishment of one at Agra, *real* patriots in the U. P. ought to devote more attention to the spread and improvement of both primary and higher education.

Most probably one of the causes of educational backwardness in the province is the policy of its Government. On this subject let us quote the opinion, not of those whom the bureaucracy love to style professional political agitators, but of two well-known professors of mathematics

In the course of the budget discussion in the U P Council, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed said —

> There had been a regular diminution in expenditure under education This year the proportion of expenditure on education to the total expenditure in the province had been reduced from 15 1 to 11 4 as compared with last year. The Education Department had no policy at all. *(Dr Ganesh Prasad*—Hear, hear).
>
> Private enterprise in education had not been sufficiently encouraged and the speaker would suggest a lump sum to be provided in every budget out of which grants might be given to encourage private enterprise

Dr Ganesh Prasad observed —

> The total disbursement on the reserved subjects came to 74 percent of the total disbursement made by the Government.
>
> The Government, proceeded the Doctor, had no real policy of expansion of literacy, but it had got a policy for controlling the output of literacy. Similarly, in spite of the pledges given in March 1921, and in April, 1921, by the first Minister of Education, the Government not only did not wish to have educated people, but they had got a definite policy of controlling the output of literates in English.

In the face of the opinion of some very advanced educationists of the U. P., we are constrained to observe that the leaders of the educated classes of the province have unconsciously and unintentionally played into the hands of the bureaucratic pillars of this policy of controlling the outturn of literates by their infatuation for what are called unitary teaching universities. We have no quarrel with such universities or those of any other description But we care more for the thing called education than for the label it bears, and we must see that even the highest education is not made too expensive for the generality of our people, which it appears to have become in the U.P.

—

Mortality in the U. P.

We in Bengal have been accustomed for generations to look upon the U. P. as a very healthy region where people should go to recover strength and vitality But from what Dr. Ganesh Prasad said in the U P Council it appears that those provinces have become unhealthy and the Government there cares as little for the physical welfare of the people as for their intellectual progress The learned doctor said :—

He could not exonerate any member of the Government from the responsibility for the vast amount of misery and illiteracy that we saw around us. The United Provinces Government stood before God and man responsible for the well-being of 45 millions of human beings under their charge. Voicing the feeling of his countrymen, he would say that the Government was not fulfilling its duties in this respect. The average mortality per year was put down as 16 per thousand. At this rate about 18 lakhs of people died every year in the United Provinces In India about two-thirds of deaths were due to preventible causes, and in these provinces 12 lakhs of people died of causes · which were preventible A distinguished medical man of Bengal had assessed human life in India at Rs. 200 Thus they could see that they were losing Rs. 24 crores every year This was a recurring loss every year because of the Government not being faithful in the discharge of its duties and responsibilities In other words, they practically lost twice their receipts per year This appalling state of things was sufficient to condemn any Government before the bar of the civilized world.

Allahabad Entitled to Compensation

Our readers may remember that some time ago we contended that as, by the gradual practical removal of the capital of the U. P from Allahabad, it was losing many residents and some Municipal income, and as that would make it more and more difficult for its Municipality to keep the place clean and healthy, it was entitled to receive a subsidy from the U P Government to enable it to discharge its duties properly. We also observed that as, like Benares, Allahabad was an all-India city on account of its being a famous Hindu place of pilgrimage, and as any epidemic breaking out there might therefore spread to other provinces, its Municipality was entitled to a subsidy from the Government of India also to enable it to replenish it coffers depleted partly by the removal of the provincial capital. *We are glad to find that what we said purely from considerations of equity is supported by what is law in a part of the British Empire outside India.* *The Leader* says that·

Section 133 of the South Africa Act constituting the Union provided statutory compensation to the abandoned colonial capitals It says, in order to compensate Pietermaritzburg and Bloemfontein for any loss sustained by them in the form of diminution of prosperity or decreased rateable value by reason of their ceasing to be the seats of Government of their respective colonies, there shall be paid from the consolidated revenue fund for a period not exceeding 25 years to the municipal councils of such towns a grant of two percentum per annum on their municipal debts, as existing on January 31, 1909 The commission appointed under section 118 shall, after due inquiry, report to the Governor-General in Council what compensation should be paid to the municipal councils of Cape Town and Pretoria for the losses, if any similarly sustained by them

Rumoured Removal of Imperial Library from Calcutta

Calcutta has not claimed any compensation, like that provided in the South Africa Act, for the losses sustained by it owing to the removal of the capital to Delhi, though in equity it is entitled to such compensation But the people of Calcutta do ask that *no* injury should be done to it wantonly Such an injury would be the removal of the Imperial Library from Calcutta

Possession, they say, is nine points of the law Calcutta is in rightful possession of the Library If it is to be deprived of it, some other city must substantiate a better claim to it But it is not mere possession which Calcutta can urge in support of its right to keep the Library Originally, though a public library, it was not a government library. At the meeting held at Albert Hall to protest against the rumoured removal of the Library, Raja Kshitindra Deb Ray Mahashay called attention to the terms of the transfer of the old Calcutta Public Library to the Government of India during Lord Curzon's term of office.

"It was distinctly stipulated that the Imperial Library should be located in Calcutta The Government of India purchased the right and interest of the Calcutta Public Library and the Agri-Horticultural Society in Metcalfe Hall at a ridiculously low sum of Rs. 46,000. It is unthinkable that the public of Calcutta should have parted with such a historic hall and noble building and a rare collection of old prints and books to the Government for such a nominal price if ever there was an idea of removing the library from Calcutta."

The proposal is said to be to remove the Library to Delhi, because that city is now the capital of India. But is it legally or otherwise necesary for all Imperial institutions or offices to be situated at the capital? Should the capital of the British Empire be removed hereafter from London, for strategic or other reasons, would the British Museum also be removed from that city? The federal capital of the Australian Commonwealth is at present situated in Melbourne It would be located at Canberra when the construction of the new capital there has been completed Will all federal institutions, including naval ones, now located at Melbourne, be removed hereafter to Canberra?

But let us confine our attention to India One may be curious to know why the Victoria Memorial building is not proposed to be removed to Delhi The possession of a mint for the coinage of money has always been rightly considered a sign of sovereignty An Imperial library has not been considered a symbol of sovereignty. The Indian mint, however, remains in Calcutta Why does not Delhi claim it? Similarly, for the imparting of military training the Government of India maintains the Prince of Wales College at Dehra Dun, U. P, not at Delhi The Forest Research Institute which the Government of India intends to improve and raise to a higher standard is also situated at Dehra Dun The institution for the training of naval cadets and seamen for the Indian navy would be located somewhere in Bombay, and probably there would be another such institution at Chittagong in Bengal Why not bring the sea to Delhi and locate these naval institutions there? Delhi, moreover, is not the only capital of India There is the other, the summer capital at Simla To be strictly logical, therefore, the Imperial Library should be a travelling one, preferably on wheels, located for some months at Delhi and for the remaining months at Simla!

We have given some examples above of Imperial institutions situated, not at Delhi, but elsewhere There is an example of an imperial office about to be removed *from* the capital to another place It has been recently decided that the headquarters of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India would be removed to Poona on the ground that the work of that department would be better done at Poona than at Simla, the summer capital of India, where it has been hitherto located. The causes for this decision indicate the correct principle according to which the location of institutions should be determined, namely, an institution is to be located where it can do its work best

Now, what is the work which a library is meant to do? It is not meant to decorate a city Its object is generally to help in the spread of knowledge, the carrying on of research, the enjoyment of the refined pleasure to be derived from the reading of books, etc All this presupposes the existence of a large number of persons who want to acquire knowledge, of many persons who carry on research and a large class of general readers, etc As the population of Calcutta is 13,27,517 and that of Delhi is 3,04,420, or, including its environs, 4,88,188 only, Calcutta would naturally possess a much larger number of readers, etc., even if Delhi were as literate as Calcutta But Delhi is far less literate than Calcutta, as the following table shows —

City	Literate per mille	Literate in English per mille
Calcutta	450	206 (262 males and 80 females)
Delhi	122	56 6 males and 10 2 females)

Not to speak of such a unique institution as the Bose Institute, Calcutta possesses a far larger number of schools and colleges than Delhi and the biggest university in India, with its post-graduate departments of arts and sciences. It has in addition the Asiatic Society, the institutions connected with the Bengal National Council of Education, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Moslem Bangiya Sahitya Samiti, etc. Naturally, therefore, it has a larger number of research workers than Delhi. It has also cultural associations like the Rotary Club, the Chaitanya Library, etc. Owing to the existence in Calcutta of a High Court, in addition to many lower courts, it is the abode of many educated persons interested in books There are also in Calcutta more authors, journalists, medical men, engineers and other professional men than at Delhi For all these reasons the Imperial Library can be better utilized in Calcutta than in Delhi. We are for, not against, Delhi having a good library, but it should not seek to enrich itself at the expense of Calcutta

But it will be said that as the Government of India paid for the acquisition of the Library and continues to pay for its upkeep and expansion, it ought to be located at Delhi,

which is the seat of that Government. We do not see how that follows logically. The Imperial Library was never meant and is not meant to help the Government of India to carry on its administrative or other similar political work. It is an institution of an educational and cultural character meant for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Indian Empire, who can all borrow books from it by post at their own expense And this can be done equally well whether it be located in Calcutta or in Delhi Rather, it may be said that Calcutta is nearer than Delhi to those provinces, cities and towns which contain the largest number of persons literate in their vernacular and in English. The ideal arrangement, no doubt, would be to locate the Imperial Library in every city, town and village in the Indian Empire. But that being a physical impossibility, the next best thing is to locate it where it can be best utilised And we have seen that Calcutta is superior to Delhi in this respect Comparison with any other city is not necessary, because no one has proposed or would propose that the Library should be *removed to*, say, Bombay or Madras.

As for the financial aspect of the question, as the Government of India receives revenue from all parts of the empire, not from Delhi alone, there is no reason why Delhi should have a preferential claim to the Library Calcutta also contributes to the treasury of the Government of India and contributes a far larger amount than Delhi Therefore, even from the pecuniary point of view Calcutta's claim is far stronger than that of Delhi

The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly no doubt hold their sessions at Delhi But the Imperial Library is not especially a legislators' library, and the legislators have their library at Delhi Moreover, if the Imperial Library were to to be removed to suit their convenience, it must be turned into a peripatetic library to follow them in their migrations from and to Delhi and Simla, which is impracticable.

There is one other practical consideration which goes against the removal There are many old books and prints which would be difficult or impossible to replace if once destroyed or lost, which would suffer so much in the process of removal as to become practically useless ever afterwards.

Object of Solar Eclipse Expeditions

The last total solar eclipse in January could be very conveniently observed in Sumatra. For that reason American, British and some other scientific expeditions went to that island for astronomical observations A British official wireless, dated Rugby January, 13, stated that the main object of the British expedition was to test the hypothesis of Prof. E. A. Milne of Manchester university regarding the solar corona. Now this hypothesis of Prof. Milne's is based on other theories which are due to Professor Meghnad Saha of Allahabad University. Regarding these theories Professor E A Milne wrote in *Nature*, October 30, 1925, page 530.—

'Six years ago, practically no explanation existed why some lines appear in stellar spectra, and not others, why some lines always decrease in intensity through the stellar sequence and others appear reach a maximum, and then fade away. It is to Saha that we owe the key which has unlocked these mysteries. Saha showed that elementary thermodynamics, considered in connection with Bohr's theory of origin of spectra, demands that atoms pass through successive stages of ionisation as the temperature increases and produces the phenomena observed in stars. At the hands of Saha and others (others include Prof. Milne himself), this simple physical idea has received quantitative treatment, which allows a wealth of detailed deductions to be made concerning pressure and temperatures in the stars,"

For a brief account of Saha's ionisation theory *vide* p 132 of our last February issue Sir P. C. Ray contributed an article on the subject to THE MODERN REVIEW for December 1922, when Professor Saha was connected with the Calcutta University, of which he is a graduate

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"PRABASI" and the Bengal Education Department

The following questions and answers are self-explanatory —

CXXV Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri. (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Department of Education be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether it is a fact that a circular letter has been issued by the Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division, forbidding the use of the monthly magazine *Prabasi* in the common rooms of the Government and aided schools, and

(*ii*) whether such circulars have been issued by the Inspectors of other divisions?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*i*) is in the affirmative will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to state—

(*i*) why such a circular has been issued,

(*ii*) whether the Inspector of Schools, Burdwan Division, was advised or authorised by any higher authority to issue such a circular, and

(*iii*) from what authority such direction originally emanated?

(*c*) Are the Government prepared to advise the Inspector or Inspectors of Schools to withdraw such circulars.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. Donald. (*a*) and (*b*). The magazine is more suited to colleges and adult readers than to schoolboys, and in some divisions, including Burdwan, Inspectors with the consent of the department have circularised schools discouraging its inclusion in the school periodicals It is not forbidden, and school committees retain discretion in the matter.

(*c*) In the circumstances stated no action is necessary.

While thanking the gentleman who put the questions, the editor of *Prabasi* wishes to say that the former was probably not in possession of all the facts Some months ago that editor, who happens also to edit this REVIEW, obtained from some unknown person a copy of a confidential circular (it was so styled at the top left corner) issued in obedience to the Bengal Director of Public Instruction's letter No 201-C, dated the 25th of August, 1925, stating that *Prabasi* was not considered suitable for use in the Common Rooms of Government and aided high schools in the Bengal Presidency. A subscriber of *Prabasi* (please note, only *one*) also wrote to our office referring to this letter of the Director, asking for a refund of his subscription Thereupon we wrote to the Director on the 12th October last asking whether he had pronounced on *Prabasi* the opinion ascribed to him, and, if so, adding, "I shall be much obliged if you will kindly communicate to me your reasons in a definite form" for holding such opinion To this a reply came from the Director's Office after a delay of twenty-three days It was marked D. O No. 2765 We had no desire to refer publicly to this matter, because the Director's letter and the Inspectors' circular had failed to do us the injury they were meant to do, but had, on the contrary, increased our circulation, and because the Director was wise enough to mark his reply "D. O" But now that the matter has become public, its inwardness ought to be exposed It will suffice to quote only two sentences from his reply. It was stated therein that "the Director regrets that he is unable to enter into correspondence upon the subject raised. If, however, Editor desires to pursue the matter and can find time, Mr Oaten will be happy to see him at his convenience." Originally, the letter had the words "Mr. Chatterjee" before the word "desires", but these were penned through and the single word "Editor" substituted in hand-writing, probably because, as Mr. Oaten is **Mr**, it was not thought proper to mister a Bengali editor. We would much rather be Babued.

However, this reply was so overpowering in its condescension, that the poor editor lost both the desire and the power of calling on the august functionary to pay him his respects, as the phrase goes But it was suggested to the editor that a representative of *Prabasi* might see the Director and learn what he had to say And so a letter was sent to him requesting him to fix the time and the place But no answer was received. So there the matter ended

The reader will note that in his *demi-official* reply the Director neither admits, nor denies the authorship of the letter on which the Inspectors' circular was based In the second place, he implies that the reasons for putting a ban on *Prabasi* are so very mysterious—far more so perhaps than a State secret, that he cannot put them on paper If the Hon'ble Mr J Donald's reasons are the real reasons, why this mystification on the part of the Director? That a magazine is more suited to colleges and adult readers than to school boys is quite a *publishable* and good reason Why then could not Mr Oaten communicate this plain fact to the editor of *Prabasi* by letter? What necessity was there for him to suggest that that person should go in person and hear from Mr Oaten's lips the fateful words?

All this makes it morally certain that there is more in Mr Donald's reply than meets the eye So we will examine it a little more closely

There are in Bengali a good many magazines for the general reader in addition to those meant for children By particularising *Prabasi* and not mentioning any other of these magazines, does Mr Oaten mean to imply that all the others are suited to schoolboys? What are his reasons for thinking so? And does the extent of his ignorance or knowledge of the Bengali language entitle him to hold any opinion on the subject at all? If not, on whose advice did he act? To what department did these informants or informers of his belong?

We have never claimed that *Prabasi* is meant specially for schoolboys But we do positively assert that it is in no respect less suited to schoolboys than the other Bengali magazines for general readers

May we here incidentally ask whether Mr Oaten has recommended *Prabasi* to be subscribed for colleges in any circular of his? If not, why is he more prone to hinder than to help? Is that the peculiar characteristic of an *educational* director?

Prabasi alone of all such magazines can claim to have run for years a special section for boys and girls And its editor has received many letters asking him to bring together such items in illustrated book form as home reading for children. Some juvenile text-books contain extracts from *Prabasi*

A magazine may become more suited to colleges and adults than to schoolboys mainly for three reasons The subjects it deals with may be too difficult, and its language and style may be too difficult for school boys It may not be morally elevating, and may even be morally injurious Its politics may not be suited to a people who in the opinion of the bureaucracy are fit only to live as minors under the tutelage of alien rulers for ever or for an indefinite length of time.

Generally speaking, *Prabasi* deals with all those subjects which are dealt with in other magazines of its class And its method of presentation and style and language are not less popular than those of other magazines Therefore the circular could not have been issued owing to the abstruse character of the contents or style of *Prabasi* As regards its moral tone, no one who has even a nodding acquaintance with present-day Bengali magazines can assert that its pictures, stories, etc, are more objectionable than those of other magazines The complaint has been rather of the opposite kind, namely, that we are too puritanic in the choice of pictures and stories So by the process of elimination we arrive at the conclusion that probably the Director's action was due to the politics of *Prabasi* Here we plead guilty to the charge that we have from the very first year of that magazine rebelled against the idea that we are a nation of eternal minors We have always writen for political adults, not for political minors If we have been penalised for this offence, we do not at all make a grievance of it But we do charge Mr. Oaten with attempting to injure us behind our back and with lack of courage to say distinctly why be made this attempt. We also say that Mr Donald has been supplied with a disingenuous reply

The questions and answers which we have reproduced above have been printed by the bureaucracy under the caption—

"Prabasi," non-inclusion of, in school periodicals.

This, again, is a *suggestio falsi*, the fact being, not that *Prabasi* was not included in the list of school periodicals, but that a circular was issued to bring about its expulsion from Government and aided schools.

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Postal Rates in India and Japan

Japan contains a population of 57,233,906, British India contains 217,003,293 inhabitants, which means that the population of British India is more than four times that of Japan But the total revenue of Japan (for 1924-25) is about Rs 228,97,12,750, while that of British India for 1926-7 has been estimated to be Rs 133,43,00,000 Even if we added the revenues for 1926-7 of the provincial governments of India the total revenue of British India would not exceed Rs 228,43,-00,000 In any case it is clear that Japanese numbering less than a quarter of British Indian subjects are able to pay more in taxes than the latter This shows that the Japanese are a wealthier people than the Indians, and are, therefore, in a position to pay a higher rate of postage than Indians But what do they actually pay ?

We pay half an anna or six pies for a post card , the Japanese pay one and a half sen or four and a half pies for the same For a letter we pay one anna or twelve pies ; the Japanese pay three sen or nine pies The lowest amount of postage that we pay for sending a newspaper by post is three pies; the Japanese pay half sen or one and a half pie

So the Japanese, who are wealthier, have to pay a lower postage than the Indians, who are poorer Why is this so ? Because the Japanese are independent and self-ruling and can do what is good for their nation, whereas we are a nation of minors who cannot do what we rightly think best for our own country

Let us now see what have been the results of the respective postage rates of Japan and India For the sake of comparison we shall take the figures for 1920-21, which alone are now to hand for both the countries

POSTAL ARTICLES IN 1920-21

Country	Letters and Postcards.	Newspapers
India	1242615619	70303772
Japan	3300839000	258423000

These figures show that, though the population of Japan is less than a quarter of that of British India, the Japanese send about

hree times as many letters and cards by ost as Indian British subjects and receive y post more than three times as many newspapers as Indian British subjects. When it taken into consideration that the people of he Indian States also send letters and cards o the people of British India which are included in the above figures, the contrast becomes still more striking; for the population of the whole of India is more than five times hat of Japan

Of course, the greater number of letters, ards and newspapers sent by post in Japan s not due entirely to cheap postage There re other causes One is that almost all apanese of both sexes above the age of five r six can read and write, whereas in India nly about six per cent can read and write, he remaining 94 per cent being illiterate nother is that the Japanese, being independent, can shape their politics according to the nterests of their country to a far greater extent than we can Therefore, even their ordinary labourers take a greater interest in olitics and read newspapers more than even ur literate classes.

Spread of Literacy in India

There was greater literacy in India, t least in many parts of it, in the re-British period than now The type of illage schools in which a knowledge of he three R's was imparted survived down o our boyhood. The quality of that education ould be understood from Lord Sinha's tatement that the knowledge of mathematics equired by him in such a school was found y him more than enough for the discharge f his public duties in all the high offices e ever occupied.

> Not an iota more than this knowledge was ecessary for going through the most complicated ccounts he had to deal with in many important ases in the High Court."

The system of education introduced by the British Government in India was originally and mainly meant to obtain cheap subordinate fficials Enlightening the mass of the people by elementary education and thus rousing hem from their torpor never formed any part of their real policy. It is not their policy even now. The lack of funds has always been pleaded as an excuse for not making elementary education free and universal. But money can always be found for frontier expeditions and bigger wars, or it can be borrowed If the total number of crores spent for a few of the smaller expeditions were borrowed and made into an educational fund, its interest would quite suffice to make primary education free throughout India.

Or take the case of the Railways Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasada shows in our present issue, p 435, that from 1850-51 to 1923-24 the loss to the Indian Treasury on account of the Indian Railways has exceeded three hundred and twenty-two crores of rupees, and the losses are still growing. Is the enlightenment of the people of India less important than the covering of the country with a net-work of railways? Certainly not. But the railways were required for the exploitation of the country by British capitalists (with the consequent destruction of India's indigenous industries and trade) and for British strategic reasons, whereas British political reasons require that the people of India should not be for the most part an educated people Hence, there has been a net-work of railways but not a net-work of schools instead of or along with it.

Our universities are like mere window-dressing to conceal the vacuity and ugliness behind. And the greater the ignorance and illiteracy in a province, the greater the window-dressing. For example, literacy is lowest in the U P. and the window-dressing in the shape of many universities is also greatest there.

The vicious bent given to educational policy in India has influenced the educated classes also without probably their being aware of it Hence we find that almost all our educational benefactors, who are entitled to great praise and sincere respect, have given large sums for high English schools, colleges or universities, but not for the spread of elementary education

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No Reduction in the Postal Rates

Sir Basil Blackett announced in his budget speech that there would be no reduction in the postal rates this year, nay, he suggested that there could be no reduction in them even in the future unless the cost of living greatly decreased or the Indian tax-payer were prepared to subsidise the postal department year after year with ever-increasing amounts from his pocket. The two attempts made by Indian members to get the rates reduced have also failed

We do not see the cogency of the Finance Member's arguments. If in England inspite of the rise in prices there has been a reduction in postage after the war, why cannot there be such a reduction in India? And in India itself there have been reductions in railway fares after the war in spite of the rise in prices.

The Post and Telegraphs Department is expected to show a net profit of 18 lakhs in 1925-26, and in 1926-27 the post office estimate taken by itself shows a profit of 20 lakhs, though the telegraphs are expected to show a loss of 20 lakhs and telephones 10. Now, the majority of those who use the telegraphs and telephones are more well-to-do than the majority of those who send letters and cards by post. Therefore, the latter ought not to be taxed in the shape of higher postal rates for the advantage of the former. Moreover, the telegraph rates themselves are unreasonably high. If they were made more moderate, the number of telegrams would be likely to so increase as to turn the loss into a profit. As for the Government telephones, as they benefit mostly the military department, their loss ought not to be shown against a civil department like the Post Office.

It has been pointed out above that the post office taken by itself has worked at a profit. In the past also it used generally to work at a profit. And the profit was utilised for the purposes of the general administration. If the post office really has to work at a loss in future, Government ought to disgorge the above-mentioned profits of past years. Moreover, if postage were reduced to former rates, there would be a great increase in the number of postal articles, swelling the postal income. No doubt, the number of postal employees would also have to be increased to some extent. But their pay roll will swallow up only a fraction of the increased postal income. A member recently pointed out in the Legislative Assembly that there had been a reduction in the number of letters and post cards by 225 millions. This means that on 225 million occasions some Indians or other were deprived of the convenience of communicating with relatives, friends, customers, etc. This should not be the case in any civilised country. The post office is an educating, civilising and commerce-promoting agency, and a means of enjoyment also. Even assuming that loss would be inevitable in its working, the loss should be borne, because it benefits all classes of people. If Government could lose 322 crores of rupees on Indian Railways mainly in the interests of British capital and imperialism, surely it is absurd to bring forward the loss of a few lakhs or even a crore as an argument against the reduction of postal rates to their pre-war level. The fact is, as the European birds of passage in India can easily afford the present postal rates, they are not to be reduced. Had their interests been affected, there would have been reduction long ago.

The increase in letter and card postage alone is generally discussed as a grievance. But in reality there have been other increases. For example, formerly a book packet weighing up to ten tolas was carried for two pice. Now only five tolas are carried for two pice. *This doubling of book postage is a tax on education.* For it touches the pockets of all school and college students and other readers in the country towns and villages. But no member of the Assembly, so far as we can recollect, has urged the reduction of book postage. Similarly, newspapers were formerly carried by post for two pice up to 40 tolas. Now the limit is 20 tolas. Here also a change to the former rate is required. All value-payable packets have now to be registered, so that a moffussil resident ordering out a book from Calcutta worth one anna by V. P. P. has to pay six annas for it, including money order commission! This is absurd.

A Correction

In our last issue we quoted a statement from the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* to the effect that paraffin and nickel have been found in some samples of "vegetable ghee." The editor of that journal has since drawn our attention to a correction in one of its issues which states that these substances were "never" found.

Archæology and the Post office

While we advocate a reduction in postage, we cannot support any mixing up of issues. Mr. Rangachariar asked in the Legislative Assembly, "Instead of giving away fifty lakhs for digging out old buildings, why don't you restore the one pice post-card to meet an insistent demand?" The Finance Member's plan for ensuring the regular carrying on of the work of the Archæological Department might

it might not have been the best one. But it is absurd to imply any opposition of interests between archæology and the post office, or that postal rates can not be reduced except by depriving archæology of normal or extra support. It would have been as reasonable to say that, instead of making remissions of provincial contributions to the extent that they have been, pice post cards should have been reintroduced We shall perhaps hear next that instead of making extra grants to universities or colleges, etc, the price of post cards should be reduced, or the salt tax abolished or reduced, because those institutions also are concerned with such 'uninsistent' things as metaphysics, ancient culture, epigraphy, anthropology, etc The thing is, all these things are necessary, and it is a bureaucratic trick to say or to suggest that a certain thing can not be done except at the expense of something else For example, it was once argued that if the salt tax were abolished or reduced, the provincial contributions could not be remitted wholly or in part, or the cotton excise abolished. Very large retrenchments can be made both in civil and military expenditure Instead of concentrating our attack on extravagance in these directions, it is unwise, to say the least, to sneer at archaeology as merely digging out old buildings Every nation should value its history And it is obvious that ancient history cannot be complete and accurate without the aid of archaeology We are not archaeologists ourselves But we may be pardoned for suggesting that if a man cannot appreciate the bearing of, say, the Harappa and the Mohenjo-Daro excavations on the position of India among the peoples of the world and even on her political buoyancy, he should consider himself a fossil

Sir Basil Blackett proposed, not to "*give away*" 50 lakhs to the archaelogical department all at once, but to capitalise it in order to get a regular annual income of two and a half lakhs for it, so that its work might go on without interruption But supposing he did give away 50 lakhs, that would not have been pure waste like some of the crores spent in the army departments, for example. To allow the camel of the military budget of crores and to strain at the gnat of some lakhs is not the quintessence of political wisdom

Things which are both useful and necessary should never be pitted against one another. For example, if our legislators opposed some university grant on the ground that primary education is not being adequately promoted, they might succeed in not helping the university, but the money proposed to be given to it would not be given to primary schools. In the present instance, our legislators have not got pice post cards by sneering at archaeology.

How to Help Forward Archaeology

No intelligent and cultured patriot can deny that archaeological research must be carried on Not only should there not be any diminution in the activity of the department, but every effort must be made to give it more money and more properly qualified men. We wrote in the current number of *Prabasi* that as the Central Legislature could always be depended upon to vote the small sum of 2½ lakhs annually for it, 50 lakhs of rupees need not be locked up for the purpose. And we also appreciate the argument that the Legislature should, by keeping in its hands the power of voting or not voting even small sums, be able to scrutinise and control all expenditure with a view to preventing waste But the attitude of some members towards archaeology during recent debates has almost inclined us to the position taken up by the Finance Member The main thing is to carry on archaeological research in an uniform and uninterrupted manner If excavations be made one year and abandoned the next owing to money not having been voted, the money already spent on the excavations might be more than a waste Because what remains underground is safe so far, but when excavations have been made to some extent, if they are not continued or adequately protected, important relics may be destroyed or damaged by rain, etc, or be carried away by treasure-hunters or men in search of building materials, etc. Hence like universities, colleges, etc, the archaeological department also requires a certain fixed minimum grant. Members of legislatures should seriously consider the best means of securing to it this minimum grant, and also the question of increasing it whenever practicable.

We are entirely in favour of the opening of a fund for archaeological research to which the rulers of the Indian States and other wealthy persons should be asked to contribute. Cold weather tourists in India

and other foreigners may also be asked to contribute. Trustees should be appointed for this fund. The capital is not to be spent but only the interest

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Export of Antiquarian Finds

It should always be understood, however, that, as a rule, no finds are to be transferred to any place outside India If many identical coins, seals, etc, be found, then a few may be given to foreign museums after all museums in India have been supplied with them In no other case is even a single find to be allowed to go out of India

It is absurd to compel us to go abroad in order to study the history of our own country from the original materials All countries are gradually making the laws against the export of objects of great historical or artistic value more and more stringent In India the plunder of such material ought no longer to be permitted or allowed to remain legal Stein's epoch-making discoveries in Central Asia were made with India's money. But the finds have gone elsewhere From India itself many antiquarian objects found out by India's paid public servants with the help of Indian money have been taken away. This should no longer be permitted Recently in Egypt many remarkable discoveries were made by some Englishmen by digging ancient tombs at their own expense. Still the Egyptians have not allowed these things to be taken away, and very rightly, too When foreign concessionaires extract minerals from the bowels of the earth in any 'backward' country, its nationals justly complain of this legalised robbery. The plunder of a country's archaeological finds is worse robbery from some points of view. For one can buy with money minerals from foreign countries when the mines of his own country have been exhausted by foreigners, but the archaeological finds of a country are unique and can not be found elsewhere.

For another important reason also Indian finds should remain in India. We have not only to know and write our own history from the original materials, but we have to correct the errors of foreign historians of India, whose tendency, deliberate or unintentional, is to minimise India's genius and achievements in ancient times and to make her a debtor for most things to foreign countries. We will give an example.

Occidental indologists had generally held that the use of stone for scuptural purposes in India did not date earlier than the Maurya period and that sculpture was not native to its soil but borrowed from elsewhere But fortunately there were ancient statues in the Mathura, Calcutta and Patna Museums which revealed to the discerning eyes of Mr K P Jayaswal the fact that they were pre-Mauryan. Had these objects been removed to Europe or America, very probably this discovery and the consequent correction of occidental error would not have been made

Recently a question was asked in the Legislative Assembly whether the finds in Sind would be in part or wholly transferred to foreingn countries They reply was that "no orders have been passed by the Government of India" and "nothing has yet been settled regarding the eventual disposal of the finds from Mohenjo-Daro" The Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona had, earlier, protested against any transfer. All other similar bodies ought also to protest It is hoped that Sir John Marshall, who is an enthusiast and whose desire and duty are to promote the cause of archaeology in India, will do his best to keep in India all the things found in India It should be plain to him that Indian Legislators could not and should not be asked to vote money for his department in order to enrich foreign museums.

Recently we read the following paragraphs in the papers

> The Government of India is considering whether to invite scientific societies and museums oversea to assist in the archaeological exploration of various parts of India
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> The question has been raised by the recent discoveries of remarkable traces of ancient Indo-Sumerian civilization in the Indus Valley The success of the excavation during the past year has aroused world-wide interest Several museums in different countries asked for specimens and permission to take part in the work aud share in the results.
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> Sir John Marsnall, the Director General of Archaeology, has on various occasions pointed out that India, even working with the utmost zeal and provided with a large fund could not in half a century exhaust the possibilities of the widely scattered and important sites inviting excavation. Hence it has become a matter for consideration whether scientific explorers from abroad should be allowed to take part in the work, and if so, what should be their share in the objects found.

We have already stated above the principle which should determine the transfer, if any, of objects of antiquarian interest, to foreign countries The demands of Indian museums must first be *fully* met, and if any finds remain after that has been done, then and then alone can foreigners be allowed to have a share in the results of archaeological exploration Subject to this condition, it would be quite right to ask for the collaboration of foreign scientific societies and museums Else it would be best to allow India's ancient remains to lie underground until we can ourselves do all the exploration that is needed

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The Mathura Museum

We have referred in the previous note to the important discoveries made in the Mathura and other Museums We heard sometime ago from one who ought to know that the Mathura Museum was to be abolished, and consequently its contents would be probably transferred to other museums—whether in India or abroad, it is not known It would be only proper if U P patriots could save their museum from its impending fate It is a question of a few thousand rupees per annum. Let them first ask a question in their Council to ascertain the actual facts It would be a shame for the Province which can afford to have the largest number of universities to allow this museum to be closed.

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Cultural Imperialism and Government Publications

If Englishmen or other foreigners find out anything in their own country by their own exertions and by spending their own money, they are of course entitled from the first to make whatever use they like of what they discover. But if things are found in India by men paid by India and by spending Indian money, it is only reasonable that India should have the first chance to know the details of these discoveries and see and use their pictures. But the present state of things is different. Illustrated accounts of the results of the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro appeared first in London, and we were left to derive our information therefrom.

Now, if the photographs were supplied to the London publishers gratis, why were they not supplied gratis to the principal Indian journals ? If the English publishers paid for the photographs, why were they not offered in lieu of payment to the publishers of Indian journals ? And who got the money paid by the London publishers—the Government of India or some employee of the Archaeological Department who supplied the pictures ? If the latter, why is he allowed to make money at India's expense ? We have heard that there is a rule that officers of the archaeological department are not allowed to write on the discoveries of the department, except in their official reports Why was this rule not observed when mss and photographs were supplied to London papers ?

About a month ago we raised questions like these in *Prabasi*, and ask them again here It has been stated that the first article contributed to a London paper was for the purpose of drawing the attention of Assyriologists to the finds in Sind and the Panjab But are all the Assyriologists and the best of them to be found in Britain ? And what harm would have been done by simultaneous publication in India ?

Cultural and scientific Imperialism has strange notions, which are illustrated in an amusing way in the following extract

> In the *Indian Daily Mail* Annual issued in January, we published an illustrated article on the excavations We received shortly after a letter from an official of the Archaeological Department stating that the photographs were unauthorised and should not have been published. While Indian newspapers are kept at arm's length in this way, the illustrated English newspapers have published numerous photographs as having been supplied to them by Sir John Marshall What right has Sir John, who is an official of the Government of India, to supply them to the English papers, while Indian papers are told that their publication is unauthorised ?

We are going to mention another trifling thing which is quite significant in spite of its insignificance Towards the end of the second week of March last, a Calcutta British-owned and edited paper published an illustrated article on the report on the Archaeological Survey of India 1923-24, which, it said, had been "just issued." As it deals with the Mohenjo-Daro explorations, we immediately asked a well-known book-selling firm to procure us a copy It wrote to us the day after that the report could not be had, as it was not yet ready for sale

If it was not ready for sale, how did the Anglo-Indian (old style) paper get it ? Evidently then it was supplied to it *gratis*. It is a beautiful arrangement this—that a

paper owned and edited by birds of passage of the Imperial breed should have *gratis* the first fruits of a department, but that men belonging to the country which finds money for the department cannot have a report even for payment even after the Anglo-Indian paper has exercised the imperial right and enjoyed the imperial privilege of *free* prior utilisation We are still waiting to buy our copy ! Such is cultural imperialism.

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India's Latest Smith's Prizeman

It is generally thought that the winning of the Smith's Prize at Cambridge is a higher distinction than even the senior wranglership Since the senior wranglership ceased to be



Mr. Ganesh Sakharam Mahajani

declared, the Smith's Prize has had a still greater attraction for students of mathematics at Cambridge Hitherto three Indians had won this prize. The first to win it was Prof. Bhupatimohan Sen of the Calcutta Presidency College, the second Mr K. Anand Rao of the Madras Presidency College, and the third, Dr. Shankar Rao Savoor, D Sc, of the same institution. This year Prof Ganesh Sakharam Mahajani of the Poona Fergusson College has won the prize. What entitles him to additional praise is that he has chosen to serve his old college for a subsistence allowance, as G. K. Gokhale, R. P. Paranjpye and others had done before him. It is by such devotion and sacrifice, in addition to intellectual gifts, that a people becomes great.

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Archaeological Training.

It would not be desirable for India always to depend on foreign experts for archaeological explorations. Her own sons must be able in increasing numbers to take up the work Both our universities and Sir John Marshall's department should provide for the training of such men From what we have heard of Sir John we have reasons to believe that he would agree to facilitate such training if men and money were forthcoming In the meantime let our universities move in the matter The Panjab may utilise the services of Mr Dayaram Sahni, and Bombay those of Mr K N Dikshit So far as Bengal is concerned, the thing could be attempted by the Calcutta University if bias could be overcome in public interests The university could perhaps ask Mr R D Banerji to give the necessary training in excavation and exploration work. Though he is not versatile enough like some of the University teachers to be able to lecture on Metaphysics, Metallurgy and Mesopotamia with equal ease, he, we presume, knows his own special work better than anybody else in Calcutta, We do not, of course, know what his own plans are, or whether his departmental work would leave him any leisure to undertake the training of apprentices ; but Sir John Marshall may be expected to favour any well-thought-out scheme for the purpose

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"The Vishnudharmottaram."

Part III of the *Visnudharmottaram* is a Sanskrit treatise on painting A translation of it with notes and an introduction has been published by Dr. Miss Stella Kramrisch. The translation is signed "Stella Kramrisch" But if, as we have heard, she does not know Sanskrit, how did she translate the work ? In a footnote in very small type, she no doubt says, "For assisting me with the translation I am indebted to" a certain Indian gentleman. But what is the meaning of "assisting" here? If the translation be entirely or even substantially another person's

work, why is it signed by Miss Kramrisch? If, on the other hand, she knows Sanskrit, in what way, to what extent and why did the other person assist her with the translation?

In fairness to Dr. Kramrisch it must be said that, even if she does not know Sanskrit, there is precedent for what she has done. A certain Englishman is stated to have translated some Bengali stories into English "with the author's help," though he can neither read Bengali nor understand those stories if read out to him!

The Andhra University.

The Indian Daily Mail publishes the following from a correspondent:—

The official notification announcing the fact that the Chancellor has nominated Mr. C. R. Reddy as the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University for a period of two years from April 1926 next having now been formally issued, it is reported that the necessary measures for the purpose of inaugurating the new University are being pushed through with all possible expedition. The Hon'ble Sir A. P. Patro, Minister of Education has on the 15th instant handed over all the papers, plans and other things hitherto prepared in connection with the University and the construction of the University Senate House and other buildings to Mr. Reddy for taking the necessary action. The Senate House, as was announced before, will be located at Bezwada, and pending the construction of permanent buildings for the offices of the University temporary accommodation for them has been secured at Bezwada. The advisory committee of the Andhra University, for which provision has been made in the act itself, has also been constituted and with its help and advice, Mr. C. R. Reddy is expected to proceed straightway with the work of bringing into existence the several University bodies and committees for the functioning of the University. The publication bureau, which was to produce the necessary text books in the Vernacular so that the principle of making it the medium of instruction in the University classes may be brought into practical working has also been called into being. Already the financial help for the University has assumed an encouraging position, for endowments to the extent of Rs. 4 lakhs have been secured; and it is expected that more endowments will be forthcoming in the near future. All this amount is, of course, in addition to the provision of Rs. [illegible] made in the budget for the University for the teaching and academical side of the University, it is proposed and estimates are already being prepared for it to establish a Technological institute at Bezwada at an early date. The institute will be constructed, as announced, by a public spirited Zeminder and endowed by him and it will be named after His Excellency Lord Goschen. Preparations are also going on in Waltair and Rajahmundry at a rapid pace and estimates are also ready for the establishment of an engineering and technological college at the former place and a first grade Honours College at Rajahmundry for training students in the Arts courses. New buildings will be constructed at both these places in course of time.



Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. A., M. L. C. of Madras, who has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the new Andhra University.
Photo by R. Venkoba Rao

The Late Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer

The loss of Madras by the death of Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer is also the loss of India. He was a distinguished scholar and an eminent lawyer and citizen and served as a judge of the Madras High Court for seven years. As a public-spirited citizen he served the Madras Congress of 1903 as one of its secretaries. When he retired from the High Court bench in 1920, the Indian National Congress had lost its former character, and Indian politicians had become divided into more parties than before,

to none of which could he give his adherence. Mr. Seshagiri Iyer served his *alma mater* the Madras University, as a fellow for many years and represented it in the provincial legislative council. He also did useful work as



The Late Mr T V. Seshagiri Iyer

an elected member of the Legislative Assembly and as a member of the Financial Commission. He used to contribute to many newspapers and periodicals, generally on literary, philosophical and religious subjects

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Mrs. Naidu's Efforts At Unification.

We highly appreciate Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's endeavours for the unification of all Indian political parties The role of reconciler, peace-maker and unifier eminently becomes her as woman, mother and poet The declared final goal of some Indian politicians is self-government within the British Empire, and at least the immediate goal of other Indian politicians, whatever their party names may be, is also the same For this reason we have all along thought that a combined attempt to reach this goal is the duty of all Indian politicians. Nor is such united endeavour beyond the range of feasibility. Those who want to go beyond that goal will not be prevented or hampered by being brought nearer their final goal. This is clear from what Canada has been doing. In some matters she has been acting independently of the Empire.

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"The Indian Nationalist Party."

Over the signatures of Dr. Annie Besant, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Sivaswami Iyer and other prominent leaders of the Liberal party, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah Mr Chakravarty, Sir Dinshaw Petit Mr M R Jayakar, Mr N C Kelkar and others of the responsive co operation party, Mr G. S Khaparde and Mr A N. Surve, in all 125, a manifesto has been issued for calling a conference to form what will be known as the Indian Nationalist Party In the manifesto the signatories say "We the undersigned belonging to different political organisations with similar aims and objects and pursuing similar methods to attain them, have come to the conclusion that for the success of those aims and objects, the principle of which is to attain as speedly as possible swaraj or responsible government and dominion status for India it is essential that we should combine and work together to the greatest possible extent and form a coalition on the basis of such aims and objects as are common to all The methods we shall employ in the pursuit of these objects may be described as discriminating co-operation and opposition or responsive co-operation or constitutional agitation including parliamentary obstruction as and when necessary Our organisation will be known as the "Indian Nationalist Party"

This is a move in the right direction As, whatever the theoretical position of the Swarajya party may be, in practice it has followed substantially the method described in this manifasto and as its aim also is to attain Swaraj, it would be a great blessing if it also could join forces with all the other parties.

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Farewell to Professor Formichi.

On the occasion of bidding farewell to Professor Formichi the staff and students of Visvabharati played a Sanskrit drama Subsequently in Calcutta on a similar occasion Rabindranath Tagore read a farewell address in the course of which he said —

I know that our scholars, with whom you have worked, and who have come to appreciate heartily the value of the help you rendered and of the kindness you showed to them, will always remember you with grateful admiration Your scholarship has impressed us most for its living and luminous quality of imagination ; we have realised that your study of Indian culture does not merely reveal a scientific mind, but a personality full of sympathetic insight. Having the noble modesty of the truth-seeker, your unbiassed mind could come into intimate touch with the ideal India, with all that is immortal in her of beauty and truth. Your discriminate appreciation has helped our students

in directing their loyalty to the best that India has achieved in her intellectual and spiritual adventure, —the loyalty which is needed for the building up of a fruitful future on the promise of a fertile past.

In your own nature you have brought to us a gift which is not merely an outcome of a studious, scholarly training, but something native to the kindly soil of your mother country. It is that generosity of heart which has the magic power of holding open the door of the inner sanctum of an alien race. I shall always remember the happiness of those days we shared together when gorgeous welcome was lavished upon us by the springtime in the eastern districts of our province, when all along our path we were repeatedly roused by the loud greetings of colour from the extravagant *kinsukas*, from the *asoka* groves, blossoming with wistful reminiscences of a far-away lyric age in India. It made me feel proud of your companionship, when I realised how easily your own accommodating kindliness found its way into the hospitality of our people, across the natural boundaries of unaccustomed habits and manners.

Regarding the Italian library which the Professor brought with him as his country's gift, the poet said :—

Your arrival in our *asrama* was accompanied by the gift of an Italian library from your country, surprising in its magnificence. It has already aroused in our students a desire to honour it by owning it truly, thereby directly reaching that great source of inspiration which, in a period of new birth in European history, brought out such a variegated luxuriance of intellect and art in the western continent. This library has been a generous invitation to our people by your country to the feast of soul in that guest-house of hers which is open to all time and to all humanity. You were a worthy bearer of this message from your own land; but, being a true lover of India, you must also act as a messenger on our behalf in carrying our assurance to Italy that this friendly beckoning of hers has given a permanent direction to our mind in its communication with herself. And this is in accord with the ideal of Visva-bharati which, as you know, is to realise the freedom of pathway along the vast realm of man, deepening our consciousness of the unity of spirit in the different human races. Your genial presence among us, the valuable service you have rendered to our *asrama*, the precious token of sympathy you brought to us from your country and the masterly exposition you gave us of the gradual course of the spiritual illumination running through the period of Vedic India, has greatly strengthened our cause, creating a strong link with Italy in our bond of human solidarity.

The poet also paid a well-merited tribute to Professor Tucci in the following words :—

In this connection I must mention the name of your former pupil, Dr Tucci, who is still with us and for the loan of whose services I cannot enough thank your government. He has studied with an amazing comprehensiveness, along with most of the other phenomena of ancient Indian culture, the greatest period of India's history. He has pursued the triumphant career of Buddhism in distant countries, following almost obliterated indications across the sand-buried antiquities, among the records of a startled history that has lost the



Professor Formichi [By Kanu Desai

memory of its own language. He can best remind the modern children of India of what has been the most glorious self-revelation in the annals of their ancestors. It was her ideal of universal sympathy, made uniquely real in the relationship which India at one time established with the *neighbouring* and *distant countries* through her self-conquering messengers, unarmed and unafraid, without greed and devoid of material means, the ideal which urged one of her mightiest emperors in the heyday of his power to transfer the progress of his conquest and the expansion of his empire from the political to the moral plane.

The Founder-president of Visvabharati concluded his address thus -

It is our desire to proclaim this richest birthright of ours as Indians, our faith in this *dharma* which enjoins every man to realise, through the cultivation of *maitri*, the truth of his own self in the Truth which dwells in the All, You who come as a voice from across the seas giving harmonoy to the voice of the Eternal in the aspiration of India, you who allow us to realise in yourself the spiritual kinship of love and disinterested service,--you have helped us in this dark age of international suspicion and jealousy to light our lamp, which is dedicated to the divine spirit of *maitri*, acknowledged by Visva-bharati as the true ideal of India. And, therefore, our farewell to-day contains within it the deeper silent welcome of all days to our world of endeavour which will always carry in its heart the memorial of the best that your own life has offered to its creation. Before we part, allow me to say that my relation to you is not merely through the cause I cherish in our institution It is warmly personal and is intimately associated with my love for Italy and with the exuberant welcome which I received from her If, owing to my increasing weakness and ill-health, I am prevented from claiming her hospitality ever again, her touch will always remain with me in the many relics of our meeting and the permanent representation you leave behind in our *asrama* of the treasure of her thoughts and dreams, and of the large-heartedness of her people.

To this address Professor Formichi replied in words instinct with feeling

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"Cocogem"

We wrote in our last issue .—

"Cocogem," manufactured and sold by Messrs. Tata and Sons, is pure and refined cocoanut oil prepared for cooking food with and may really claim to be "vegetable ghee". But perhaps this preparation is not widely known to the Indian public owing to Messrs. Tata's almost entire dependence on English agency and newspapers conducted in English.

From a list of distributors of "Cocogem" supplied to us by the Tata Oil Mills Co, Ltd., we are glad to find that with the exception of one or two all are Indian firms. It is to be hoped, therefore, that in course of time this wholesome article of food, which does not contain any animal fat or mineral substance, will be very widely used throughout India

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The Swarajist Exodus.

At Cawnpore the president of the Congress declared in her inaugural address and it was also resolved by that body that if by the end of the cold weather sessions of the central legislature the Government did not show any signs of conceding the national demand, members of councils belonging to the Swarajya party would walk out of the legislative bodies They have been true to their word Whether the declaration of the Congress President and the resolution passed by the Congress, referred to above, were statesmanlike or not, is another matter. For their exodus, the Swarajists have been ridiculed and denounced by the foreign bureaucracy as well as by the other Indian political parties But suppose they had not walked out of the council chambers, would not the selfsame critics have ridiculed and criticised them? Would it not have been said that the Swarajists had taken discretion to be the better part of valour, etc, etc,? Hence, we believe the Swarajists were between the horns of a dilemma, as it were—whatever course they could possibly adopt they were sure to expose themselves to criticism. Taking this and other facts into consideration, we think the exodus has been well advised. It would have been better still if the other parties could have been persuaded to join the Swarajists

It is alleged that this step has been taken with a view to capturing the largest number of seats at the coming elections But supposing that is the object, electioneering tactics of this description are not necessarily either immoral or unwise.

We also have been among the critics of the Swarajya party. as indeed of other parties, too. But we have never considered its aims and methods opposed to the principles of political science. Opposition, obstruction, civil disobedience, even revolution (when and if needed) are recognised methods. What particular method is to be adopted depends on circumstances. Coming straight from his office of Executive Councillor of the Central Provinces, Sir Moropant Joshi declared in his address as President of the Calcutta session of the National Liberal Federation:

As extreme measures nothing is ruled out for

achieving political emancipation—not even revolutions, much less civil disobedience and obstruction

Of course he had also said that

it is quite feasible to bring adequate pressure to bear on Government to grant India dominion status if the electorate and the people as a whole take much keener interest in matters political The will to be free must be infused in the masses and intensity of feeling secured by constant reiteration of the birthright of Indian citizens The Liberals have still faith in constitutional methods, which, they believe, have not been adequately tried

In our opinion, if the Swarajists have faith in other methods, also constitutional, than those in which the Liberals have faith, it ought not to be too great a strain on anybody's fraternal charity to believe in the sincerity of their faith

"A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush", so runs an English proverb Herbert Spencer characterised British rule in India in a certain connection as a "cunning despotism" Present-day British bureaucrats in India have lost none of the cunning of their predecessors They have enough wits about them to keep the hands of Indian politicians who have abounding faith in British justice filled for ever or for an indefinite period with small birds of "Reforms", in order to prevent them from trying to capture the bigger birds in the bush

We have been hearing from our childhood of a certain redoubtable warrior who complained that he had neither of his hands free for a fight, because one of his hands had enough to do to carry a sword and the other a shield. It was a very reasonable complaint Our constitutional politicians are also quite logical Some have their hands occupied with "transferred" subjects, and a smaller number with "reserved" subjects Let them first prove to the satisfaction of their guardian tutors that they can keep these small birds in their hands before they can think of catching the bigger birds in the bush

But it is imaginable that there may also be non-Liberal naughty boys who would agree to allow these small birds to fly away in order that their hands may be free to catch the bigger birds If we cannot swell their ranks, we may at least connive at a division of labour—the good boys keeping the small birds in the hand and the naughty ones trying to catch the bigger ones in the bush.

Some persons honestly believe that we must prepare ourselves by long apprenticeship for the responsibilities of self-rule But others also can equally honestly believe that there are men even in India who can rise equal to the occasion, should responsibilities fall on their shoulders, without the indefinitely long period of apprenticeship prescribed by the alien rulers During and after the great war, many subject countries and nations have become self-ruling and independent They had not served a tenth part of the term of apprenticeship we have already undergone. Some of them had not been apprentices at all. How have they become fit to shoulder their burdens ? True, they became free after a bloody fight fought either by themselves or by others But is it indispensable that speedy and great political changes must be preceded by bloodshed ? Or is there any scientific or philosophical reason for thinking that competent statesmen cannot emerge except out of a blood bath in a country which claims to be free without suiting the convenience of the present holders of power as to the times and stages of advance ?

We have always held that by co-operation the bureaucrat practically means subserviency. There has been already more than enough of real co-operation even on the part of the Swarajists But the alien rulers want total surrender on the part of all political parties

There is still a talk of working the reforms to prove that they are inadequate But has not that fact been amply established already ? Have not Ministers and Executive Councillors of the Liberal creed testified to that effect ?

Government will not move an inch from its position and co-operate with us In spite of all rebuffs, in spite of resolution after resolution carried in the councils but not given effect to, inspite of the restoration of rejected grants by certification, in spite of Government's contemptuous treatment of the national demand which is substantially the demand of all political parties, it is we who are to continue to co-operate. That is practical politics Practical politicians must not be sensitive as regards national self-respect

But there may be men who believe that freedom implies self-respect and that it is a sort of contradiction in terms to try to obtain freedom by methods which disregard loss or decrease of self-respect or produce callousness in relation to it. Such sensitive souls deserve to be forgiven and tolerated by practical politicians. Please allow them to dream

that it is self-respecting and manly to think of winning freedom by civil disobedience and that it is not impossible yet to make at least some people ready for that step The foreign bureaucracy hold that all political rights must be obtained by us as boons, as favours condescendingly granted by them What harm will it do to the practical politicians if some political dreamers dare to differ from the bureaucracy ?

Some have thought it absurd that the Swarajists after having walked out of the council chambers, should still try to re-enter them. But it is not impossible to understand their point of view It may be that they think that small reforms are often the greatest enemies of real and fundamental reform They may hold that, unless the present councils are ended or at least so mended as to transform them altogether, real and substantial political progress would be impossible.

Those enthusiastic non-Swarajists who would welcome the utter collapse or extinction of any intransigent party should remember past history and take note that if there be no such party there can be no motive for the British bureaucracy to "rally" "reasonable" Indian politicians "Reasonable" men are generally patted on the back, when there are dynamically "unreasonable" men in the country. Small birds are placed within the reach of good boys when the naughty boys want to net all the big birds in the bush

The proviso that the British Parliament is to be the arbiter of India's destinies—determining the time and manner and extent of each step of her political progress, is an insult to India, and will continue to be a negation of real freedom, whatever reforms may be doled out to us as boons or favours by Britannia as the Lady Bountiful. Unless the British rulers can be moved from this position of theirs in practice—whatever the theory may be, India can never *feel* free and be free India's salvation depends on the removal of that incubus Co-operation, as understood by the bureaucracy, can never bring about this result , and we doubt if even responsive co-operation can do it.

Dr. Annie Besant has said that if the Commonwealth of India Bill be rejected by the British Parliament, she would advocate the policy of not voting any supplies to Government. But that method has been tried already, and all rejected demands have been restored by the process of certification. Supplies can be effectively and really cut off only by a successful No-tax-payment movement, which is one form of civil disobedience. Therefore, pushed to its logical conclusion, what Mrs Besant advocates is tantamount to civil disobedience Why then do that lady and her colleagues and followers criticise and condemn civil disobedience when advocated by the Swarajists and No-changers ? Civil disobedience may be impracticable just now But it is not wrong in principle. It may fail even once or twice or more often But have not some other methods of emancipation been sometimes crowned with success only after repeated failures ?

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Who Will Learn a Lesson from Antæus ?

The Swarajists have still the ear of the country and will continue to have it and obtain most of the votes so long as they can make the people believe that they are more against the Government than any other political party But to serve and thereby *possess* the country and its *heart* is a different matter They cannot keep their position of vantage for ever merely by striking heroic attitudes Let them capture the heart of the country by real service, instead of merely talking of service and drawing up plans

The Greek myth of Antaeus has a lesson for us all Antaeus long remained invincible in wrestling because his strength was renewed every time he touched the earth, his mother Hercules throttled him while holding him off the ground In India the bureaucracy by their royal commission on agriculture are trying both to get in touch with the soil and to break the Indian politician's contact with the earth That party which will be able to hold fast to the ground by its real love for and service to the masses will become and remain invincible

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Anil Baran Ray

We accord a warm welcome to Babu Anil Baran Ray, who has been released from prison after having been unjustly kept there without any trial or without even the formulation of any charge against him. We wish him a long and uninterrupted career of devoted service to the motherland.

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Political Prisoners in Burma Jails.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has given a description of the condition of the political prisoners confined without trial in Insein and Mandalay jails which makes very painful reading. Like Babu Anil Baran Ray, they should all be released now

The revelations made by Lieut-Col Mulvany before the Jail Commission and given out to the world recently by *Forward* and Babu Tulsi Charan Goswami have convinced the public that political prisoners are sometimes kept in solitary confinement under police orders even at the risk of their becoming insane and that superintendents of jails are sometimes compelled to write false reports regarding the treatment and condition of such prisoners The Home Member's argument that all this refers to what happened 15 years ago is unconvincing Why did such things happen even 15 years ago? And what guarantee is there that even worse things are not happening at present ?

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The Montgomery Jail Incident

Lala Bodh Raj, M. L C, a non-official visitor to the Montgomery jail in the Panjab, was attacked in that jail by two prisoners who poured a pot of urine on his head, obviously at the instigation of some jail officials who did not like his visits to find out the actual state of things there That the alien bureaucracy are not inclined to mete out condign punishment to the offenders even in such a disgraceful and wicked affair, will appear from the following extract from *The Tribune* of Lahore —

The orders of the Punjab Government on the findings of the Jails Enquiry Committee in regard to the wicked attack on Lala Bodh Raj, M. L. C, in the Montgomery Jail in December last, which were announced by the Finance Member in the Punjab Legislative Council on Monday, add one more to the long list of cases in which an irresponsible bureaucracy has refused to do ordinary justice to a long-suffering public. "After consideration of the report," we are told, "the Government decided that the Superintendent and the Jailor *failed in their duty*. Major Trutter, *officiating* Superintendent, has been *reverted* from employment in the Jails Department , and Niyamat Ullah Khan, the Jailor, has been *transferred* to a small district jail" [Italics ours.] And this in the face of the definite and unequivocal finding of the Committee that "the assault was *arranged* by the jail officials and that the main motive for the assault was annoyance at the conduct of Lala Bodh Raj as a non-official visitor." (Italics ours). The Committee, while considering that there was not "sufficient" evidence to connect the Superintendent "directly" with the affair, state

"At the same time we are not prepared to hold that there are no grounds of suspicion against him. He certainly had reasons, both personal and official, to be annoyed with Lala Bodh Raj "

As for the jailor's responsibility for the heinous offence, the committee hold, on the basis of the circumstances and the Jailor's own conduct, which they fully examine, that there was left 'no doubt in our minds that the Jailor Niamatulla Khan had a hand in the affair and instigated the offence which was committed by Budhia and Hussaina."

The lightest punishment which should have been inflicted on these jail officials for the wicked and disgusting offence is dismissal from service

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"Lawless Laws"

"*Lawless Laws*", published recently by the Forward Publishing, Ltd , is an opportune and useful publication. It contains Regulation III of 1818, the Ordinance of 1924, and the Bengal Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1925, extracts from Lord Morley's *Recollections*, the opinions of public men on the Ordinance, the verdict of the Press (excluding the Modern Review), the protest of public bodies, a short history of the treatment of political prisoners from 1908 to 1926, suppressed questions and resolutions regarding detenus sent to the Bengal Council, extracts from Sir Surendranath Banerjea's Reminiscences and speech, and many other things All public men and students of public affairs should have a copy of the book for purposes of ready reference

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Cooch Behar Affairs

We are afraid Cooch Behar may be heading for scandals worse than, though somewhat different from, those which have given Indore an unenviable notoriety We have before us copies of representations and petitions submitted to the Governor of Bengal and the Viceroy which we are not inclined to publish in full. If Cooch Behar were an independent State, say, like Nepal, the Government of India would have no duty in the matter. But it is a State tributary to the British Government and enjoying its protection. Therefore, that Government is responsible for the education and future welfare of its minor Maharaja, for the welfare of

Cooch Beharis, and for the welfare and dignity of its ruling family In the case of many Indian States, including Cooch Behar when the late Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur was a *boy*, Government have not hesitated to make arrangements for the upbringing of minor Maharajas independent of the influence of the mother and other female relatives Therefore, in the present case, too, Government should intervene, if on inquiry that should prove to be necessary, as we think it is

For the present, we shall content ourselves with supporting a representation made to the Governor of Bengal and a petition submitted to the same high authority on the 6th June, 1925, both by Rai Saheb Panchanan Varma, M.L.C., and a numerously signed petition submitted to the Viceroy by the Cooch Beharis, and making extracts therefrom. In his representation the Rai Saheb stated among other things —

> The guardianship and the training of the minor Maharaja and of the minor prince and princesses demand careful consideration and handling for the interest of the minors as also for the welfare and dignity of the State At present Nawab Khusru Jung Mahboob Ali Beg is the guardian and Controller of the Household and another Muhammadan, the Secretary to Her Highness Both are young Muhammadans of Western India and Her Highness is a Hindu woman, still not aged nor elderly, but without the company of a respectable relative of hers either from Baroda or Cooch Behar
>
> It does not at all look normal nor is it permitted by ordinary Law of guardianship that the guardian of a Hindu Minor should be a Muhammadan, nor does it look well that young Muhammadans should control the Household affairs of a Hindu family, Royal or otherwise
>
> Bad rumours pierce through the ears and tears the Cooch-Beharee's hearts, and the poor Cooch-Beharees are in a very awkward position, as they can neither express nor suppress their feelings

In his petition he asked on behalf of the Cooch Beharis —

> We the Cooch Beharees, seriously apprehensive of the present and future situation and the dignity of our State, beg humbly and most respectfully to pray that Your Excellency will graciously be pleased to direct enquiries being made to ascertain—
>
> (a) If Nawab Khusru Jung, the tutor and guardian of the Maharaja and the Maharaj-Kumar and Kumaris, the controller of the household and as such the constant companion of Her Highness, herself a young woman, is the Prince Mahboob, the native Secretary of Raja Sir Hari Singh alluded to in the Midland Bank case
>
> (b) If so, our prayer is that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased—
>
> i. to direct a sifting enquiry as to the circumstances under which Nawab Khusru Jung was brought into the house-hold staff and as to the circumstances under which he is being retained in the service of the State ;
>
> ii to take such steps as seem proper for the removal of Nawab Khusru Jung from all connections with the State and the Royal family .
>
> iii to arrange for the proper guardianship, education and training of the minor Maharaja and the Maharaj-kumars and Kumaris with due consideration of the religion the family belongs to, to the high position they are to occupy and the functions they are to perform

The petition of the Cooch Beharis contains similar prayers in greater detail, which we shall publish, if necessary

It should be stated here in connection with the appointment of Nawab Khusru Jung on a monthly salary of Rs 1,500, all found, and that of Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan on a salary of Rs 800 per mensem, that the Cooch Behar Gazette Extraordinary, dated May 25, 1923, which announced their appointment, also announced the compulsory retirement of five Hindu officers on the ground of "*enforced retrenchment*"! Nawab Khusru Jung, it is alleged in the petitions, has no educational or other qualifications which would entitle him to even half his emoluments It is also alleged that Nawabzada Karim has no work to do, "the power of the Maharaja having been vested in the Regency Council"

—

The Holkar's Abdication

The ex-Maharaja Holkar abdicated, it is said, because on principle he could not submit to be tried by a commission Not having read the treaties of the Indore State with the British Government, we cannot say what sovereign rights its ruler possesses in theory But in practice we find that there is no ruling prince who has not sometime or other to put up with various restraints on their movements and activities and to carry out various mandates, written and unwritten Therefore, when the ex-Maharaja is alleged to have stood on his rights as a sovereign prince only when he was, wrongly or rightly, suspected to have been privy to the Bowla murder, the position said to have been taken up by him on this occasion cannot convince impartial people of his innocence Nor, on the other hand, can it be dogmatically asserted that he was guilty of aiding and abetting or instigating the murder. But of this one may be morally certain that if His Highness's character had been different from what it appeared to be from the evidence given in the Bowla-Mamtaz case, he

need neither have been suspected, nor forced to abdicate.

Not that he was a bad prince in other respects He had done much for the causes of education, social reform, industrial revival and expansion and popular government in his State, for which he will be remembered with gratitude.

Apart from the rights and dignity of his State, personally he would certainly have been a gainer if he could have stood his trial before the commission and established his innocence As things stand, people are not satisfied that the demands of justice have been fully met by punishing only the tools in a heinous crime, allowing the principal or principals to escape, whoever he or they may be In this respect the Government of India has done less than its duty.

—

Ramakrishna Mission Home of Service, Benares

This Home has been doing very good work for suffering humanity for the last twenty-five years The report of its activities during the year 1925 is satisfactory. It maintains an indoor general hospital, a refuge for aged invalid men and women, a girls' home for giving training in the general work of the female hospital besides general education and an outdoor dispensary, and gives outdoor relief to invalids and poor ladies of respectable family who are stranded in Benares Casual relief is given to needy pilgrims in the shape of train fare to their homes The Home also tries to get for students books and examination fees

The needs of the Home are various and many It is in a position to make the best use of all donations, big and small

—

Indians Aliens in Britain

We have received from the Glasgow Indian Union copies of some papers relating to the arbitrary registration in Glasgow and district of 63 Indians living there, as "Alien seamen" The Union has protested against the order of the Home Secretary in obedience to which such registration has been made

The Home Secretary's action does not surprise us. If Indians tried to make their living in Great Britain in such numbers as they have been doing in South Africa, the British nation also would most probably take the same steps for "reducing" their number as the Boer Government have been doing.

We do not like the latter part of the following sentence in the Glasgow Indian Union's circular letter —

> All Indians have, on the ground of their nationality been refused admission to certain Picture Houses and some other places of entertainment in Glasgow, "the most liberal City in Scotland"—an eloquent evidence of the gratitude of the people of this country for signal services rendered by Indians during Britain's time of greatest affliction and crisis recorded in the annals of History

If Indians fought for and helped Britain in other ways during the world war from a sense of duty, they ought not to *expect* any thing in return from Britain But as a matter of fact most of those Indians who served during the war were either mercenaries *or were compulsorily enlisted.*

—

Mr. Sastri's Lectures on Citizenship

The Rt Hon V. S Srinivasa Sastri's four Kamala lectures on the rights and duties of citizens, which he delivered in Calcutta, were repeated in Madras. It is to be hoped they will be available in a handy booklet form They were a brilliant, eloquent and lucid exposition of all aspects of citizenship. And they were not merely academic In some of them Mr Sastri dealt with the present state of things in India, and denounced executive abuse of power

> The Indian Executive is highly pampered. It is given to-day powers denied to the Executive in other countries It uses these powers pretty freely, and without much regard to the requirements of a high level of citizenship, and the Executive are continually fond of asking the Legislative Councils to give them more and more of such arbitrary power Morever, if you give them power for one purpose, they use it for other purposes, provided you have not been sufficiently careful in framing your legislative provisions

The Calcutta Municipal Corporation honoured itself by giving Mr Sastri an address of welcome.

—

Sir Abdur Rahim Goes On—

Sir Abdur Rahim is irrepressible He is more irrepressible than any paid agent of the alien bureaucracy could possibly be He asserted that his community, the Musalmans of Bengal, would never accept Bengali as a

medium of instruction in high English schools in Bengal But his community threw him overboard Then he said that all *educated* Bengali Moslems were against the vernacular medium, insinuating that its Moslem supporters were not educated ! He thinks that his community speak only a sort of Bengali, which is not the central or standard Bengali. But even the Hindus of east and north and west Bengal speak dialects which are different from the colloquial and literary Bengali found in books And for that matter, in every country dialects prevail *E g*, in Britain, there are Dorsetshire, Yorkshire, Scottish and other dialects. Does any Britisher for that reason object to standard English being used as the vehicle of instruction in British schools ?

Sir Abdur Rahim would fain make Urdu the vernacular of Bengali Moslems But in the old Bengali literature, ransacked by Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen, Pandit Abdul Karim and others, there are hundreds of Bengali books written by Bengali Moslems In modern Bengali also there are many such good books How many, if any, Urdu books have been written by Bengali Moslems of past and present times ?

Sir Abdur Rahim thinks that Bengali is unsuited to the genius of Islam, and implies that Urdu is suited But the Quran and some other Islamic books were translated into Bengali about half a century ago by a Bengali Hindu There have been subsequent translations of them by Bengali Musalmans too All these have been appreciated by Sir Abdur's community They are a great help to them.

Urdu, like Bengali, is a Sanskritic language with only a large admixture of Arabic, Persian and other foreign words Such admixture is found in Bengali also The characters in which a language is written do not alter its 'religious' genius Persian is written in Arabic characters, but it is an Indo-European, not a Semitic tongue like Arabic. By the by, is the genius of English, which Sir Abdur would retain as the vehicle of instruction, particularly suited to Islam ? If so, is it because Englishmen are in power ?

Sir Abdur's diatribes against the Calcutta University have been fully answered. If Hindus have power and influence there, they have made heavy sacrifices and laboured for it ;—Moslems have not. Not a single College in Bengal has been founded or maintained by Moslems Only a very few recognised Schools out of about 900 owe their birth and existence to them Out of lakhs, verging [on] a crore, paid to the University as endo[w]ments and for prizes, medals, scholarshi[ps] etc, only a few thousand rupees have be[en] donated by Musalmans

Sir Abdur Rahim asserts that Musalma[ns] have always been in the forefront [of] freedom's battle Not Indian Musalma[ns] Here the fight was long carried on [by] non-Musalmans long before the Mosle[ms] arrived to claim a share in the "spoils" As regards foreign countries, certainly t[he] Turks, the Riffs, the Persians, and the Ara[bs] have been fighting freedom's battle But wh[en] and in what form did Sir Abdur and [his] satellites ever show their sympathy w[ith] these soldiers of freedom ?

As regards Moslems in general, we hope [to] be pardoned for pointing out that the glories [of] carving out large empires and of champion[ing] liberty cannot both be claimed by any ra[ce,] sect, or nation If Moslems or Christians a[re] proud of the vast empires carved out [by] the Saracens or the Anglo-Saxons, f[or] example, let them be But they cannot [at] the same time pose as champions of libe[rty.] For large empires are built up by extinguis[h]ing the liberty of many peoples a[nd] countries

—

Emigration of Unskilled Labourers to British Guiana

The adoption without discussion by t[he] Council of State of a resolution approving the emigration of unskilled labourers [to] British Guiana cannot but be condemne[d] Whatever guarantees may now be give[n] they will be treated as mere scraps of pap[er] when the white colonists want to get rid [of] these Indian labourers or their descendants A[nd] then the Imperial British Government will assum[e] a *non possumus* attitude No, Indians mu[st] emigrate as free *citizens* or not at all. Ind[ia] should cease to be represented anywhere as nursery and supplier of human cattle.

—

Reforms for the Frontier Province.

The resolution in favour of introducin[g] dyarchy in the N.-W. F. Province has be[en] carried by a majority But the Governme[nt] had made up its mind beforehand that t[he] Reforms were not to be introduced there fo[r] a long time yet to come, if ever. Still it mus[t]

have enjoyed the importing of communal considerations into the discussion—that is a plank in the divide and rule platform.

Among Government members, Sir A Muddiman, the Home Member, spoke against, and Sir Denys Bray enthusiastically for the resolution That was rather curious

Sir Sivaswami Iyer and Mr Rangachariar spoke against the resolution, but not in the least on communal grounds Not a single argument advanced by them could be refuted by the official members In fact, Sir Denys Bray was driven to employ some rather funny arguments in trying to controvert them For instance, said he —

"I am told, how can you give Reforms to this deficit Frontier ? I ask, who pays the mighty bill for the protection of the coast line of Madras ? Does the British Navy dictate to him what form the reforms in Madras should take ?"

How absurd ! Madras is a part of India and if the British Navy protects the Indian coasts, it does so mainly in British interests in order to protect Britain's principal estate in Asia called India Moreover, Britain gets £100,000 annually from India for this naval service The indirect gains are enormous, and too numerous to mention in detail They have been in fact, the foundations of Britain's greatness The next thing to be said is that the Parliament of Britain, the owner of the Navy, does claim to determine the stages and times of political advance, not only of Madras, but of the whole of India Finally, India (including Madras) is able and willing to meet all the expenses of full self-rule, including defence But the N-W F. Province is not in a position to pay all its present administrative expenses, which will increase if dyarchy be introduced Nor is there any likelihood of its becoming self-supporting in future

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Indianisation with a Vengeance

The British Parliament's *declared* policy is to provide for "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration" The sincerity and honesty of this declaration have been proved to demonstration, if such demonstration were ever needed at all, by some recent happenings. The large majority, 236 out of 292, of medical posts open to the I. M. S hitherto without any racial distinctions, are henceforth to be reserved on the civil side for Europeans That means practically shutting the gates of the I. M. S, against Indian youth as a career They must no longer aspire to the posts of Jail Superintendents, Professors of Medical Colleges, or Civil Surgeons in the big moffussil towns. But why give more details ?

The large majority of I M S men to be employed on the civil side must, it is said, be European in order to secure the attendance of European medical men on the European personnel of the all-India services and their families But Sir Henry Lawrence, now officiating Governor of Bombay, said in the Bombay Legislative Council

Living in a place where I had the choice of calling in a dozen English doctors for myself, my wife and child, for several years invariably I summoned an Indian doctor, for I had more confidence in his skill and experience than in the skill and experience of his English competitor

Like the medical service the engineering service is also to be Indianised in a peculiar manner

The Secretary of State for India in Council will in 1926 appoint nine Assistant Executive Engineers for this Service, including if possible one Burman who will be appointed to the India-recruited branch in Burma

Except for this one appointment, every candidate must be a European British subject

Sir Edward Sullivan was quite honest when he wrote in his *Letters on India*, published in 1858 —

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or, in other words, it maintains at a higher level than existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men

" . to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving in the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquility of England when all Europe was tottering, was owing not a little to the outlet, India had given to her educated men." *Letters on India*, p 29

" . For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of this country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middle class irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is

at least twice as high as that existing in any other country." *Ibid*, pp 51-52

In the December (1925) number of *The Century Magazine* the American sociologist Professor Edward Alsworth Ross wrote of Britishers employed in India that 'these men probably have twice the income they could command in England"

Such being the case, we ought not to expect honest Indianisation of the higher services so long as British ascendancy lasts Our educated men must suffer from unemployment in their own country in order that British educated men may not become desperate owing to unemployment

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The Contempt of Court Bill

The Contempt of Court Bill, which has been passed, had been unanimously opposed and condemned by the Indian Press In the course of the debate, Mr K C Roy quoted in the Council of State the following opinion of Mr Justice Lal Gopal Mukherji of the Allahabad High Court —

> I approve of the Bill except as to the nature and amount of punishment A 'contempt of court' committed out of court (and not in the presence of it) is much milder in form and substance than a 'contempt' committed in court itself, yet the maximum sentence provided by section 228 I. P C is 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs 1000 .. a heavier sentence may result in gagging the public opinion I would fix the maximum sentence at one month's simple imprisonment with a fine not exceeding Rs 500

In the Bill as passed the maximum fine has been fixed at Rs 2000

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International Labour Conference

The appointment of Lala Lajpat Rai to represent Indian labour at the eighth and ninth International Labour Conferences to be held at Geneva in May and June next is a good one in every respect The interests of Indian labour will be safe in his hands so far as his voice may prevail But the personnel of the delegation taken as a whole cannot be commended At each conference the Government of India will have two delegates and the employers of labour one; but the employees are to have only one representative. So he will always be in a minority of one to three. Even if all the four delegates were Indians, the proportion would have been undesirable. But Europeans preponderate. So, there is little chance of labour obtaining full justice at the hands of capitalism, racialism and imperialism combined.

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The Indian Philosophical Congress in Calcutta

In our note on the Calcutta session of the Indian Philosophical Congress in the last January number we commented on what we then believed to be a fact, namely, that the teachers of philosophy in the post-graduate department in arts of the Calcutta University had not contributed any papers to the Congress Two professors of the University have recently told us that a few papers had actually been contributed by their colleagues, and many others who could have done so did not contribute, because, owing to the time for reading papers and the number of pages of the report definitely assigned for the publication of papers being limited, it was thought desirable to give a chance to as many outsiders as possible We are thankful to these two gentlemen for bringing these facts to our notice and regret that we were previously misinformed

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Nepal and Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Asia

Soviet Russia is at the back of Turkey to stiffen the stand of the latter on the Mosul question, and there is no doubt about the activity of Soviet agents who are aiding the Chinese to carry on anti-British propaganda and boycott This Russian policy is bound to be followed as long as the Soviet authorities feel that the British Government is taking a leading part in bringing about "isolation of Soviet Russia."

If ever there be an actual conflict between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, Asia will be the principal battle-ground, and possibly all the important countries in Europe and Asia will be directly or indirectly involved in the struggle Of course, India will be the object of Russian attack, and India will be the principal support in that struggle For various reasons Great Britain can hardly expect any aid from Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. As the international situation stands to-day, it is quite probable that Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan may join with Soviet Russia against Great Britain, or at best they will adopt the policy of armed

neutrality, as was the case with Afghanistan during the World War. China has not forgotten the Opium War and the British expedition in Tibet, and it is highly improbable that China will fight for Britain against Russia. China's best interests will be served by adopting the policy of strict neutrality, although the Soviet Government is straining all its nerves to win China over to its side. The first Anglo-Japanese alliance was made to serve the common interests of Britain and Japan against Russia. As a result of the renewal of this alliance it was agreed that Japan would aid Britain with Japanese forces in India, in case the Indian frontier were attacked by Russia. But the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been abrogated through the British initiative after the successful conclusion of the Washington Conference. So Britain cannot expect any Japanese aid To-day in Japan there is a school of politicians who, like the late Prince Ito, believe in Russo-Japanese understanding The Soviet Government will never go to war with Great Britain without making it certain that at least Japan will remain neutral. The British Indian Government and the Imperial authorities fully realise this situation and expect that Australia will be able to send active forces to India to support the British Government, in case of any emergency, and that is the primary reason why Australian officers are being trained in India The only Asiatic State from which Britain can reasonably expect support in case of an Anglo-Russian conflict is Nepal It may be that the realisation of this fact was one of the causes of the recent Anglo-Nepalese treaty, which marks a new era in the international relations of Nepal

Nepal has been for over a century a true friend of Great Britain She has shown her sincerity in assuming the role of a friend and ally of Great Britain more than once during the most critical moments of the British Empire Happily for Nepal, the rulers at the helm of the state of Nepal fully realise that the political, economic, cultural as well as religious life of the people of the country is tied up with India; and all responsible Indian statesmen are working for the freedom of India within the British Empire To-day, as it was in the past, Anglo-Nepalese friendship is the key-stone of Nepal's foreign relations To promote closer relations between Nepal and Britain, it is desirable that Nepal, like Afghanistan, should establish a Nepalese Legation in London and adopt various other steps by which Nepalese scholars and statesmen may come in intimate and personal contact with British educators, scientists and statesmen.

Cannes, France. TARAKNATH DAS.
Feb. 3, 1926.

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Irish Free State's Attempt To Remove King's Prerogative

For about seven hundred years the British fought hard to keep Ireland in subjection and always contended that "the Irish were incapable of self-government." But as fate will have it, the Irish have not only established the Free state by a treaty with the British Government, but are working constitutionally to eliminate the British King's Prerogative The following news-item will be of great interest to all students of constitutional law.—

DUBLIN, FEB. 4.

In Dail Eireann yesterday the Land Bill, 1926, was read for the second time, without a dissentient voice The Bill is designed to prevent certain appeals to the King in Council from decisions under the Land Act of 1923.

In moving the second reading the Minister for Justice (Mr Kevin O'Higgins) declared frankly that the Free State Government was opposed to what he termed 'the fiction of the King's prerogative—one of the many fictions of which the British Constitution is composed" The treaty, he said, prevented 'this anachronism" from being deleted from the Free State constitution, but the Government was determined to make it as ineffective as possible.

The real value of this Bill is that the Free State asserts its independence in matters of justice, enthroning the Free State supreme court as the highest tribunal of justice for the Irish people None can take exception to this, if one agrees that the Free State is entitled to regulate its own internal matters, particularly its Department of Justice There is much merit in Mr Kevin O'Higgins's Bill from the standpoint of sovereignty of the Irish Free State

In this connection I may remark that some time ago Dr Gour introduced a Bill to establish a Supreme Court for India, which did not receive adequate support from the Indian Nationalists India should have a Supreme Court of her own Indian *constitutionalists* can learn much from the experience of the Irish

T. D.

—

Irish Agreement Goes To League.

Geneva, Feb. 9,—The Irish Free State's deposition with the League of Nations of the London agreement revising the Anglo-Irish Ulster boundary treaty has raised the question of whether or not agreements between component parts of the British Empire are subject to the League's jurisdiction. It is remembered that, after the original Anglo-Irish treaty was registered, London sent a note to the League, pointing out that England did not recognize the liability of such treaties or agreements for arbitration under the League. However, it is not expected that a similar announcement will be made by the foreign office, since the disputed question is purely hypothetical at present

This is another instance of Ireland's attempt to establish a position of equality with independant nations.

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An American Professor's Candid Views On the American Attitude To Asia and South America.

We reproduce the following report printed in the *New York Times* of recent date —

"Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, speaking to-day in Agassiz Hall, Cambridge, before the League of Women Voters School of Politics, opposed the admission of Japanese, Chinese and Hindu immigrants, not on the ground that they are inferior, but because their descendants would for many generations be distinguished from Caucasians, thus causing endless difficulties, such as those which had arisen in connection with the negro problem In his discussion of American Diplomacy—Treaties and Foreign Policy," he said

"The League of Nations goes on the principle that the nations are all substantially equal before the law Liberia, Siam and Paraguay are all on an equal footing in the League Only the Council, the vital part of the League, recognizes race and color differences

"I don't say the United States is right, though I think it is for the peace of the nations that we do not *allow Asiatic immigrants to plague our posterity*. As to the United States, Pan-America and the Caribbean, the truth is that the twenty-one Latin American republics, so called, are independent only in theory, for the United States practically controls Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti and San Domingo"

The American professors and politicians are filling the minds of the women voters of America with a new spirit of American imperialism and race superiority Prof Hart does not say that the American attitude is right. So it seems that it a strong nation has power to enforce its will, then it is not necessary for it to follow the path of righteousness ! Might makes Right

T. D.

—

Growing American Opposition to Filipino Independence.

Every Englishman in the Far East is opposed to America's granting any further concession to the Filipinos leading to the independence of the Philippines. They hold this view, because Filipino independence may rouse the Indians to greater activity to secure their independence But there are American Imperialists who regard the Philippines as the American outpost to extend American political and economic power in Asia They are opposed to granting independence to the Filipino people *The New York Herald Tribune* in an editorial gives the following interesting view on the question —

"It is probable that Congress has no constitutional right to grant independence to the Philippines The chances of passing a constitutional amendment alienating the sovereignty of the American people are exceedingly remote The sooner this legal situation is recognized and the problem dealt with candidly the better. Self government should unquestionably be granted to the Filipinos as fast as any group of them become competent to govern themselves *After nearly three decades of colonial rule, independence has become a more remote possibility than ever, both from the point of view of Filipino welfare and American development To continue to deceive the Filipinos by partisan talk of independence is particularly dangerous and unpatriotic kind of nonsense*

T D

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A French Martyr to Science

Paris, Feb 3, 1926

A posthumous award of the Cross of the Legion of Honour has been made to Andre Ribaud, a 26-years-old chemist, who has sacrificed his life to the cause of scientific research Ribaud is cited as a young scientist who, "engaged in delicate and important researches concering the extraction of rare gases from the air, lost his life in one of the mysterious accidents which so often occur to those engaged in research work" Ribaud, a graduate from the School of Physics, had been engaged for two years as collaborator of M Georges Claude a savant who has already made many important discoveries in the sphere of chemistry and physics

At the time of the accident he was experimenting in extraction of such rare gases as xemon and krypton from the air He was standing by a retort in which the residues from the evaporation of liquid air were being distilled, when there was an explosion so violent that both his legs were torn off, and he died three hours later. M Georges Claude has pointed out that this case ought to stimulate the support of scientific research work by providing a typical example of the enormous risks run by quiet workers in laboratories, who are seeking every day to add to the sum of human knowledge, for Ribaud knew well enough the risk he was running, though the most dangerous point

of the experiment had not been reached at the time of the accident.

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Progress Of Science in Russia

An electric bulb giving 1,000 000,000 candle power without the aid of any reflectors or glasses has been constructed in Petrograd by Professors Gekkel, Bulgakov and Mitkevich A test of the lamp in an electrotechnical experimental laboratory proves that with the help of glasses the bulb can give a light of several billion candle power

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Non-Burman Offenders' Expulsion Act

That the Non-Burman Offenders' Expulsion Act was meant especially for discriminating against Indians in Burma is quite clear For the Chinese in that province could already be dealt with under the Foreigners' Act, and Britishers and Anglo-Indians need not apprehend expulsion That Indian politicals are aimed at is also obvious because of the inclusion of sec 124A of the Indian Penal Code in the schedule of offences attached to the Burma Act The Bengal Goonda Act is no precedent for the Burma Act as the former is directed against hooligans and *budmashes* only It is a constitutional enormity that one province of the Indian Empire should be allowed to pass a law discriminating against all the other provinces The Viceroy should never have given his assent to such an unreasonable, unjust and unconstitutional Act Those Burmese who have supported it—all have not, were guilty of ingratitude, too, for Burma has long carried on her administration with India's pecuniary help That some European members of the Legislative Assembly supported the motion that H M the King-Emperor should be advised to veto the Act was an encouraging sign They know that in theory European offenders can be expelled from Burma, and it is not *impossible* for the theory to become a fact in certain circumstances Lord Reading should not have senctioned Burma's South African law

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Edmund Candler

The news of the death of Edmund Candler has been received with sorrow by journalistic and literary circles. His was a romantic figure in the literary world. Born in 1874, Candler spent a considerable part of his life tramping and roughing it, now in Tibet, now in Siam and Cambodia, now in Central Asia and now in South America or somewhere else He received nine wounds at Tuna and served as war correspondent in France and Mesopotamia He lost one hand owing to frost-bite He was the author of many books, of which the following may be mentioned -*The Unveiling of Lhasa*, *Mantle of the East*, *The Long Road to Baghdad*, *The Edge of the World*, *Year of Chivalry*, and *Youth and the East* He was a versatile man and had more than an ordinary knowledge of several literatures and of history, archaeology, etc.

A. C.

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Muslim Ladies' Conference

The conference of Muslim ladies held at Aligarh under the leadership of Atiya Begum was a sign of the times We rejoice that there are such signs of awaking consciousness among women of all religious persuasions in India.

—

All is not well with the Locarno Pacts

Fourteen members of the British Labour Party voted against the ratification of the Locarno Pacts, inspite of the fact that the Rt Hon Ramsay MacDonald made arrangements with the Conservative Government leaders to support the Pacts

The Rt Hon Col Josiah Wedgewood, M. P and Hon George Lansbury, M. P, two members of the British Labor Party Executive, were among the fourteen who voted against the Pacts These two gentlemen are not communists, neither are they dreamers So far as we understand, they took the adverse attitude towards the Locarno Pacts, because they were convinced that isolation of Russia did not promise to be a peace measure Mr MacDonald and others wanted to censure these fourteen members of the Labor Party, but in a party meeting held in the House of Commons, Col Wedgewood and Mr Lansbury "*condemned the action of Mr MacDonald in settling the policy of the party on this important subject without consulting the rank and file. After a good deal of heated discussion the motion of censure was withdrawn and disciplinary action postponed*"

We are inclined to think that all is not well

with the Locarno Pacts as measures to promote World Peace

T. D.

—

The Geneva Fiasco

Article 10 of the "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy," initialled at Locarno on 16th October, 1925, contains its kernel. It provides that the said treaty "shall enter into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited and Germany has become a member of the League of Nations." But Germany has not been able to become a member. It has been decided at Geneva that the election of Germany to the membership of the League and to a permanent seat on the League Council—the primary purpose of the whole meeting—must be postponed until the next session of the League in September The reason for this decision is that Brazil, which holds a temporary seat on the Council, insisted on vetoing the election of Germany unless she herself also received a permanent seat. Brazil's action is believed to have been due to the intrigues of some anti-German European powers

Thus the Locarno Pacts have still to come into force. Not that they presaged any universal peace They gave only a new form to the old theory of balance of power in Europe Russia was sought to be isolated and weakened

Permanent seats in the League Council for some powers and temporary seats for others savour of national superiority and inferiority The Council should be reconstituted and all seats made elective

—

"Broad Men" and Education

In his annual report as president of Columbia University, says *Scientific American*, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler sets at the apex of the world's problems the disappearance of "broad men". "The plain fact is that early and intense specialization is at the bottom of the trouble," says he

"Specialization is the parent of information and of a certain type of skill, but it is the foe of knowledge and the mortal enemy of wisdom. Not narrow men, however keen, but broad men sharpened to the point, are the ideal product of a sound system of school and college education."

An excellent statement in which we heartily concur. The broad man must not shrink when his days within academic walls are over. He must keep up with the achievements of the leaders of thought and action, not only in his own narrow segment, but in the whole sphere of human action He must know what is going on and what it is all about. Or, to carry on Dr. Butler's simile, the broad man's fine point must not be permitted to grow dull from lack of use. Constantly it must be whetted on the swiftly turning wheel of progress

—

Wanted—A State to Adopt the Indian Citizens!

Referring to Dr. Abdur Rahman, leader of the South African Indian Deputation to India *The Statesman* writes —

"We are convinced," he declared, "that the Government of India are doing everything possible to prevent the anti-Asiatic Bills passing into law The responsibility is thus shifted to the shoulders of the Home Government, and Dr Rahman calls upon it to take up the challenge of South Africa on penalty of breaking up the Empire He considers that "no person should be compelled to belong to an Empire of which one member is being persecuted by another while the rest of the members and the Imperial Government are impotently looking on" We sympathize with his indignation, but surely there is no element of compulsion in the British Empire Any citizen can leave it if he wants to, and can induce another State to adopt him

The Statesman belongs to canny Scots, we believe It is wideawake enough to know that owing to racialism and because of the Indian's intelligence, industriousness and thrift, white men will not adopt him anywhere, nor will allow him to have foothold in any sparsely populated region where they are powerful and they are powerful in all such regions of the earth So the paper must have written the above paragraph with its tongue in its cheek

However, as it has permitted any Indian citizen to transfer his allegiance to any State outside the British Empire, it is to be hoped the paper will allow his properties also to be so transferred And what is permissible for one citizen is surely permissible for a group of citizens, however large So let us all negotiate with some non-British Power to transfer India and its people to it , for *The Statesman* permits it ! Or is it its opinion that a few citizens may singly seek adoption elsewhere in a landless condition, but that if the whole group seek to do so with their country as their property, they must be declared an unlawful assembly ?

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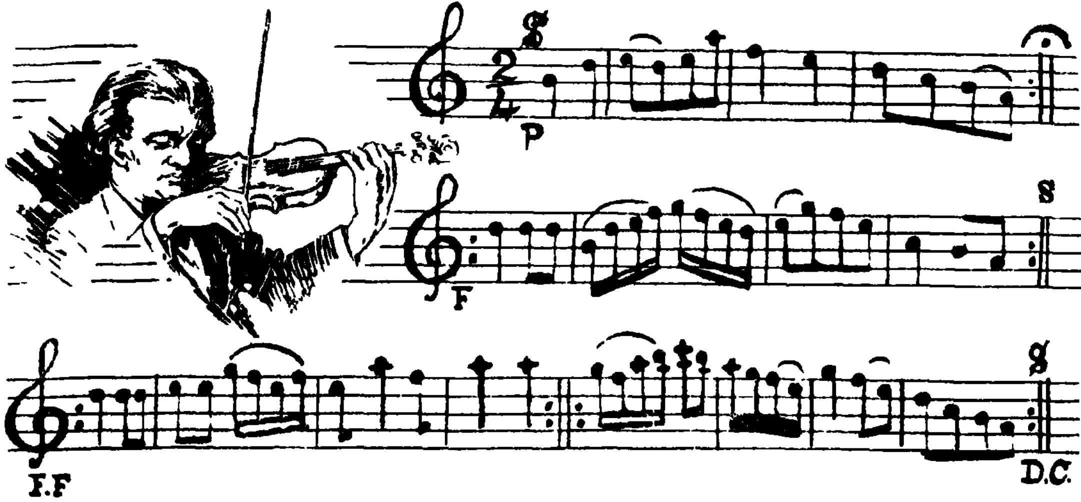
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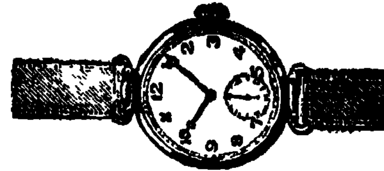
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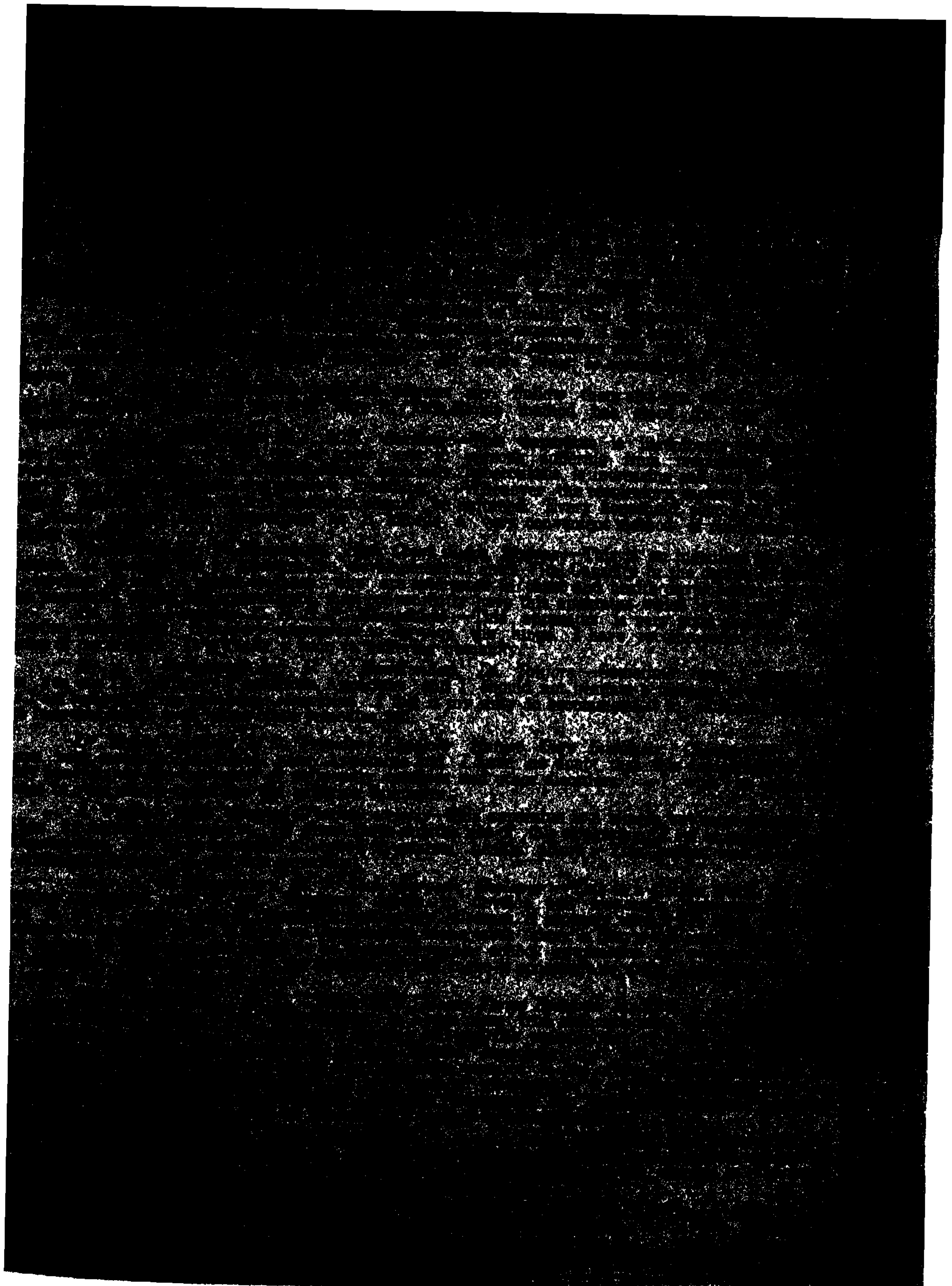
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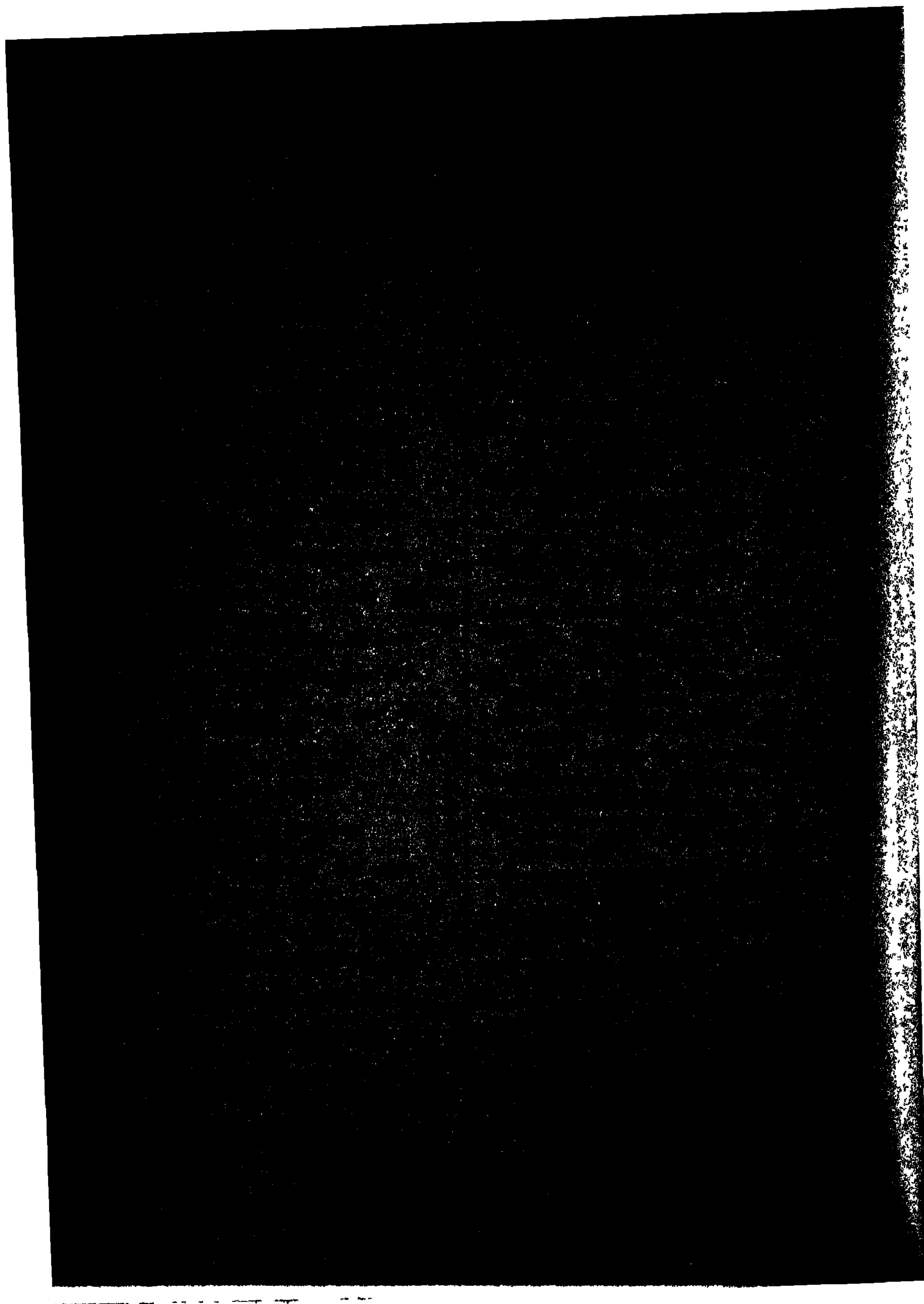
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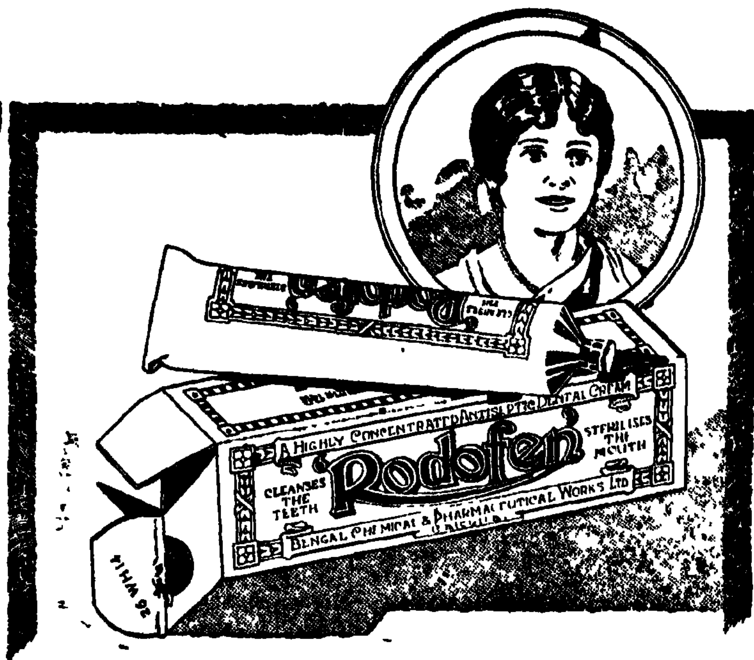




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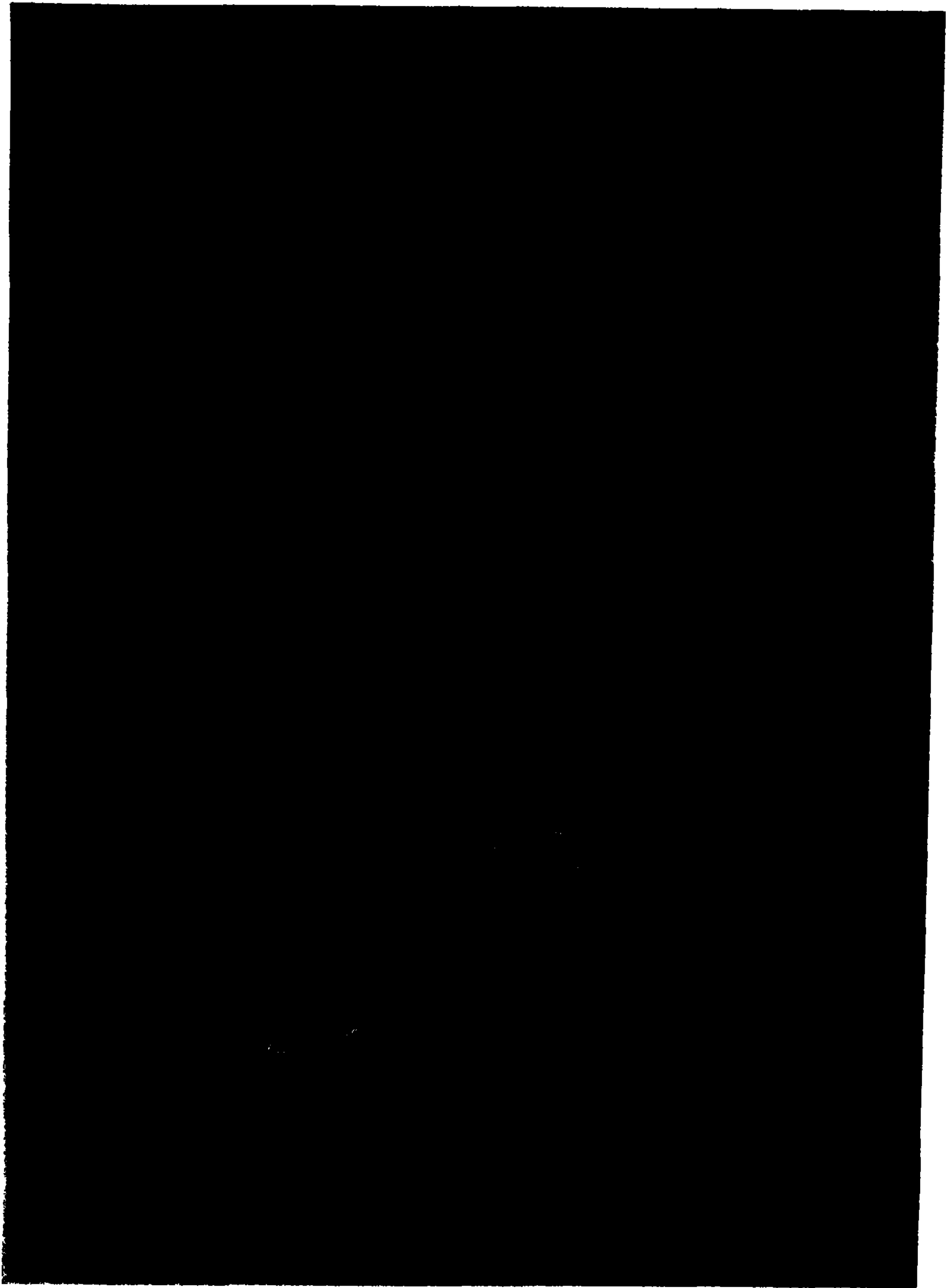
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THE MAKING OF A GREAT JOURNALIST

Life-story of Hamilton Fyfe, Editor of the Daily Herald, London

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

FOR three reasons I wish to relate the life-story of Hamilton Fyfe, Editor of the *Daily Herald*, the official organ of the British Labour Party

First and most important, Fyfe's career is full of interest for the public in general, and inspiring to the youth He pushed his way to the top of British journalism until the power he wielded over millions of his people was envied by his brother-journalists

Second, he, in middle life, learned the folly of Jingo-Imperialism—was compelled to admit to himself that only inflated race-pride had made him cherish a supreme faith in the superiority of his people over other peoples—in the British ability to manage other peoples' affairs better than they could manage them themselves Thereupon he threw himself into the struggle which the under-dogs in his own country are making to dislodge the top-dogs from their position of power

Third, Fyfe is keenly interested in the effort which we in India are making to secure control of our own affairs He has a message for us.

II

Fyfe, as his name implies, is a Scotsman His ancestors must originally have been natives of Fyfeshire His grandfather crossed the English border in search of a living more plentiful than that provided by his Motherland, which Nature has dowered more with scenic beauty than with the capacity to support mankind.

The Fyfes, in their native environment, were handicraftsmen. They wove fabrics in their crofts or little homes set in picturesque glens (valleys) or against rugged mountain sides. Barrie—another Scotsman has much to tell about these kindly, industrious, thrifty people in his *Window In Thrums*

That occupation has left its mark upon the descendants of these craftsmen—even upon the descendants who no longer pursue the original vocation

Their hands are small and delicately shaped So are their feet. And their livers are large Large livers and small hands and feet often go with people of sedentary habits—and their progeny

Hamilton Fyfe's physical frame is so well built that any observer with half an eye notices his slim, shapely, white hands, with their long, tapering fingers, and his small, well formed feet—the contrast is so great. As one grows acquainted with him one learns that his liver would get the better of him if he did not eat the simplest fare, work in the garden, and take long rambles in the country as often as opportunity permits He eats practically no breakfast and his luncheon, when he is working in his office, consists of a few nuts and raisins, and a banana or apple or pear, generally washed down with a glass of water He eats little or no meat and is practically a total abstainer. But his pipe is seldom away from his lips I sometimes wander if he has hypnotised himself into believing that but for the pipe he would find writing difficult or life tiresome

Fyfe's head, fast becoming grey and a little bald, is massive. His forehead is splendidly developed and furrowed with the lines



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THE MAKING OF A GREAT JOURNALIST

Life-story of Hamilton Fyfe, Editor of the Daily Herald, London

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

FOR three reasons I wish to relate the life-story of Hamilton Fyfe, Editor of the *Daily Herald*, the official organ of the British Labour Party

First and most important, Fyfe's career is full of interest for the public in general, and inspiring to the youth He pushed his way to the top of British journalism until the power he wielded over millions of his people was envied by his brother-journalists

Second, he, in middle life, learned the folly of Jingo-Imperialism—was compelled to admit to himself that only inflated race-pride had made him cherish a supreme faith in the superiority of his people over other peoples in the British ability to manage other peoples' affairs better than they could manage them themselves Thereupon he threw himself into the struggle which the under-dogs in his own country are making to dislodge the top-dogs from their position of power

Third, Fyfe is keenly interested in the effort which we in India are making to secure control of our own affairs He has a message for us

II

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of constant, deep thought His eyes are at times restless, mirthful, even twinkling and gay, and at other times dreamy, far-seeing, like those of a seer—of a philosopher The lower part of his face belongs to a man of action It offers a vivid contrast to his forehead and eyes, especially when he is pensive

I have had the opportunity of studying this great writer in his many moods and at various times—when he was talking with me or entertaining guests in his home, or when bare-headed and jack-booted, he was digging in the garden round about his little cottage in the country, or when he was seated in his office just off Fleet Street, or when something had gone wrong in the reporters' room or the composing room, and curses were expressed by his flashing eyes and quivering lips, if not actually uttered As I have tried to sort out the impressions thus gathered I have often pondered how exceedingly complex is his nature



Mr Hamilton Fyfe

III

Just as a duckling takes to water, so did Fyfe take to journalism His father worked on the *Times* and got Harry—as his people call him a job on that paper, when he reached the right age He found the management of the *Times* kindly and willing to give him every opportunity to learn his job. From the worldly point of view Fyfe, therefore, had a fortunate start.

When Fyfe had had enough of that paper he sought another which would give him a higher salary and greater scope for the journalistic skill which he had acquired. In course of time he made several changes of that kind Some of them were to his pecuniary advantage, others were the reverse

Life in Fleet Street, directed by shrewd common-sense and pursued with great industry and determination, put a keen edge on Fyfe's senses—made him exceedingly sensitive to his environment - gave him a fine perception of human nature—invested him with the "nose for news" His work brought him in touch with men and women of high and low degree—as high and low degree are reckoned by the multitude He attended feasts given in honour of persons who had distinguished themselves in one or another realm of life He went through mammoth industrial and commercial concerns and became acquainted with their creators and conductors He had entered into the sanctums of the mighty who frame or who administer British policy—policy which dominates half the world, At the other end of the social scale he went into slum-land and saw how the toilers dwelt in sordid conditions which sapped the body and soiled the soul The hunt for news which would satisfy the craving of nerves jangled by life led at high pressure and too much amusement took him to the police court and the divorce court, where he came face to face with human depravity and life's tragedy His alert mind, in consequence became, with passing years, a storehouse of knowledge relating to every mood and tense of every variety of humankind

During all these years Fyfe was devoting such leisure as arduous life in Fleet Street left him to improving his intellectual equipment What the sons of better circumstanced parents learn at college, he taught himself in the hours which he stole from sleep and amusement and at times at the expense of much needed physical exercise He made long, rambling excursions into literature, poetry, art, political and social sciences and economics Every side of human nature appealed to him He, therefore, read anything and everything that came his way—that he did not find to piffling or too dull And because he struggled for higher learning instead of having it administered to him by University professors and lecturers, he got a better hold of fundamentals and a far wider intellectual horizon than he would have secured otherwise

All this time Fyfe's style was forming

His eye and ear being quick and his reasoning straight, he naturally wrote concisely—crisply From the very start he was fond of making his sentences short and "snappy"—to use the Fleet Street parlance He had, however, the good sense to realise that a succession of very short sentences becomes monotonous—tiresomely staccato He, therefore, interspersed his short sentences with long ones He similarly gave unequal length to his paragraphs Some he made short, others long

The beauty and force of the style lay in the economy of words and choice of diction His work read naturally—as if no thought had been bestowed upon writing—nor any effort had been expended in the telling of the story In 500 words he could relate an incident which another person would take twice or four times as many words to describe He was like a painter who, with a few dabs of the brush, produces a complete and faithful likeness of a person whereas a more plodding artist would sketch in a wealth of detail which would be bewildering

Not only did this economy of phraseology give power to Fyfe's style, but it enabled him to do his work quickly He could set down his impressions while they were fresh in his mind, and would thus be left with strength and time to go on observing, whereas his fellow-workers, not gifted with the same conciseness of style, would exhaust themselves in doing their writing Most important of all, he could keep the reader from becoming bored—keep up his interest to the end, and then make him wish that the end had not yet come

A heart which felt for others gave to Fyfe's work a touch of sentiment Without that touch the clear, crisp, concise style might have had power—even beauty—but it would have lacked soul It certainly would not have gripped the imagination of the reader

Experience in handling themes endless in variety, led Fyfe, in course of time, to make his style objective He related facts not in the solid form in which the encyclopaedist would present them to the diligent scholar, but as a series of pen pictures, the meaning of which could be gathered in a fleeting glance Or, to change the metaphor, he cast the information which he had to convey in the shape of a story which the dullest wit could readily grasp—and enjoy

IV

A writer who can arrest the attention of the multitude—and hold that attention—has great value in the eyes of a capitalist bent upon making money—or wielding power—through owning and conducting a newspaper, or a battery of periodical publications Alfred Harmsworth, better known as Lord Northcliffe, recognised Fyfe's worth and secured his services, at a good salary, when they both were in the prime of life, and gave him free rein as so masterful a megalomaniac as was Harmsworth could give to trusted employee.



Mr Hamilton Fyfe's mother It is only necessary to look at her to realise where the Editor of the Daily Herald got his sunny, optimistic disposition.

Fyfe went about London or the provinces, or browsed through books, and wrote upon topics of the moment as they appealed to him, day by day, week by week, year by year Some of his work appeared as leaders or leaderettes Most of it, however, was published as signed articles Northcliffe knew the drawing power of his name or his magic

initials "H. F,"—too well to let his work appear anonymously

The public, which bought the Northcliffe papers by the million, could never get enough of Fyfe Every week he rose higher in the estimation of his employer who could be generous to the men whom he appreciated

Whenever any event of great importance occurred abroad whether in Canada, Egypt or Australia—Fyfe was sent over to write it up for the Northcliffe press In this way he saw a goodly portion of the Continent, the British Empire, and the United States of America Whatever country he visited he sought out men and women who were doing things, and also tried to obtain an intimate view of the common people and the life they led

Of the many tasks which Northcliffe set for Fyfe, one needs specially to be mentioned

Not long before my arrival in England in 1910 that great newspaper owner started a publication which was to be exclusively devoted to women's interests He christened it the *Daily Mirror*—an appropriate name for a paper which was to reflect the fashions of the day as well as news and views of particular interest to women of all classes It was to be produced in as *de Luxe* a style as a paper sold at a half penny could be produced

Though Northcliffe prided himself upon his ability to divine what the British public wanted, this paper failed to go As the sales went down day by day he was compelled to admit that he had made a mistake for once He did not mind so much the money he was losing as he did the fact that he was exposing himself to the jeers of his rivals.

A man of versatile genius and capable of making up his mind quickly, as soon as Northcliffe became convinced that the British women would not buy his paper and, in fact, that the British women did not need nor desire a daily paper specially produced for them—he determined to change the entire venue of the publication From a woman's publication the *Daily Mirror* was converted into a picture paper Fyfe, detailed to accomplish the change, took in hand a failure and turned it into a success

V

When the war fever caught Europe in its grip, Northcliffe sent for Fyfe and a few other journalists in whose ability he placed faith They held a consultation—a consultation a la Northcliffe, which really meant that he asked for his employees' opinions and before they had had the opportunity to state them told them what he had decided to do Fyfe would have liked to go to Serbia He knew that he could get through But Northcliffe thought that he could not Knowing his employer Fyfe did not give tongue to his convictions At about mid-day he was asked if he could catch the 2—10 train for the continent —"Oh, yes," he replied

Fyfe went instead to his cottage in the country He told a servant to pack a bag for his wife who was away in town, while he packed one for himself When the two bags were ready he set forth for the station, one in each hand Arrived in London he made for the *rendezvous* which he had arranged for with his wife when he left the house in the morning for they had planned to meet and go to a theatre in the evening When he saw her he told her that they were not going to see a play, but would, instead, take the night boat for France and that he had brought her bag packed with the necessary articles of clothing She showed no surprise, much less consternation: but as she was in evening dress and wore no hat she had to buy one In a little back street they found a milliner's shop still open. The hat was bought and carried in a paper bag until she could change into travelling clothes and wear it

The man who set out in this gay fashion for France accompanied by his wife, was the highly intelligent, exceedingly efficient, cock-sure type of Imperialist which the objective civilisation of Britain produces His people he thought were the salt of the earth—the anointed of the Lord His view of Indians was the orthodox view of the British governing classes He wrote a book ridiculing the notion that the Egyptians could manage their country without British help He went to Ireland and mistook the Ulster aspect of the Irish difficulty for the aspect that most mattered, and dismissed the question of Home Rule as absurd He went to Mexico and was deceived into deploring the American decision not to step in and take charge

Fyfe at that time believed in the unavoidability of war Norman Angell, who also was one of Northcliffe's principal employees, held the opposite view Fyfe debated with him at a dinner of the Whitefriars Club Britain and Germany, he declared, were like two men in a small room who grew bigger and bigger until there was

enough space for both. They might not ... to struggle, but as they swelled and ...ssed one against the other, they would ... to push to save themselves from being ...ed They might push gently, good-...uredly, at first, but as each still grew ...size they would shove more energetically ... soon would be striking at one another ... could not help themselves

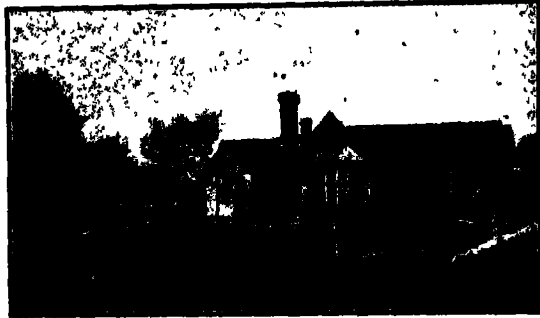
Such was Fyfe's mentality at the begin-...ng of the second decade of the present ...tury He was, in fact, one of those ...ghly patriotic Britons who know their job ...ll and, have a fine sense of duty but ...ose intellectual horizon is limited by the ... created by tradition and prejudice, and ...o, in consequence cannot see realities which ... beyond that fog

VI

Fortunately for Fyfe, the war came along 1914, and so much ammunition was blown ...out that the fog was dispersed He went, ... the service of his newspaper, from one ...nt to another came in contact with many ... the principal actors in the war drama—...bbed elbows with the masses of people in ...ance, Belgium, Italy, Serbia and Russia, ...o, at the behest of "Statesmen" and generals, ...re blindly throwing themselves in front of ... cannon The more he saw the more he ...minated—the greater was his disillusionment

The news which the Allies sent out offi-...ally Fyfe discovered to his disgust, were ...oped' The French he found, went far ...yond *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* ...ey actually invented news He did not ...d his own people immaculate in this respect ...ey sometimes suppressed vital facts or ...ggested falsehood, but did not actually ...vent stories

Fyfe tells, for instance, in his book "The ...aking of an Optimist," that when Fort ...uaumont, one of the principal of the ...rdun Forts, was announced to have ...llen, the French *communique* said that it ...d resisted "several fruitless attacks, which ...st the enemy very heavy loss' The truth ...s that at Headquarters they had no news ... the affair except the bare fact that the ...t had fallen There had really been no ...hting at all Here is an instance of how ... British cooked their news An official ...tement appeared in the newspapers early 1917 that a hostile raiding party had ...cceeded in entering the British trenches south-east of Loos Heavy fighting had ensued, and the enemy had been speedily driven out, leaving a number of dead in the British trenches Some of the British soldiers were missing The truth was according to Fyfe, that 51 British soldiers had been taken prisoners Most of them had been in deep dug-outs in the support line, to which the enemy penetrated with ease The battalion commander had been removed for negligence not a word was said about the cashiering of that officer



Mr Hamilton Fyfe's cottage near Sevenoaks, Kent

VII

Admission behind the scenes of the war drama destroyed Fyfe's faith in the leadership of great generals Few victories, he learned, were gained by reason of foresight, of planning in advance by general or by staff Several allied generals got credit for planning successful coups which really came about through sheer accident

Fyfe relates that General Currie, the corps commander of the Canadians, admitted that Foch did not think of keeping up pressure on the German lines in the last great push in 1918 until the British victory on the 8th of August showed him what an opportunity lay within his reach Then he kept on hammering and displayed energy which was of the highest value, "but no great quality of intellect was required," which was fortunate, since Foch was not an intellectual man any more than "Papa" Joffre who, by snatching a lucky chance, won the Marne battle

Clemenceau, declares Fyfe, "could not help despising Foch," but realised that his energy, his confidence in himself and the troops, were just what the situation required When

"Foch turned up by chance—at the Doullens Conference, at the time when it seemed likely that Amiens might at any moment be captured again, he was recognised as the man of the hour, and by great good luck given the supreme command."

The difference in the treatment which was accorded to the officers and to the men disgusted Fyfe. He was particularly impressed when he was serving as war correspondent on the Italian front. He saw the officers sitting down in comfortable surrounding to a wonderful dinner of several courses, each of the most appetising, with good wine and excellent coffee, while the men were given "hunks of bread, small tin drinking-cups of thin red wine and larger tins of stew ladled out of a cauldron," which they "ate standing about or squatting in corners exactly like animals being fed." He could not bring himself to feel that it was right that a few men should fare sumptuously, while the many had to bolt their coarse rations like dogs or wild animals. It could not be said that all men were used to that sort of living, for many of them were conscribed soldiers who had been brought up in comfortable homes.

VIII

If Fyfe was disgusted with what he saw at the front, he was still more disillusioned with the men who had in their power the making and ending of war. Investigation showed him that the highest among his own people were not straight in their dealings with their public that they either did not know their job and were muddle-headed blunderers, or were incapable of making up their minds until circumstances hemmed them in and sealed up every avenue of action but one.

Grey, the Foreign Secretary, for instance, he declares, could have prevented the war had he only possessed the wisdom and the decision of character to take his stand against it. France's President had, in fact, told the British ambassador at Paris during the hours when peace hung in the balance that if Germany knew that Britain would support France it would not go to war over the Austrian affair, and begged Britain to speak out and thereby prevent the conflagration. Grey, supported by Asquith, his chief, however, chose the primrose path of *laissez faire*.

Grey, in Fyfe's opinion, was "a muddle-headed, ill-instructed, well-meaning English gentleman, unfit for his position and quite unable to break through the poisonous net of intrigue and diplomatic custom in which European foreign relations were enmeshed." He was "as deeply disgraced by his acquiescence in the breaking of the Pact of Algeciras as Bethmann-Hollweg was by the defence he set up for the German invasion of Belgium." His "deception of the House of Commons and the nation" was as disgraceful as if he had cheated at cards or deceived an acquaintance over a trifle. He justified "his shameful 'scrap of paper' treatment of the guarantee of Albanian independence" on the plea of war necessity. In fact, "he was, because he could not think clearly, one of the chief architects of the war."

Fyfe has no higher opinion of Asquith. "Wait and See" was a "perfectly accurate description of the method preferred by a politician whose indecision brought disaster upon his country and upon the world." He was a lawyer-politician, capable, clear-headed but with the marrow of his brains weakened by the long years of forced study over briefs. Without "a spark of statesmanship Mr. Asquith was unable to shape events by any policy of his own. He had to let his policy, the policy of Britain, be shaped by events. He drifted." And because "he drifted, Armageddon raged."

All through the war Fyfe found that the politicians, Allied and otherwise, helped to concoct and to disseminate lying tales of barbarity perpetrated by the enemy. So long as the Czar and his bureaucrats were in control of Russia, Asquith, Grey and their successors in office, he found, had a pathetic belief in Russia's invincibility. As soon however as men who were determined to break down the capitalists monopoly came into power there, Churchill, then at the head of the Admiralty, began secretly to aid the Russian rebels. If the "Council of action" which threatened to usurp the authority of Parliament had not come into being, he declares, Churchill and his colleagues would have gone on using British men and British money to suppress Lenin and Trotsky. That Council, having accomplished its purpose, disappeared, but it showed the direction in which the British mind was running. Parliament, by becoming a pliant tool in the hands of the Executive, had forfeited the confidence which the people reposed in it. The setting up of an emergency body de-



The Garden where Mr Fyfe takes recreation

...strated that a considerable ...tion of the people looked ... Parliament as being ... unrepresentative and ...t, and were ready to ...ploy alternative organs to ...ve their purpose

Fyfe had much time to ...der these and other mat... while "lying under the ...s with incessant furious ...bbing of artillery in his ...s, or in deep dug-outs, ...eful amid resonant snor... riding now over bat...fields and through villages ...serted and destroyed, ...ngling now with crowds ...tful for an instant ...et good news generally ...ntradicted the next morning, or hushed ...d panic-stricken by tidings of disaster" ...e inaptitude, follies and crookedness of ...e principal actors in the war-drama whether ...ose actors belonged to his own nation ...d the nations standing shoulder to shoulder ...ith it, or to the Powers arrayed against ...em, sickened him After serving as a ...r correspondent on five fronts, and seeing ...he misery and desolation of war, its blas...g effect upon character, its stupidity ...d its appalling ill-management," he learned ...hat rulers, whether claiming divine appoint...ent or holding office only so long as ...ey could persuade nations to vote them to power, were seldom superior in ...aracter or intelligence to the general run of ...eir fellows" He realised "the pitiful ...d ruinous consequences of leaving to ...ch men decisions which meant life or ...ath, contentment or wretchedness, to ...umberless millions of men and women"

IX

During the latter stages of the war Fyfe ...nducted the factory which his chief—Lord ...orthcliffe—had established with Government ...oney and in behalf of the Government, to ...nufacture leaflets and newspapers to be ...opped from aeroplanes or smuggled through ...utral countries into Germany, with a view ... disgusting the Germans with their rulers ... his flat in Maida Vale he still has a few ...pies of the papers which he and his ...sistants faked, as also the German productions ...hich served as their prototypes When one compares the genuine German article with that concocted in the Northcliffe factory, one cannot help admiring the British ability to fabricate

These papers must now be of very melancholy interest to Fyfe, for, as the sequel showed, he and his colleagues were made to offer false inducements to the Germans to influence them to dethrone their leaders and end the war Fyfe attributes the blame to the coalition Government "Lloyd George himself," he says, had suggested to the German people that if they got rid of their antiquated personal-rule monarchy, they would be treated with on lenient, even friendly terms," and "he and the other members of the British War-Cabinet sanctioned this as a basis for British propaganda in Germany and among the German armies"

Just after the Armistice Lord Northcliffe published an article 'proposing terms of peace which would have been just and humane, and would have kept well within President Wilson's conditions" This article Fyfe considers was the crown of their "efforts to secure a settlement calculated to repair as quickly as possible the devastation of four years' barbarism" But the propagandists had to reckon with Llyod George According to Fyfe

"As soon as Lloyd George found the pledges he had given inconvenient, he broke through them 'Now they (the Germans) are down,' he said gleefully, 'we can do as we like' He kept up the newspaper fury against the defeated peoples he assented to the infliction upon them of indignity, even outrage"

The events which followed the signing of

the Armistice, in fact, shocked Fyfe even more than the ghastly tragedies enacted during the War Lloyd George and his colleagues pandered to the basest passions by their election cries of "Hang the Kaiser," and "Make the Germans pay" When Woodrow Wilson came to Europe for the purpose of taking a personal part in the framing of the conditions of peace, the politicians and diplomatists set to work to "dope" him By degrees they got him under such perfect control that he claimed as his own production a document which, to any unprejudiced person appeared to be a travesty of the "14 points" upon which the Germans had given up the struggle

The planting of allied troops in the valley of the Rhine and the occupation by Britain of more than a million square miles of territory in Asia and Africa upon the pretext of "Mandates," and of smaller but potentially rich areas by the other Allies upon a similar pretext, followed the imposition of that infamous Treaty

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Such wrongs perpetrated with barefaced cynicism without parallel in the world's annals by persons who all the time prated about humanity civilisation and culture completed the process of education which Fyfe began to undergo with the outbreak of the hostilities The British patriot who had unbounded faith in the ability of the British rulers to manage any people's affairs better than they could manage them themselves, knew them to be muddlers and bunglers at home and abroad European civilisation, which he therefore, had extolled to the skies, appeared to him to be mean and shallow It "secured for the few the utmost material comfort and mechanical convenience, while it left the mass to struggle for scarcely more than a bare subsitence, with destitution never far away

How could this post-war Fyfe fit back into the scheme of producing newspapers for the personal gain of his employer? He tried to do it but failed The stimulus which had animated the pre-war Fyfe had disappeared He gave up writing special articles and leaders designed to extol this or that characteristic of British culture or hold up to scorn the inefficiency of some other race, and took to writing book reviews He grew sick of even writing critiques, for he felt hampered in giving expression to the real critici which he felt he ought to make.

The very ground upon which the pre-w Fyfe had stood had slipped from under feet and left him standing on the edge o precipice looking down into a deep, da cavern dominated by greed and lust I therefore, had to acquire an entirely ne basis upon which to lay the foundation of l future life

In lieu of a religion weighted down wi dogma and ritual—a religion which was ke for purposes of show just as much as t "Sunday-go-to-meeting" clothes—Fyfe adopt a simple, primitive faith—the faith the Christ—"a living, compelling force, bond uniting all who are influenced by t sense of brotherhood, all who know that makes for their own greater happiness, well as for the greater happiness of others, be helpful, generous, open-hearted, instea of regarding mankind either with suspici and grudging justice or as sheep to fleeced" This way of life was "independe of creeds and churches, of presbyter ar priest" It did not stand in need of "offici hierarchical interpretations and cer monies," but drew "its comfort and inspi ation from the words and life of Christ Christ as 'a man striving with all his migl to understand and help his fellow-men"

As a corollary to these convictions, Fy determined to give up his expensive way of life adorning his person with tall ha frock or morning coat or evening dress—ea ing meals consisting of many courses of th choicest viands and wines served in expensiv restaurants In future he decided that h would make his way of living "simple a frugal, avoiding every kind of ostentatio luxury, or excess"

Of the existing political parties the Labo Party came nearest to his new politic ideals. He did not find it to be perfect b it consisted almost entirely of common peopl and aimed at promoting the welfare of th mass of the people, and at the abolition o monopolies of every kind. He joined i because he felt that "among the few it would b hard not to become puffed-up and sel indulgent, while with the mass of peopl leading more natural, friendly lives, h "could be more in sympathy with th noblest and gentlest characters of all age who have appeared, almost all, in what ar disdainfully called the lower ranks mankind"

VI

Fyfe's employer and his friends thought that the war had upset his nerves—that he had gone "daft." The more indulgent among them hoped that in course of time that *malaise* would pass. They had not the eyes to see that his attitude towards life had so completely altered that he could never be the same again.

Fyfe's affiliation with the Labour Party proved to be the "Great Divide" in his life. Many of his friends gave him up for lost. Regarding themselves as realists, they relegated him to the category of "visionaries" and "cranks."

There must have been many persons in the Labour Party who doubted the genuineness of Fyfe's conversion to their political faith. He nevertheless proved a great accession of strength to their party. His experience as a writer—his extensive knowledge of various phases of the political and economic systems of Britain and other countries—his deep insight into human nature—would have been of inestimable use to a political group which was far richer in men of such a type than was British Labour. No wonder that little time was lost in installing him in the editorial chair of the *Daily Herald*, which Labour owed to the pluck and perseverence of George Lansbury.

Only those persons who knew the *Daily Herald* in the pre-Fyfe days and know it now can appreciate the great changes that he has effected in its appearance, in the presentation of news, and in the scope and character of the leaders, leaderettes and special articles. These improvements have already more than doubled the circulation and it is steadily rising. The increase in the influence of the paper as it is now conducted is incalculable.

Fyfe has shown great courage in the conduct of the editorial policy of the *Daily Herald*. He has refused to pander to the passions of that section of the Labour Party which will not be satisfied unless a propagandist shrieks at the top of his voice all the time—cries out for the heads of their opponents. He has had the courage to expose the vainglory of even some of his new masters. When the Labour Party came into office and the Labour Prime Minister and his colleagues took to aping the dress of the nobility on ceremonial occasions, he did not hesitate to chaff them. He has gone further, and found fault with British royalty for ranging itself on the side of the rich and fashionable classes which batten on the toil of the masses, and for its devotion to horse-racing and the killing of harmless animals for sport.

Such criticism, as may be imagined has given umbrage to many men high up in Labour politics. Some of them have given expression to their annoyance. Fyfe has, however, gone his way unconcerned. When a man decides to give up the flesh-pots of Egypt he is not afraid to quarrel with his bread and butter especially if he feels that by so doing he can serve mankind.

The classes in control of British affairs of state believe themselves to be securely entrenched in power, and affect to scorn Fyfe's criticism. I know, however, that such condemnation does not go unread by those classes.

Something like a million readers, in any case, look upon Fyfe's paper almost as gospel, and are powerfully moved by what he publishes in it. The minds of that million are becoming permeated with his ideals—his political and social philosophy. He is wielding tremendous power—rendering a great service to humanity.

Every time I go to Fyfe's office I wonder how, circumstanced as he is, he can manage to produce so good a paper as he does. He works under enormous handicaps. A few of his assistants are both efficient and devoted to him for he does not have the large, experienced, well-paid staff which he had in the old days, when Northcliffe's millions were behind him. Nor can he pay the prices for contributions which he then was able to offer. He cannot afford to give all his time to the shaping and administration of the editorial policy—to interviewing men and women of distinction—to keeping abreast of current literature in his own and other countries but must needs write much in order to supply the material otherwise beyond the financial reach of the paper.

The firms which annually spend tremendous sums of money to advertise their wares in organs produced for profit, will not use the *Herald*, because it is frankly out to destroy the capitalist system. Despite Fyfe's economies and self-sacrifice, the paper could not live unless the Trades Unions and the Labour Party subsidised it. Few of the men who dominate those organs have any first-hand, intimate acquaintance with the business of newspaper production such as North-

cliffe had. Working under them, I should imagine, cannot be all "beer and skittles."

Yet Fyfe goes on day after day without complaining—even cheerfully content in the thought that he is helping to educate his fellow men to lead a more useful, happier, nobler life. The chains with which his people are bound, he knows, are largely of their own forging, and would snap were they merely to exert themselves. They, however, do not know their own power. Fyfe and his helpers keep on telling them that whenever they will to be free they can be free. A time will come when the common people in Britain will realise their power, and cease to be the under-dog.

Being an optimist, Fyfe expects that the common people of Britain will give Indians their freedom. I have my doubts about that but even if I were inclined to cherish that hope, I do not see any likelihood of the bottom dog becoming the top dog in Britain to-morrow or the day after. So phlegmatic are the British people that so long as the Tories do not abandon their age-long policy of trimming their sails according to the prevailing wind, they will remain in power. And by Tories I mean Tories of all parties—and not merely die-hard Conservatives—that is to say, men and women of British blood who are bent upon preserving the Established Order, (which merely means their own possessions—their own power) as long as possible.

If Fyfe sometimes becomes provoked at the pathetic contentment of his own people with the degrading conditions in which so many of them live and work, what must he think of our people, who permit themselves to be characterised as incompetent blunderers? I remember asking him, on one occasion, to print a short statement about an incident which had occurred in India which showed the British in such a bad light as to lead to the suppression of the news by British correspondents stationed in Indian cities.

"What publicity has that incident had in India?" He asked me "what protests have your people made against it? What action are the Indians in London and the provinces going to take about it?"

In bare truth I had to admit that little notice had been taken of it in India, and nothing had been done or was contemplated by Indians in Britain.

"How is one to help a people who will not help themselves?" was his rejoinder.

If I comprehend Fyfe's philosophy at all his message to India, I should say, would be:

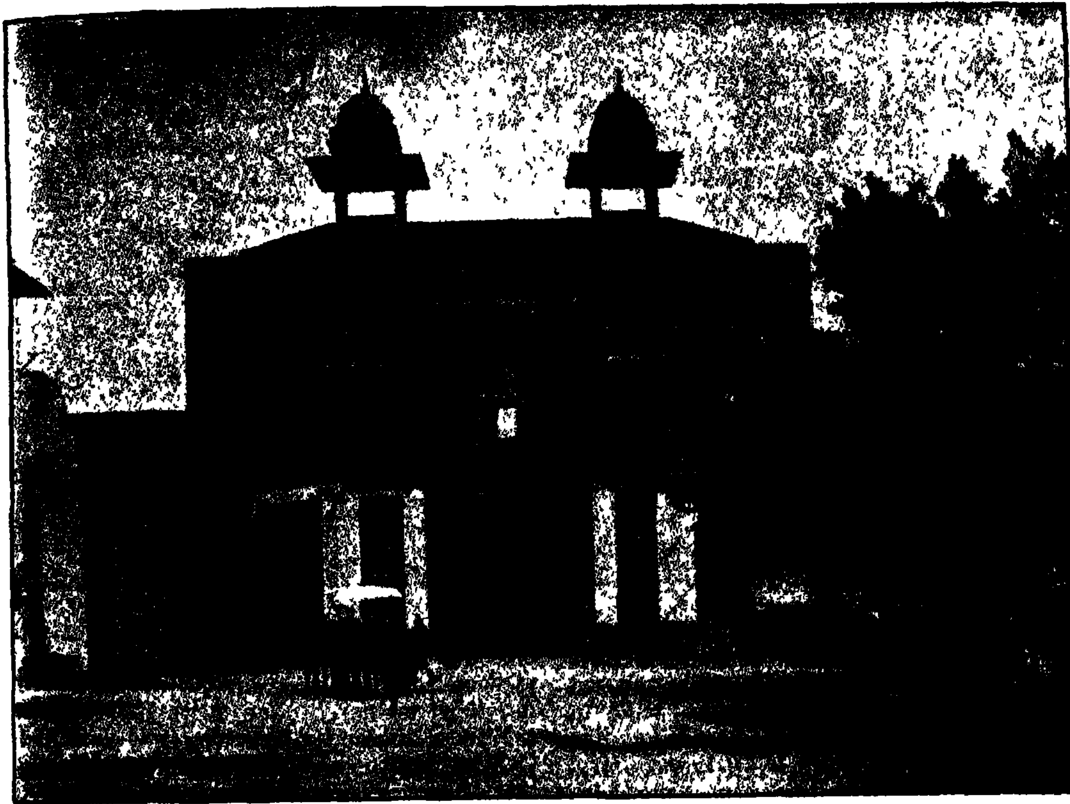
"Cease thinking that someone else can win your freedom for you. People who depend upon others even for the winning of their freedom are really not worthy of freedom, and will remain as indeed they deserve to remain—serfs.

MUSEUMS IN INDIA

Valuable Educational Institutions

By REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER, F.R.G.S.

THE educational value of museums is being increasingly realised in India, and public authorities are giving more attention to them than ever before. It is true there is still room for considerable development, but museum collections are not made in a day, even if the buildings were ready. Much steady and patient work requires to be done. It is necessary for men who are interested in these things to use their energies in getting together, wherever possible, collections of value. The object of this short article is to briefly describe a few of the museums to be found in this country. The ones in Calcutta, Bombay etc. are not referred to, but a typical selection is given of the smaller museums, several of which show evidences of the greatest care and skill in organation. There is a tendency in this country to make a great spurt at the beginning and then to allow the collections to remain without any serious effort to increase them. Doubtless,



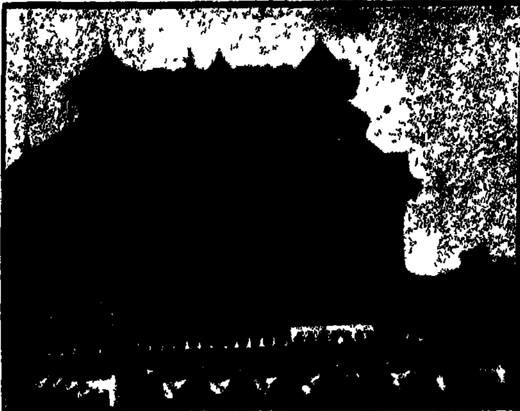
Victoria Museum in Jaipur

if the plan of adding a new section for war exhibits is followed, a new interest will be aroused in these institutions

In the centre of what is probably the finest public garden in India, laid out by the orders of the Maharaja of Jaipur, stands the Albert Hall, in which is housed a beautiful museum. The building is a sumptuous modern structure of which the Prince of Wales laid the first stone in 1876, the whole is most imposing. Here the Maharaja has collected a most complete set of objects dealing with modern works, of art and industry, and also of antiquities from every part of India. Mr. Forrest says that it is one of the finest collections in India. He writes :

"As we strolled through it," "we came upon an interesting group. There are four Rajputs from the wilds, with their women, whose faces were veiled, listening with rapt attention to a guide who was dilating on the imitations of the frescoes in the Ajanta caves."

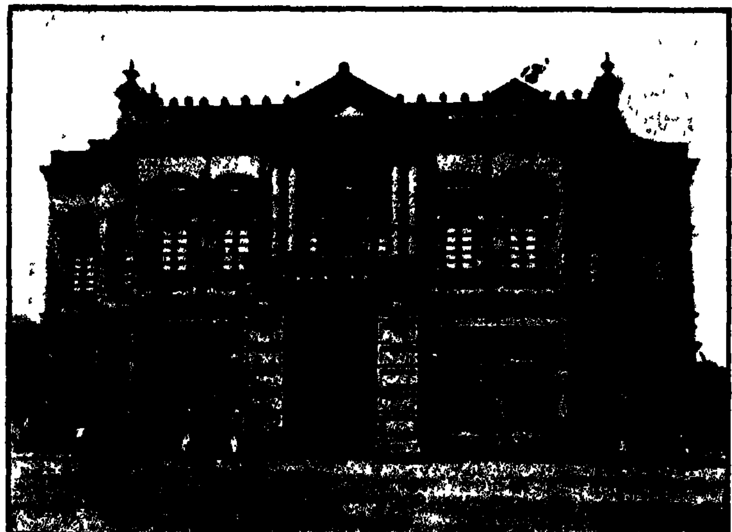
The silks and carpets and porcelain and clay vessels, are well worth a close study and it is instructive to go from the museum to the School of Art and compare the work *being done now with the work of the past.* The work executed there is of a high quality and great interest, but something has gone from the beauty, an indescribable something, the soul of the artist. In the museum there is a fine collection of arms of every kind, suits of chain mail, wonderful engraved blades of every description. There are specimens of every kind of brass work for which the town is famous, also many excellent specimens of jewellery work The building itself is an imposing structure, built in a distinctly Indian style of architecture, and is quite the most imposing edifice in the town The gardens in which it is situated are 70 acres in extent and were laid out by Dr. de Fabreck at a cost of about Rs 400,000 These gardens cost the Maharaja Rs. 30,000 a year to keep in order.



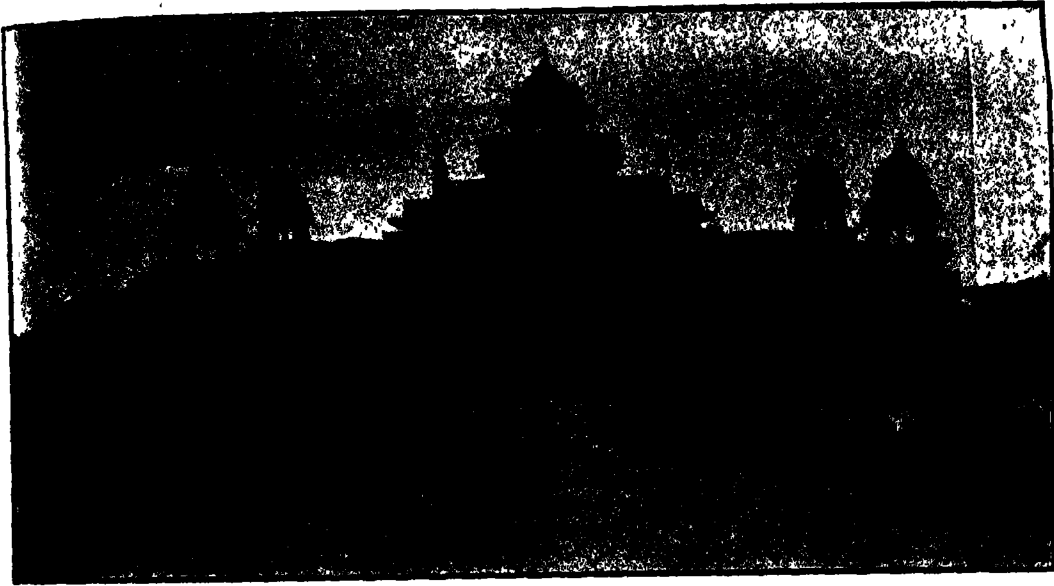
Victoria Museum in Trivendram

Another museum belonging to one of the Rajputna States may be referred to, but there is no comparison between this and the imposing structure at Jaipur Nor does it compare in its value as an educational asset of the State The Victoria Institute situated in the capitale city of Udaipur, was built in memory of the Great White Queen, but like so many similar institutions in this country, very little appears to have been done since it was opened to make the collection of articles representative In view of the fact that the Jaipur authorities have been so successful in their collection, there appears to be no reason why Udaipur, a country with a wonderful history of romance, courage and endurance should not have an equally fine collection The famous fortress of Chitorgarh itself should provide sufficient materials to give new life to the museum Doubtless, the authorities will seek to enlarge the accommodation in order to provide a home for the war trophies which her soldiers brought back from the great war in which they have taken an honourable share The building, which is white like all the structures in this fairy-land city, is built in the Moslem style. It also includes a library of moderate dimensions with a statue of Queen Victoria which cannot be described as a work of art. There are modelled heads in coloured plaster ranged in cases numbered and ticked, of all the Hindu castes, each with its proper caste mark upon the forehead. There is a miscellaneous collection of other things, native arts, industries and antiquities being represented, though not to any great extent. It does seem a pity that the authorities having a suitable building, should not make better use of it, especially in view of the fact that many valuable treasures that can never be replaced are being lost

In the Native States of South India we find that great interest is taken in the collections made by the orders of the ruling princes The beautiful building erected by the ruler of Travancore for the housing of his collection, is one of the most imposing in the State. It stands in the capital city, Trivendram, in the midst of an extensive garden which is well kept In the season the surroundings are ideal, for the whole garden is one mass of bloom That the museum and gardens are appreciated is evident from the large number of people who use them regularly The work of collecting the materials for the museum was begun by General Cullen, who lived as Resident in the State for several years In 1852 he began to collect specimens of the many kinds of rocks to be found in the neighbourhood, and this work was continued by several later enthusiasts The object of the museum is limited, being the formation of as complete as



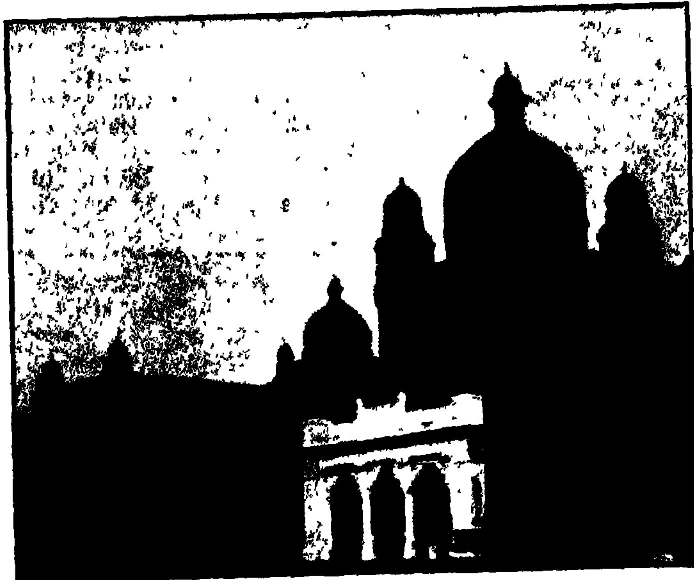
Victoria Museum in Bangalore



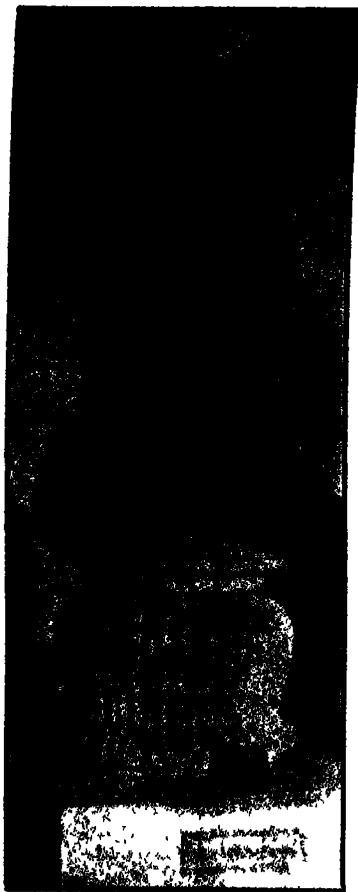
Victoria Museum in Ajmeer

possible a collection of the articles which exhibit the manners, arts, and crafts, fauna and flora of Travancore, and the authorities are to be congratulated on their success. One of the most striking exhibits is that of a beautifully made model of a Tarwad, a typical native house of Travancore. In the compound are typical figures of the inhabitants. There are also some interesting models of the various races that inhabit Travancore, including the hill tribes which are still uncivilised. There is also a collection of ancient implements of torture which were used by these tribes years ago. The work of the State—silver work, ivory and sandal-wood—is represented by some excellent specimens. Several cases are devoted to a collection of the fishes found in the sea and back-waters. No attempt has been made to introduce objects from other parts of the world, but the collections serve to give a knowledge of the life of the Travancore State. The building in which the collection is housed retain some of the characteristics of native architecture on the Malabar Coast.

The Maharaja of Mysore has established a museum in Bangalore, the most important



Victoria Museum in Lahore

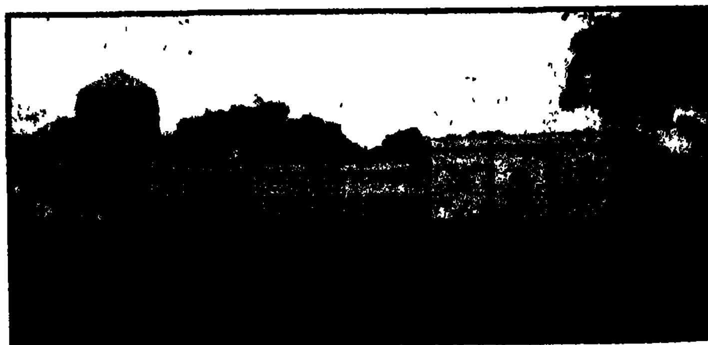


A Specimen of an old Pillar at Sarnath

town in his State The building which is of red sandstone, is not without architectural merit and stands in Cubbon Park, now most tastefully laid out in flower beds etc, The museum attracts a great number of people, especially the villagers who are always to be seen looking with interest at the objects collected here The meaning of many they may not understand, but they are interested in those things which touch their own lives. In the vestibule of the museum is a slab with twelve Persian districts, brought from Tipu's palace in the fort ; a figure of a Jain deity with a very superb carving round it, brought from a Jain temple, also some wonderful carvings from Halenid. In the large room adjoining is a valuable collection of stuffed animals, butterflies, and native ornaments and dresses, with a remarkable exhibition of fishes. The geological specimens are also of great value. This State is so rich in material that an enlarged structure will be necessary to house anything like a representative collection of the State resources Several of the small towns of the State are trying to establish small museums which will be of service to the people in connection with their industries.

Reference may be made to two museums in British India which are typical of others being erected in various places. The handsome building in Lucknow has been made the home of a most interesting collection of sculptures from Muttra and other places where large excavations of ancient buildings and sites have been carried out by Dr Marshall and others. Especially interesting are the Buddhist images which have been taken from the sites of the ancient temples in Muttra The building which is in true oriental style, is visited by considerable numbers of people of all classes The exhibits are carefully labelled and described so that the visitor has no difficulty in learning all about them

The new museum at Sarnath has taken the place of the old structure in which were housed many articles of interest taken from the ruins of the Buddhist topes here It is a long, low building of stone, in the vicinity of the ruins, and has a collection second to none in archaeological interest Innumerable images of Buddha in every position have been brought to light in the course of the excavations, and these have been arranged very carefully by the authorities Perhaps the most striking object is the capital of one of the Asoka pillars with its lions'



New Museum at Sarnath



The Armoury at Lahore

needs The work of these old carvers has scarcely been excelled, and the whole is as fresh to-day as if it had been recently done

The provision previously made for the care on these valuable objects was inadequate, but the new museum will preserve for many generations the objects which speak of a distant but great art.

The value of museums as an educational asset will be increasingly realised in this country, and time and money devoted to making these collections even more complete than at present will not be wasted.

In view of the very extensive excavations that are now being made in the Punjab and Sind, the need for well arranged museums will become of even greater importance. In Taxila, Sir John Marshall has erected a small museum which will be a worthy building for the valuable finds he has made in that area. In connection with the other fields of archaeological research it will be necessary, as funds are available to provide suitable accommodation In Lahore there is a very fine museum containing some of the most interesting examples of ancient sculpture, together with a splendid collection of ancient coins etc. Reference should be made to another type of museum which is of unending interest, museums in which are to be found a collection of the various types of arms etc used in India in different periods Those in Lahore and Alwar are well worth a visit. Of a more general type mention may also be made of the museum in Srinagar where the Maharajah has collected together a fine number of archaeological remains, typical of the various kinds of structures that existed there in ages past In addition there is also a very full display of the products of the country. As educational aids it is difficult to exaggerate the value of those museums found in various parts of India.

CONSTANTINOPLE

Seen through French Spectacles

By Dr M AHMED, M A, LL.M, Ph. D, Barrister-at-Law

THE transfer of a capital is always an important event, specially when it concerns, an imperial city like Constantinople accustomed for the last sixteen centuries to rule over great empires Since 1923 Constantinople is no longer the capital of the present Turkish empire It has become a provincial town, governed by orders received from Angora The object of this article is to show how Constantinople has reconciled itself to this transfer of sovereignty But let us first consider why such a mighty and beautiful capital, which has for nearly 500 years been the seat of the Turkish Government, has been subjected to such a disgrace Is it a passing whim or the effect of momentary anger ? Has it been subjected to temporary penance with the hope and assurance of ultimate pardon ? Do not let us be deceived The present rulers of Turkey have cool heads and far-seeing eyes Their will has matured during long years of trial and their resolves have been deliberately taken during the long evenings spent by them in the trenches of Chanak and Zakaria during the great war Constantinople has been condemned by men, who are resolved to turn their backs on Europe and their faces towards Asia The present Turkish empire is not only Asiatic by the situation of its territory, which does not comprise more than the small conclave of oriental Thrace in Europe She has also Asiatic sentiments and Asiatic aspirations She is Asiatic in its sympathies and antipathies as well as in its political projects

There can be no doubt about Turkish sentiments There is no love lost between Modern Turkey and Europe, from which Turkey has experienced so many evils She distrusts her ancient enemies as well as friends, including the Americans. She does not spare them even small inconveniences and worries, as if to avenge itself for the old capitulations She has a horror of the Greeks and Armenians who have been the proteges of Europe Constantinople has always been a Cosmopolitan city It, therefore, has its disadvantages

There is another reason. The Modern rulers recall with horror, the, debauches follies and extravagances committed by their predecessors in Constantinople They squandered millions borrowed from Europe, which Europe has later on realised with compound interest. Now that Turkey has been impoverished, it must devote itself to the work of regeneration, it must eliminate all occasions for luxury and prodigality, so seductively offered by the nonchalant Capital of the ancient Sultans A fig for Constantinople, they say for the city full of non-Muslims and the centre of seduction and perdition

The political objects are no less plain Disowned by Europe, at whose eastern extremity it hangs on clinging, as it were, by the skin of its teeth, Turkey is determined to concentrate in Asia, and to look to it for consolidation and expansion The pan-Turanism, which the Germans encouraged has become a vigorous plant The thought of their Turanist brothers is haunting the Turks and the former are supposed to be dispersed in Caucasia, Persia, Turkistan, Mongolia and China The Turks look to these countries for expansion Constantinople, isolated in the western corner of the Turkish republic, is too far removed from the centre of these activities Besides, it is too much exposed to the menace of European fleets, and liable to military reprisals in the straits that have lately become denuded of troops With Constantinople as its capital, Turkey feels, as it were, under tutelage. Reasoning as well as sentiment thus point to the same conclusion *viz.*, to locate the administration and vital centre of the country away from the sea away from restless Europe, in the middle of Turish territory and in the vicinity of the East.

How will Constantinople reconcile itself to this political *débacle*. How would its life and even appearance be affected by this change ? As soon as you land at Constantinople you notice that the port is empty. You miss

he rattle and noise of boats of all kinds and ...es, which used to be the wonder of all new-comers. There are only seven or eight ships there now, and one can move about among them, without any let or hindrance. Most of them are passenger boats of well known Companies including the Turkish Sirket, whose boats ply between Mudania and Bosphorus. Not long ago Constantinople was one of the most frequented and crowded of the Mediterranian ports. The rise in the customs tariff ordained by the new rulers has still further diminished the sea-borne commerce. Let us prepare ourselves then to find Constantinople reconciling itself, like an oriental fatalist, to its new fate.

It is true that if you disembark at Pera-Galata, you do not realise much change. This is the business quarter where the Europeans and Christians consisting mostly of the Greeks and the Armenians congregate. There is a good deal of animation here, which is naturally to be expected in the beautiful setting and even magnificent surrounding scenery. Out-side the Grand Rue, which is almost straight and sufficiently wide throughout its length, all Pera is a network of lanes and alleys, of ascents and descents along the sloping hill-sides. This part of the city is at once rich and poor, clean and dirty. Newly built lofty houses highly ornamented, with their projecting balconies, stand side by side, with the most miserable hovels. On the inferior worn-out roads, with sordid pavements, you see electrical trams full of passengers, automobiles taking corners at full speed, with rickshaws in single file and in unbroken succession. Pedestrians crowd on the pavements as well as the roads,—men wearing fez and kalpaks, fashionable young men with straw hats, street porters stooping under their loads, water-carriers, loquacious mendicants, women with bare arms and short skirts and Turkish ladies dressed entirely in black. On top of this, you hear the cries of itinerant hawkers, newspape rsellers and shoe-blacks. When you see the Grand Rue of Pera in the evenings brillantly illuminated and as it were flooded with light and swarming with people you cannot help thinking that Constantinople beats all her rivals. But if you enter the places where business is transacted and questioned the merchants and bankers, they all tell the same tale, that business is slack and that trade is at a stand-still. There is despair and defiance in every eye. Everything has become fearfully expensive and the people are feeling the pinch. If they wear clean and fashionable clothes it is because all orientals prefer the external signs of prosperity and economise over their food, in order to buy elegant shoes and headdress. It is a deceptive exterior which hides real poverty and resignation.

Let us turn for a moment to Stamboul the oriental part of the city. There can be no doubt that it is very beautiful and truly royal, as seen from the Bosphorous, the variegated buildings of the serial with its green gardens and picturesque ruins of the Byzantine walls, the domes and minarets of St Sophia and the mosque of Sultan Ahmad, the high tower of Sir-Askariat and the towers of other mosques overlooking the golden horn. The moment you leave the Ghelata bridge, the net-work of narrow and dirty streets begins, with crumbling and ram-shackle houses and the noisy crowd of hawkers, idlers, loafers and water-carriers balancing their cans full of rose water and the heterogenous medley of wagons, automobiles and pack animals consisting mostly of mules and asses, celebrated in the pages of the French novelists Loti and Farrire.

You come to the best quarter between the imposing buildings of Sir-As kariat and the beautiful mosque of Sulaiman. This is a quiet but real Turkish quarter, with lofty and curious wooden houses, in grey-brown colours, with creepers passing from one house to another overhead, across the lanes. Behind the wooden shutters, flung open in the upper stories you hear the charming babel of Turkish ladies, chatting with one another. The scene is classic and has been celebrated in master-pieces of art and romance. It is sad to think that desolation reigns all round this beautiful scene, the adjoining portions—having been ruined by fire,—both during and after the great war. Fires occurred in Constantinople regularly after every 10 or 20 years in the past when some quarter or other was burnt down, but phoenix like it used to rise again from its *debris* almost as soon as it was destroyed, and when rebuilt it was prettier and statelier than ever. This time the devastated zone has been allowed to remain in ruins and extends from the Golden Horn to the sea of Murmora, over a good third of the town area. The beautiful mosques named after Sultans Ahmed and Fath fortunately escaped the ravages of incendiarism, but their minarets overlook the scenes devastated by fire. The

ruins are a mass of *debris* with little walls, covered with coarse plaster, interspersed with fields some times cultivated and some times over-grown with weeds. Here and there one notices cottages resting on the debris, with posts or stakes driven under ground, and supporting corrugated iron sheets or tarred card-board roofs maintained in position by builders. The poor live in these miserable holes or precarious huts. New-buildings are seen only along the big thoroughfares leading towards the west and these consist for fear of incendarism of small rooms made of bricks and mortar which do not in the least resemble the old Turkish houses. The aqueduct of Valsey, spared by the flames is the only ornamental feature that adorns the desolate landscape.

Constantinople thus presents the spectacle of a grand thing of the past, approaching its death. The population is diminishing there are now less than a million inhabitants residing within the vast municipal area instead of a million and a half before the war. The compulsory banishment of a large number of the Greeks and Armenians, according to the stipulations of the Lausanne treaty is reducing the population still further. One wonders whether the city is destined like Adrianople to become another necropolis The thought is distressing to many a good citizen, and the most laudable efforts are being made to arrest the process of dilapidation and ruin The authorities are elaborating projects and town-planning (if not town-saving) is the order of the day. But all these plans depend for success on the good will of the Government All eyes are naturally turned towards Angora, and everybody is asking whether Angora will spare her rival.

MAHARAJAH KALYAN SINGH, AN INDIAN ADMINISTRATOR OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN, M A (LONDON)

KALYAN Singh's grandfather, Rao Himmat Singh, a Kayasth of Delhi, was the Diwan of Mohamud Shah's (1719-1748) Prime Minister, Amirul Umara Samsamud-Dawla, at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion (1739 A D). *

He was the son of the famous Maharaja Shitab Ray, the Naib Diwan of Bihar, who along with Mohamad Reza Khan was arrested and tried in 1772. † Immediately after his father's death which occurred on the 19th Jamadi II. 1181 Fasli (Ist September, 1774) he succeeded to his office, jagir and other honours connected with it. According to his own statement, his father did not leave any cash § It seems quite probable because his trial must have cost him a lot and he died soon after acquittal

Kalayan Singh was called by Hastings * who was at that time staying at Bag Poor in Bihar, and in the presence of councillors was invested with the rank, jagir and Altamgha in consideration for his father's services The Governor-General also gave him a Khilat of seven pieces and his title of Intizamul-Mulk Mamtaz-ud-Daula Maharaja Kalyan Singh was recognised and confirmed "The Governor," † writes the author of Seir, "to show that he entertained no disinclination to the deceased and to prove that he retained no suspicion against his fidelity, took care of his own motion, to bestow the father's office on his son, Raja Kalyan Singh, although the latter did not show that capacity and fitness which might have been expected from a man of his age and education."

His appointment was confirmed by the

* Khulasatut-Tawarikh, folio 73B. British Museum MSS. Add. 24084

† Wardat-i-Qasmi, British Museum, Add 24083, folio 156.

§ The author of Turikh-i-Muzaffari says that Kalyan Singh inherited his father's vast fortune which consisted of Jagir as well as cash. B M 466. Folio 965.

* Wardat-i-Qasmi. British Museum MSS.

† Seir. vol. III. p. 67.

Directors in their letter of 3rd March, 1775.*

It must be remembered that immediately after the arrest of Mohamad Reza Khan and Shitab Ray in 1772, the Company had determined "to stand forth as the Diwan" and the posts held by Shitab Ray and Reza Khan were abolished. Consequently it must not be supposed that the succession of Kalyan Singh to his father's post meant his appointment as the Naib Diwan with all its responsible duties.

In the place† of the old system a committee of Revenue consisting of the Governor and four members of Council was established at Calcutta to visit principal districts and the Company's servants hitherto called supervisors were to be called collectors. In each of the districts there was to be a native officer with the title of Diwan to inform or check the collector But after little more than a year the post of collector was abolished Under the Central Committee of Revenue of Calcutta worked six provincial councils at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca, Burdwan, Dinajpur and Patna. It was to the § last named Provincial council that Kalyan Singh was attached

** His domestic affairs were settled easily after his father's death, his younger brother, Raja Bhawani Singh consenting to accept Rs 1000 a month from him and giving him full control over everything. But the jagir in Allahabad and Oudh which had been conferred on his father by the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and the Emperor was confiscated. He appointed Khayali Ram, his father's friend and colleague, as his agent.

He continued to serve on the Provincial Council at Patna till 1781, "without accepting even a penny as a †† bribe," as he himself boasts "I was passing my days happily," he writes, §§ "when I fell into a trouble through the treachery of Khayali Ram and as a result of which I became a pauper and had to go to Calcutta and stay there for 24 years." In 1781 there was a deficit of thirty four lakhs of rupees in the revenues of Bihar The Provincial Council of Patna was dissolved in the same year and Kalyan Singh's jagir was taken over by the Government according * to the decree of the provincial court of justice for the payment of that deficit. To add to his misfortunes, his allowance of Rs. 50000 a year which had been settled on him in 1774 "as Diwan of Bihar province and in consideration of the merit of character of his father" was reduced to Rs. 18000 in December, 1787 † as he had no official duties to perform as Diwan. Even this reduced allowance was to be stopped on the restoration of jagir which was then under attachment, and ultimately it was stopped in 1789 §

According to his own statement ** the deficit in the revenue of Bihar was due to the rebellion of Chait Singh of Benares and to the refractory behaviour of other Zemindars. But those who know the revenue history of this period can not be satisfied with this explanation The real cause was much deeper than the rebellion of Chait Singh. It was due to the defective system of revenue administration. The policy of giving lands to new farmer-bidders at a high price for a few years, coupled with "the substitution of an untrained and foreign agency" had brought this †† state of affairs. Estates were knocked down to speculators at a revenue," says Ascoli, "which, as the old Zemindars knew, the estates were unable to bear. The only hope of the new farmers was to extort what they could from the cultivators during the term of the lease, and leave the estate ruined and deserted...The amounts bid were high... In one pargana the proprietor to retain his property bid up to Rs 134109 but within two years his arrears exceeded the annual revenue due from him. The result was even at the time attributed to over assessment. The first attempt of the Company to manage its revenue affairs had resulted in the complete extinction of a skilled, though corrupt, collecting agency and the substitution of an untrained and foreign agency appointed to

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* Dispatches to Bengal, 3rd March, 1775, vol VII. p. 427. India Office.

† Firminger's Fifth Report Introduction, P. CCXIII, vol. I.

§ Wardat-i-Kasmi, folio 160-164.

** Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, folio 905.

†† Wardat, folio 160-164.

§§ Wardat-i-Kasmi, folio 174 et sequel.

* Home Misc Vol. 584, p. 667 et sequel. India Office Records.

† Home Misc Vol 584 and "Letters received from Bengal", vol. XXVI, para. 128. India Office Record

§ Dispatches to Bengal, 25th Feb., 1793. Vol. XXIV. para. 321-335 and (2) Wardat-i-Kasmi, folio 198 B

** Kalyan Singh's Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh B. M., add. 24084.

†† Ascoli's "Early Revenue History of Bengal", p.33.

collect a revenue that must be, by the very manner of its assessment, excessive."

Another instance of the defectiveness of the system is evident from the case of Khayali Ram * who obtained the Ijara of some districts from the Patna Provincial Council, but failed to realise from the cultivators the amount he had to pay to the Government, with the result that he was imprisoned. The records † of the Provincial Councils of Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Dinajpur and Bardwan are full of such instances.

The Provincial Councils were abolished in 1781, as a part of Hastings' great schemes and policy. But Kalyan Singh § firmly thought that this abolition was due to the representations made by his agent Khyali Ram to Hastings, through Ganga Govind Singh who was at that time the Peshkar** of the Central Committee of Revenue at Calcutta, and who, Kalyan Singh supposed, had a great influence on Hastings. According to his own statements the beginnings of his trouble were in 1779, when his agent and colleague Khyali Ram took the Ijara of some districts from the Patna Council but failed to pay the Government dues and was arrested. Kalyan Singh saved him from the prison but Khyali Ram went to Calcutta and excited Hastings against the Council and against himself with the result that his jagir was confiscated, the Council was dissolved and he became a pauper. The futility of this argument of Kalyan Singh has been shown above.

Compelled, by poverty, he†† went to Calcutta in 1195 Fasli (1788 A. D.) there to live "under the shadow of protection of the English Company." In 1790, being reduced to poverty he petitioned to the Governor-General for the restoration of his allowance of fifty thousand a year which had been reduced to eighteen thousand in 1787. In support of his claim he produced a Sanad which he claimed, had been granted to his father by Clive for life with reversion to his son Kalyan Singh "as a reward for the attachment and services of the former to the Company."* The Sanad produced by Kalyan Singh was carefully examined and "from an inspection of the records of the late Provincial Council at Patna," it was found "that the Raja's allowance was the remaining moiety of a pension of a lakh of rupees per annum which with the office of Naib Nazim was granted by Lord Clive to Maharaja Shitab Ray for his life with reversion to his son Kullian Sing, as a reward for his attachment and services to the Company. The full amount of this pension was received by Maharaja Shitab Ray until the year 1773, when the President and Council thought proper to reduce it to 50,000 rupees, informing the Raja that although this sum was only half the amount of his former allowance they expected in the present reduced state of the charges, he would consider it as adequate not only to his station, but also to the loss he sustained by being deprived of the Pachotra."§

Cornwallis, inspite of the genuineness of the Sanad, did not recommend Kalyan Singh's application. The Governor-General** in forwarding Kalyan Singh's petition to the Board of Directors on 10th August, 1791 wrote:—

"We think it our duty to observe that we cannot recommend the restoration of the Maharaja's allowance upon the grounds of his own merits or services. We are moreover inclined to believe that the present involved state of the Raja's affairs is in a great degree to be attributed to his own impoverished conduct. His claim therefore rests entirely upon his father's services and on the grant from Lord Clive, for the confirmation of which you will determine how far the good faith of the Company is pledged."

"We transmit to you the above remarks with all the papers relating to Raja's claim, leaving it to you to determine upon the propriety of restoring to him for his life either the whole or a part of the allowance of 50,000 Rs. per annum which devolved to him upon the death of his father. But as he is at present in very distressed circumstances

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* See notes on Khayali Ram in Col Murray's Correspondence edited by Imtiaz M. Khan.

† See the proceedings of these Councils in the India Office records.

§ Waridt-i-Kasmi Folio 147 et sequel.

** Firminger's Introduction to Fifth Report, vol I, page CCCXIII.

†† Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh Folio 10. The author of Tarikh-i-Muzaffari says that before going to Calcutta he went to Benares where he was received by leading people like Raja Mohib Narain and Ali Ibrahim Khan, from Benares he went to Ghaziabad where he stayed with a certain Fazal Ali Khan and he returned to Bengal in 1200 Hijri (1786 A. D.) and began to live at Murshidabad. But there the climate did not suit him and some of his servants died. Then he went to Calcutta where he was living when the author wrote his history. See Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, folio 905 et sequel.

* Home Misc. Vol. 584 p 667 et sequel.

† "Letters received from Bengal" dated 10 August, 1791. paras 37-41 Vol XXX, p. 306

§ A kind of Nazar, consisting of 1/5th of assessment. This term is still remembered in some parts of India.

** "Letters received from Bengal" dated 10 August, 1791. Para 40 and 41, volume XXX

the produce of the greater part of his Jaghir having been attached for the satisfaction of a decree of one of the provincial courts of justice immediately upon its being released by Government in 1787 and being still under sequestration), we have agreed to allow him until your pleasure shall be known, the sum of Rs 1500 per month which he enjoyed while his lands were under attachment for the discharge of the demands of Government, upon his executing a bond to refund the amount that may be paid to him in the event of your confirming the former orders for the entire reduction of his allowance "

* The Court of Directors in reply to the above letter of the Governor-General questioned the authenticity of the Sanad produced by Kalyan Singh on three grounds (1) That Clive had no power of granting such pensions (2) that the office of Naib Nazim could only be conferred by the Nawab himself and that this was evident from the fact that Kalyan Singh was continued in office by the Nawab at the recommendation of the Bengal Government and that it was the Nawab who issued this Sanad to Kalyan Singh If Clive had power of conferring the Sanad there was no need of the Nawab's recommendations, (3) that if Maharaja Shitab Ray had a Sanad for an allowance of a lakh of rupees, he could not have acquiesced to its reduction by half in 1773 Kalyan Singh himself did not produce the Sanad when this allowance was further reduced to Rs 18,000 in 1787, and nor did he say anything when it was completely taken away in 1789 and that he was silent even so late as 7th April, 1790 when he petitioned the Bengal Government for the restoration of his father's salary (not a pension), saying that he was given, and not succeeded in his father's office Besides, as the Bengal Government did not recommend the restoration, they could not consent to it because in the opinion of the Governor-General he executed no official duty as Diwan and that the post had been abolished The Directors however approved of a provisional allowance of Rs 1500 a month in view of Kalyan Singh's distressed circumstances but they added that this in no way implied the admission of his claim based on the Sanad

The Governor General on the receipt of this letter instituted a thorough inquiry as to the authenticity of the Sanad and after many 'fruitless researches" it was found that the Sanad in question was quite genuine

"In obedience to your commands," the Governor-General wrote, * "we examined the Sanad under the signature of the late Lord Clive and that on comparing the handwriting with his Lordship's signature on other official papers, they appeared to us to correspond very exactly, nor could we discover any defect in the Sanad in any other respect

"With regard to the proceedings of the Provincial Council at Patna, we can only observe that their accounts show the payment of the stipend to Maharaja Shitab Roy but their proceedings do not refer back to so remote a period as the date for the grant, nor can we on any of our public records trace the origin of it or any resolution of the Government authorizing his Lordship to issue such a grant. It does not appear to have been the practice at the time when the grant is stated to have been executed to record every transaction with the same regularity as is at present observed and consequently his Lordship might have conferred the grant without having caused it to be entered on the public proceedings "

The Directors † in reply to the above postponed their decision in their letter of 29th May, 1799 asking the Governor-General to find out from the Records of the Provincial Council of Patna as to when were the first and the last payments made and the total amount paid In the meantime, the provisional grant of Rs. 1500 a month to Kalyan Singh was to continue

In 1806†† he preferred a claim for compensation for the loss he has incurred by the abolition of the certain duties he used to collect from the District of Bihar and which were known as Parchoon Mohal (referred to above in the Bengal letter of 10th August, 1791). This duties were a part of his post as Diwan and he collected it till 1790 when all the Sairs were abolished In 1793 many Zamindars had received compensation in this connection and Kalyan Singh's claim too was admitted He was allowed Rs 8487 per annum and Rs. 152784 were paid to him on account of arrears.

According to his own statement§ he has lived in Calcutta for 24 years (1788-1811) where he "enjoyed the society of the Lords and Council Members" In 1810 while at Calcutta, he fell seriously ill and was confined to bed for ten months. He lost his eyesight as a result of this illness His medical advisers advised him to go back to Bihar the climate of which, they thought was more suitable for him The Bengal Government allowed him to go to Patna He left Calcutta on 28th March, 1811 for

* "Dispatches to Bengal", 25th Feb., 1793. Paras 321-335. Volume XXIV

* "Letters from Bengal", 31st August, 1797, paras. 3-7, vol XXXVII

† "Despatches to Bengal," 29 May, 1799. Para. 429-431, vol. XXXIII

†† Home Misc Vol. 584, p 667 et sequel.

§ Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh, folio 10.

Benares and travelled partly by river and partly by road. When he reached Patna he found, "all his beautiful houses dilapidated and there was no place to stay." But what annoyed him most was the coldness of the people of Patna who, it seems, did *not give him a good reception.* "But alas," he writes in Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh, "the residents of this place who had lived on my father's bounties and gifts, did not take any notice of me." On his arrival at Patna he himself and most of his dependants fell ill and he began to prepare for going back to Calcutta But fortunately he met Mr Abraham Welland who through Kalyan Singh's son Daulat Singh, asked him to write a detailed history of Mir Qasim. On account of his blindness he had to rely on his memory and could not consult his notes.

Kalyan Singh's Histories

He seems to have written only two histories, Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh and Wardat-i Qasmi

The former was meant to be a sort of introduction to the latter It treats very briefly of the early Mogul Emperors from Baber to Shah Jahan, but from Aurangzeb (1657-1806) to Akbar Shah II it is fairly detailed

Wardat-i-Qasmi contains a detailed account of the events in Bengal, Bihar and the adjacent provinces from 1761 to 1785 including an account of his father from his arrival in Patna till 1774 when he died In his preface he gives a brief account of himself and at the end is to be found a fairly good account of his succession to his father's post. There is also a brief notice on Governor-Generals from Clive to Minto and at the end is to be found very brief notices on 124 Civil and Military British Officers, including Col Sir John Murray, whom he and his father knew personally

Both of these histories were dictated by him at Patna in 1812

As regards the merits of these two histories, it cannot be said that they are in any way of high order As compared with other contemporary works like Ghulam Hosain Khan's Seir-Ul-Mutakharin and Mohamad Ali Khan's Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Kalyan Singh's histories are not very accurate and reliable. The value of Khulasat-Ut-Tawarikh is practically nothing, because there are so many detailed histories of the Moghul Emperors. But even Wardat-i-Qasmi's value diminishes almost to nothing as compared to Seir which is, comparatively speaking, far more critical and reliable than the Wardat The Persian language used by Kalyan Singh has a strong Indian flavour and may be likened to what is called the "Baboo English" at the present time

His Character

The verdict of the author of Seir who says, "Maharaja Kalyan Singh. ..was so slothful and so supine a nobleman, as to have lost all power and influence at the Council Board of Azimabad where he was looked upon as a cipher," does not seem to be very far from truth It is supported by the remarks of the Bengal Government who seem to have had no high opinion * of him and who attributed his financial difficulties to his own "impoverished conduct". This verdict of the Governor-General might have been taken as biased, as this remark was used by him when he was forwarding Kalyan Singh's application to the Directors for the renewal of his allowance which had been stopped by the Governor-General himself. But the opinion of the author of the Seir gives a good deal of weight to the Governor-General's opinion. Discussing the succession of Kalyan Singh to his father's post, Golum Hosain Khan says that he succeded his "father, though he 'did † not show that capacity and fitness which might have been expected from a man of his age and education '

His going to the rescue of his friend and colleague, Khayali Ram might have been attributed to the generosity of his character But the fact that he quarelled with him in spite of the latter's generosity in bringing a Khilat for him and setting apart the revenue of several villages for him, does not help to illuminate Kalyan Singh's character Besides, the author of Seir does not attribute Kalyan Singh's help to Khayali Ram to the generosity of the former's character. On the other hand, he says that Kalyan Singh went to Khayali Ram's assistance simply because he (Kalyan Singh) was much discontented with all members" of the Patna Revenue Council.

Like most of the personages of this time whose character the present writer has discussed Kalyan Singh, too, was a product of his age and therefore the only way to save him from a severe condemnation is to remember again that the world and specially India, in the 18th century was something quite different from what it is to-day.

* See "Letters received from Bengal", 10th August, 1791, para 40 Vol. XXX.

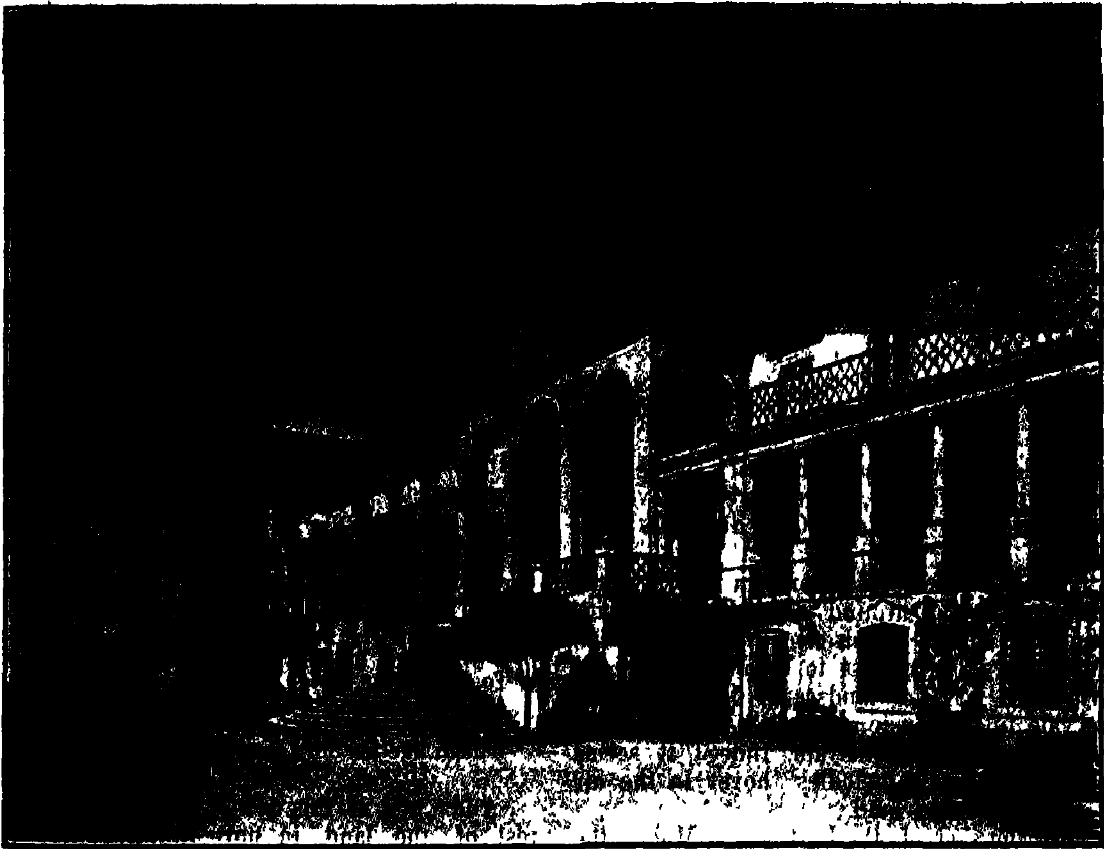
† Seir, vol. III. P. 67.

COIMBRA, THE PORTUGUESE OXFORD

By Dr. J. da PROVIDENCIA COSTA,

Professor in the Faculty of Arts of the Coimbra University

WHOEVER, after the three hours' journey from Oporto or Lisbon, visits Coimbra for the first time, might think he enters quite another country, so very different are the impressions he gets there Of course, we recognize in the three chief Portuguese cities a certain similarity, as between persons of the same family the streets steeply climbing picturesque slopes, the glittering waters of their smooth rivers, the amplitude of the horizon, which, over valleys and hills, loses itself in the immensity of the ocean. But each of the three cities has its special features, its characteristic silhouette.



The University of Coimbra

A citadel commands Lisbon, which stretches over its "seven hills" like an endless serpent. Lisbon is the capital of the Republic, the seat of the supreme government the last redoubt of the nation.

To the silhouette of Oporto belong first of all smoking chimneys. The dark sooty sky, the noise of its factories, the restless activity of its inhabitants, the crowding, hurrying and hustling of people and vehicles in town and harbour: everything betrays the great centre of industry and commerce.

And now Coimbra... Groups of lovely white houses mantle the eminence in solemn reli-



A partial view of Coimbra including the University Buildings and the Faculty of Arts, where will be installed the Indian Hall and the Indian Institute

gious silence We are in the city of science and spiritual life See, there towers above the rest Portugal's greatest Cathedral, its University!

The situation of Coimbra is unique Nature smiles all around and adorns it with beautiful sunny landscape, that seems to invite every Portuguese to be a Poet

"Look at the landscape, friends! Hill and vale full of music and songs!" is the first verse of a popular quatrain Indeed, it seems that songs and melodies hover in the air of this enchanted land

But the seat of the Portuguese Muses, the place where the prettiest melodies, fairy-tales, and songs feel at home, shows its charm at best, when over its old cathedrals, manor-houses and ruins, over woods, gardens and the river, a clear, starry or moon-lit night spreads the romantic, dreamy wings of fancy Then we feel as if the spirits of ancient times were alive all around the city, and we understand best the language of its poets. Then also is the time when the students hold their serenades They wander and ramble about bare-headed, in their long black cloaks, like shades; and their voices accompany woefully the sad melodies of the guitar

"In moments to delight devoted
—My life!—with tenderest tone, you cry,
Dear words! on which my heart had doted,
If you could neither fade nor die
To death even hours like these must roll,
Ah! then repeat those accents never
Or change—my life!—into my soul!
Which like my love, exists for ever"
(Byron's translation of a Coimbran Song)

And just as this new Parnass excels the rest of the land in pure literature and art so does it surpass every other place of the country in the cultivation of pure science and philosophy It seems as if the spirit of Plato had haunted this place down through the centuries. The University of Coimbra was founded in 1290 by king Dionisius, and though its seat sometimes moved between Lisbon and Coimbra, only here could the celebrated University hold its place as the great stronghold of Portuguese science. Nay, Coimbra

became even in the course of time one of the most famous and important centres of culture in the world. Here studied, Camoes the greatest lyrical poet of the 16th century. From here the great mathematician, Pedro Nunes, directed the Portuguese caravels through unknown seas. Coimbra has always been, not only the cultural but also the political and religious centre of the country And being the most Portuguese of our cities, it is at the same time the most liberal and unbiassed Many foreigners frequent its famous Summer Course And in its Institutes (The French, English, Spanish, German, Brazilian, Italian, North American, etc) Portuguese students, as well as any others, may get full and unprejudiced knowledge about the peoples and civilizations of the world No wonder therefore that in this place much sympathy should be found for the people of Kalidasa and Tagore, though in that truest society of Nations India is not yet represented by its Institute Recognising that sympathy and wishing to fill up this deficiency, a group of Indian students of the University of Coimbra entertain the idea of founding here an Indian Institute, their initiative having met with the warmest feelings of the Faculty of Arts



Dr. Mendes dos Remedios

May such a generous idea prosper and be fruitful, and its realization be a fact in a short space of time as we are sure in this way a new bridge will be laid between East and West, and many an error about India will disappear from the minds of the Europeans.

THE EXPLOITATION OF INDIA

By Major B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (*Retired*)

IN the British Government of India, administration and exploitation are convertible terms. Hence, when the English acquired political "supremacy in India, their watchword was "Gold"

It was Indian "plunders" which not only enriched individual plunderers, but made English people build up their industries and factories. But after the Indian Mutiny, the "exploitation of India" took another shape. As the States governed by "heathen" princes were no longer to be annexed and their accumulated treasures to be plundered, ways and means were devised to enrich the natives of England at the expense of those of India. They covered their design under the euphemistic phrase "to develop the resources of India."

The development of the resources was to be effected by (*a*) The Construction of Railways (*b*) Cultivation of Cotton. (*c*) Concessions to British capitalists to float companies in India to work her resources. (*d*) Larger employment of Englishmen in India. (*e*) Denying self-government to India. India was known to be a very poor country. As capital was required to develop the resources, so foreign English

capital was to be borrowed for the purpose. The foreign English capital was no doubt then a myth. But as Lord Salisbury, once said that "India must be bled," this myth was designed to do so.

That the foreign English capital was then a myth is evident from chapter VII, pp. 122-134, of "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries"

CONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAYS.

In the matter of the construction of railways in India, great injustice was done to the people of this country. The railways were constructed under "guaranteed securities and with so-called English capital There was no need of borrowing capital from the people of England, when the people of India could have lent money on those terms on which it was taken from the former.

But the real motive in constructing railways in India was to enrich the people of England at the expense of those of India As was pointed out at that time, by some eminent engineers such as Sir Arthur Cotton and others, India needed metalled roads and irrigation canals for traffic purposes and not costly railways

Then again, eight pence in the shilling expended in constructing the railways in India found their way to England Mr Swift Macneill said from his place in the House of Commons on 11th August, 1890

> "It has been computed that out of every shilling spent in railway enterprise, 8d makes its way to England "*

Another motive in constructing the railways in India was to cheapen the bread in England, for they would facilitate the export of wheat from this country

Railways also by importing the British manufactures into India have destroyed Indian industries

While the construction of railways in India has proved beneficial to England in many ways, it has hardly done so to India. On the contrary it has done great harm to India It has not only burdened the people of this country with debt, and destroyed their industries, but has ruined their health also, and has decimated the inhabitants of towns and villages by malaria. Deserted villages have been caused by it.

Railways were also constructed from the consideration of their "strategic importance," to the State. Thus, the construction of railways was not beneficial to India from the financial or sanitary point of view, but their construction was thought expedient from political and other considerations already mentioned above *

COTTON CULTURE

Of all the industries which have enriched the natives of England, none did more than that connected with cotton. They had already created a market for their goods in India, but they had mostly to depend on America for the supply of cotton. From time immemorial, India was well known to be a great cotton-producing coutnry But some of the provinces which produced or possessed *the potentiality of producing the finest cotton* in the world were still governed by Indian rulers *It was necessary to bring them under* British rule Berar, Sindh and the Punjab were noted for their fine cotton and how these provinces became incorporated in British India has been told in the fifth volume of the Rise of the Christian Power in India †

In 1858 from Manchester was published by one I G Collins Esq, a pamphlet bearing the following significant title --

> Scinde and the' Punjab, the gems of India in respect to their vast and unparalleled capabilities of supplanting the slave States of America, in the cotton markets of the world or an appeal to the English nation on behalf of the great cotton interest threatened with inadequate supplies of the raw material "

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* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 248, p: 1051.

*See the article 'Railways in India in the *Modern Review* for June, 1909

† Wrote W John Malcolm Ludlow, in his "Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India,' (pp 58-59).

"Curiously enough, the key to these transactions is to be found less in the Parliamentary paper especially affected to them, than in those relating to Nagpore, and it is clear from these that the Nizam's cessions in 1853 led to the annexation of Nagpore in 1854 For, as Lord Dalhousie phrased it, the 'essential interest of England' required that the territory of Nagpore should pass under British Government. 'The great field of supply of the best and cheapest cotton grown, in India lies in the valley of Berar' (ceded by the Nizam) 'and in the districts adjacent to it.' Those 'districts adjacent' were in Nagpore. During the past year, the government had obtained, 'by treaty with the Nizam, not the sovereignty indeed, but the perpetual possession and administration of the valley of Berar'. This cotton-field, however, was 'inaccessible for want of railroads,' the possession of Nagpore would enable us to make them. We took both, as has been seen."

This pamphlet was dedicated "by permission to Lord Stanley who was at that time President of the Board of Control, and afterwards became the first Secretary of State for India in grateful acknowledgment of his Lordship's eminent public services for the development of the resources of British India (especially in reference to the cultivation of the cotton plant)"

No wonder need be expressed then for the British conquest of Sind and Punjab!

The above-named writer concluded his pamphlet as follows —

It is in our power to make our Eastern Empire supply the wants of Lancashire and of the world, and if we do not do so, great is our folly and enormous our guilt! For, says Mr Snow (the best authority on this subject), 'It is my full and firm belief that India can produce cotton equal to the American Upland, Mobile, or New Orleans, and and at less *than half the cost* And I indulge the hope improbable as it may now appear, that Indian cotton may ultimately oust the American from the English markets, and it is by no means impossible that we may supply America herself Then let us not delay putting our shoulders energetically to the wheel The game is in our hands, *if we are only determined to play it out*"

A prospectus was issued for the formation of the East India Cotton Company, Limited, with a capital of £ 1,000,000 in 100,000 shares of £ 10 each, "for the cultivation and purchase of cotton in India."

There was also the Cotton Supply Association of which Mr. John Cheetham, M. P was the chairman, to whom, Mr J. B Smith addressed a letter dated London, January, 1859 In the course of this letter he wrote.

The reason why we go to America for cotton is that we can get it cheaper there than any where else · Machinery almost to any extent can be made and set to work in a year or two but to increase the growth of raw materials is a work of slow progress, hence every effort should be made to remove all impediments, and to promote their growth in every way

"Our great object is to endeavour to obtain cotton from other countries, on equal or better terms than from America. Can this be accomplished?

What country except India, can furnish a supply within the next 20 years, that can compete with America? India then is the country of all others to which your Association should direct their attention"

It is not necessary to quote any further from this letter to show the importance of India to England for exploitation of raw cotton. India was then made use of for the supply of the raw material and also furnished the best market for the finished cotton products of the factories of Lancashire. Whatever little money was paid to India for the supply of cotton was taken away by England with interest and compound interest, when she forced her cotton goods on her.

Concessions to British Capitalists

As India was to be colonised by Britishers, so concessions were to be granted to them to enable them to make India the white man's land. The nature of these concessions has been mentioned in "*The Colonisation of India by Europeans*," and need not be repeated here again in detail.*

Those Englishmen who obtained concessions tried to reduce the people of India to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water and to enrich themselves by profits accruing from slave labour. A large number of those men engaged themselves in Indigo planting This industry proved an engine of oppression, tyranny and ruin to the helpless and hapless cultivators on whom their English masters delighted in practising all sorts of refined brutalities. Official notice had to be taken of these mis-deeds of the Indigo planters and several government communications were issued, some of which aimed at whitewashing the conduct of the perpetrators of the evil deeds.†

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* In his brochure on "Dalhousie and Canning" (p 139) the Duke of Argylle wrote:

"Lord Stanley's suggestion was expressly made with special reference to the importance of affording all possible encouragement to the employment of British capital, skill, and enterprise in the development of the material resources of India."

†In his evidence before the Indigo Commission in Calcutta on Saturday, 21st July, 1860, Hon'ble Mr. (afterwards Sir Ashley) Eden, who rose to be the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said that in his opinion the cultivation of Indigo was "in no instance the result of free agency, but that it was always compulsory." Being asked to state fully "the facts, proofs, or reasons which induced" him to hold that belief, he said

"*First*, I believe it to be unprofitable, and therefore I cannot believe that any ryot would consent to take up that cultivation, involving as it does serious pecuniary loss to himself; *secondly*, it involves an amount of harassing interference to which no free agent would subject himself, *thirdly* from a consideration of the acts of violence to which the planters have throughout been compelled to resort to keep up the cultivation as proved by the criminal records of Bengal, *fourthly* from the admission of the planters themselves that if the ryots were free agents, they would not cultivate Indigo; *fifthly*, the necessity under which the planters state themselves to be of spending large sums in the purchase of Zemindaries and other descriptions of rights, giving them territorial

Tea was another industry which received great support from the Indian Government. The industry could not flourish without "slave labour" Writes Mr. Russel Smith in his *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, pp 301-302 —

"*The Labor Factor and United States Tea Growing* –

The vast amount of hand labor in pruning and caring for tea trees and picking and curing the tea shows why the tea industry has not been developed in the United States, although it has long been known that the tea tree thrives well over an area 100 times greater than all the tea plantations in India and Ceylon A little tea of good quality has for some years been produced near Charleston chiefly by the labour of negro children, but naturally the industry does not expand in this region of relatively high wages It costs fifteen cents a pound to pick tea in South Carolina and the labourers there have been unable to learn a certain dexterous move that pulls a leaf without destroying the bud in the axis of its stem To avoid this they pinch it off, leaving about one-third of the weight of the leaf

"*Tea-Districts of minor Importance* —

Tea growing has been carried on to a small extent in a number of places throughout a rather large part of the world in which the tree would naturally thrive. Among them may be mentioned Johore in the Strait Settlements upon the Malay Peninsula. French Tonquin, Southern Burmah, Jamaica, the Fiji Islands. Madagascar, Brazil, the Russian province of Transcaucasia In none of these regions has it been an important success, chiefly for labor reasons"

LARGER EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISHERS IN INDIA

One Sir Edward Sullivan, in his *Letters on India*, published in 1858 wrote

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or, in other words, it maintains at a higher level than existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men.

". to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving in the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquillity of England when all Europe was tottering, was owing not a little to the outlet, India had given to her educated men' *Letters on India*, p. 29.

".. . For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of this country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middle class irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country" *Ibid*. Pp. 51-52.

In the December (1925) number of *The Century Magazine*, the American sociologist Professor Edward Alsworth Ross wrote of Britishers employed in India that "these men probably have twice the income they could command in England."

So the policy of employing the natives of England in larger and larger numbers in India, at the expense of the natives of the soil was best calculated to exploit the resources of India in more ways than one and thus by impoverishing her, England meant to consolidate her power in India*

DENYING SELF-GOVERNMENT TO INDIA

A certain political officer, a native of Scotland, and serving in India as Resident in a Native State once said to the present writer :

"We have educated you, your eyes have been opened and so you are clamouring for your rights and privileges But your interests and our interests clash We cannot concede all your demands"

Then he said a good many things which it is not necessary here to repeat.

Britishers came out to India originally as "unpretending merchants' to whom Indian princes gave "every encouragement." But when they acquired political supremacy in India, they did not abandon their role as merchants and traders. They were a nation of shop-keepers and so were also Indians Two of a trade cannot agree Hence INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES WERE DESTROYED BY "THE ARM OF POLITICAL INJUSTICE"

India was deliberately denied self-government, because there was the fear of the

influence and powers of compulsion, without which they would be unable to procure the cultivation of Indigo: *sixthly*, the statements of ryots and the people generally in the districts in which I have been, *seventhly* the fact that, as soon as the ryots became aware of the fact that they were by law and practically free agents, they at once refused to continue the cultivation."

It is not necessary to give any more extracts from the evidence placed before the Commission to show the manner in which the British Indigo planters behaved towards the ryots.

* See also Chapter I of Major Wingate's "A Few Words on Our Financial Relations of India reprinted by the present writer.

osing of the Indian market against English ods. *

So severely went on the exploitation of India by England by the various means mentioned above, which helped greatly to consolidate her power in India.

* See Chapter IX. pp 142-145 of Ruin of dian Trade and Industries by the present iter.

CHARACTER EDUCATION

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M A., Ph D.

Lecturer, State University of Iowa

Education is the basis of the Greek State—ocnes
The common school is the cradle of America's eatness - Theodore Parker

PUBLIC education in America is widespread and is generally of high type, but America is not content with it Keen scerning leaders of the nation are now sisting that training in character is the chief nction of education No school program uch neglects moral training is worthy of rious attention

One of the most important leaders in the ld of character education in America tov is Dr Edwin D Starbuck His work in aracter training in public schools has racted much attention in America and rope Not long ago a committee of educas, of which Dr Starbuck was the chairin, won the prize of sixty thousand rupees the best statement of methods of character ucation for public schools It seems me that in view of the increasing demand moral teaching in Indian public education, it would be worth while to know someng of Dr Starbuck's "science of character"

Now what is character? The answer is ar It consists, according to Dr. Starbuck, the whole-hearted response to personal d social values The moral person is the e who responds wholesomely to the fundantal life situations, such as,

'Participation in civic duties, right attitude tords property and wealth and their uses, respect family relations including ideal love and care offspring, refinements in social ways, response things of beauty in nature and human nature, vice to self and humanity through a vocation, power of creative endeavour"

The best way to cultivate character is not direct moral instruction, but indirect. Discourses on abstract ideals by ethical experts do little good to the pupils. "We must stop rubbing The Virtues into the mental skins of our children. We must reduce to a modi-



Dr Edwin D Starbuck
An Apostle of Character Training



Children are giving a short play portraying the life of the Indians
Instead of receiving direct lessons on the life of that brave race of people, youngsters are trying to actually feel it by acting it out

cum all the direct moral appeals that are too apt to end in sentimentality or insincerity. We must minimise the introspection and vivisection that threaten to lead to paralysis, artificiality and introversion." Children are not inclined to abstract thinking. Genuine *thinking for the youngsters must spring* from the experiences they have had or are about to have. Moral values must have their roots not in a formal morality code, but in their own vitalized experience.

That will sound like heresy to the devotees of the direct method of moral instruction. They may even brand Dr. Starbuck as a radical. In the strict sense of the term, he probably is a radical: but so was Confucius, so was Buddha, and so was Socrates. Where and when has there been a great teacher or leader who was not a radical? But anyone not fuddled by theorizing, will see how eminently sane and practical Starbuck is.

Dr. Edwin D. Starbuck is a Professor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa. He is a philosopher by profession, and a teacher by instinct. He is the author of a number of learned works on psychology and education. He has also been an important contributor to Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Apart from his learning and scientific scholarship which I greatly admire, he specially appeals to me as a man of what the Germans call *Weltanschauung* and which the English feebly translate as world outlook. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore once remarked to me in a letter:

> I have been greatly attracted to Dr. Starbuck. I felt almost at the very sight of him that he was one of the few men whose heart belonged to all humanity."

Dr. Starbuck is the outstanding exponent in America of character training by indirect method. It is not to be inferred, of course, that direct moral instruction is absolutely wrong. To a certain extent direct instruction, tactfully administered, may be of some help, but much cannot be expected from it. It has definite limitations. The Indirect method, which Dr. Starbuck calls the natural method, is superior and far more effective. This method would have the pupils



A practical demonstration in cloth making.
Children are learning to take active sympathy in industry by carding wool and working at a spinning wheel

cover for themselves most of the virtues—od will, self-control, sympathy, helpfulness through conduct Remarks Dr Starbuck,

"The teachers of the world whom we honor" ive gone heart first rather than head first at ir task They have not chopped nor dissected, defined the virtues Why should you? They ve lived naturally with those whom they have ght Why not you? The truths they have ered have been living verities The Buddha hewed the logical, ethical and theological artness of his day and clung to the principle Karma, the determining power of the deed. e fine-souled teacher of Nazareth went about ng good by quickening the conduct and impul- He was the artist-teacher who uttered the cept or told the parable and left it doing its ggestive and impelling work Was it not so with rates and has it not been so with every great cher?'

ese words indicate the spirit in which Dr. rbuck approaches the problem of moral ucation.

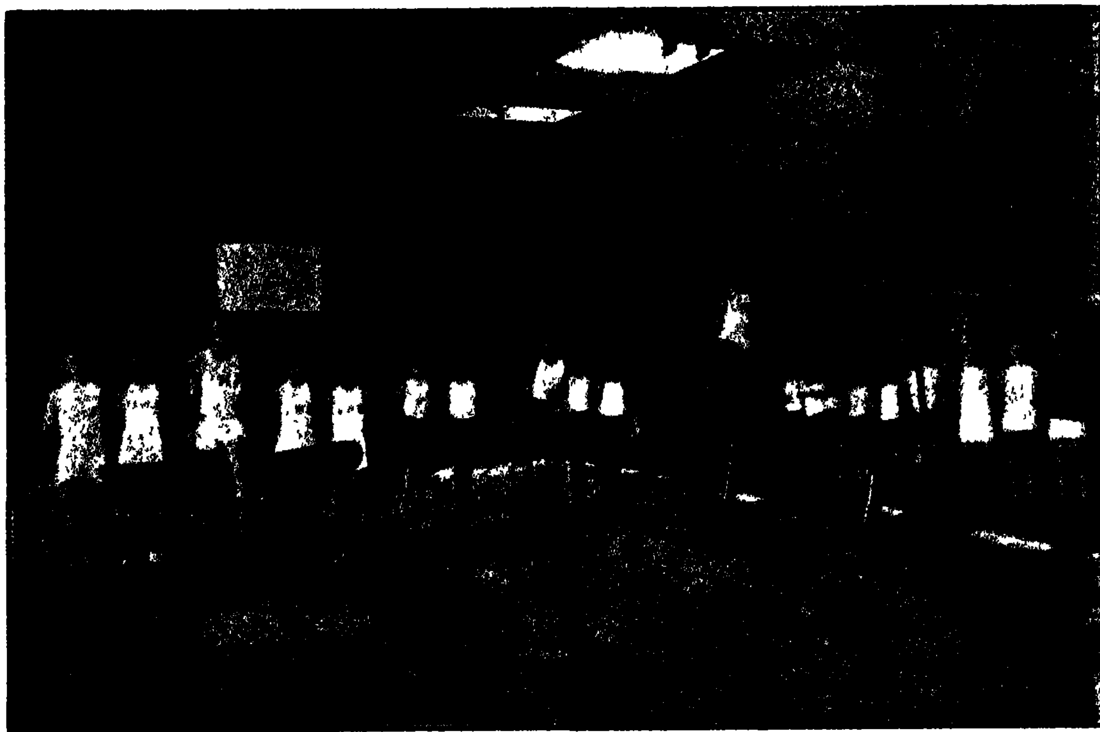
He should not be misunderstood Perhaps views could be made still clearer by the lowing "don'ts" which he uttered with vision of a seer in a public address.

'Avoid, as you would a plague, too much direct moral instruction. Be the artist. Utter moral truths only when they are pregnant with meaning Touch the strings of the child's nature with the delicacy with which an artist lures music from an instrument. When the occasion is right, strike the keys so vigorously that he feels the awful majesty of the moral law. Don't preach at all. You'll only bore the youngster.

"Don't keep rubbing the virtues into the moral skins of the children. One of the methods now in vogue would spend a month on each of several virtues, with appropriate poetry, narrative, story and discussion A healthy-minded boy might well withstand a week of such discipline on the virtue of helpfulness, let us say, for he can be counted on to have the milk of human kindness in his heart and will like to abate the pedagogical passion of his teacher. But two weeks of it should bring irritation, three aggravation. A healthy, red-blooded boy should come out of the fourth week of such persistent piety with murder in his heart.

"Be the artist Don't moralize. Avoid telling the the story or reciting the biography as a choice morsel and then spoil the digestion of the hearer by analyzing its content. In the words of Felix Adler, 'Don't pull the plum out of the moral pudding' Leave the 'This teaches us' and 'From this we learn' in the limbo of forgotten educational relics.

"Don't keep intellectualizing the virtues. They will become but curious pickled and mounted



Physical training is a required part of the educational programme in American public schools

specimens of conduct. A cat or a flower or a virtue cannot endure too much dissecting.

"Finally, among these homely precepts, be very human and very natural, don't be too serious. There has been historically too much pathos in our piety. The virtues were badges of entrance into immortality and the shadow of death has been about them. In this new world the good life is a way of living and a rather cheerful way of living at that."

Dr. Starbuck would have the youngsters consider situations rather than learn the catalogue of virtues. The one great advantage of this plan is that situations are definite and concrete, while virtues are abstract and subjective. Children's minds, like Tolstoy's, "go straight to the concrete as a horse to a manger full of oats." By centering attention upon facts and conditions which surround children, they will learn to master each situation as it arises. This wrestling with concrete facts will develop mental muscles, and give them moral ruggedness and refined judgments. In course of time they will have acquired the habits to make right response to country, friends, enemies, tasks, games. It is, therefore, the duty of the intelligent teacher to create live situations rather than extol abstract virtues and deliver so-called moral precepts. If any appreciable good has ever come out of direct moral preachment—sentimental snuffling and gurgling—I have not heard of it, and I doubt very much if Starbuck has.

A simple example of practical training in conduct for the little folks may be readily cited. Suppose the lawns in the neighbourhood of the school are being spoiled by some students, and a group of younger children undertake to protect the lawns. Now then work should consist not in the mere discussion of what might be done, but in the making of actual plans which they are to carry out. They may make little signboards with such signs as "Please Help Save the Grass", "Don't Spoil the Lawn", "Keep off the Grass". It is thought that if such a training could be given for meeting all moral situations, the problem of ethical education would be very near solution.

Dr. Starbuck has prepared a series of interesting charts of projects and problems to enrich a character training curriculum. Here are some of his suggestions: Two groups of students act out settlement of a quarrel; make a bird restaurant and support it collectively; make badges to wear on certain patriotic days; mother an orphan animal; make an observation trip to locate insect homes; give an exhibition of Spartan

gymnastic training ; play teacher in settling a quarrel; report to the municipal authorities breeding places of flies and mosquitos , establish a school bank , report on some martyrs and heroes of science , visit and study a bank ; write a school creed , plan and earn money for dinner for adopted family ; create beautiful designs

These and scores of other suggested projects involve the carrying of moral ideas into action Such activities make for interest and insure a rigid training on the part of students What is more important still is that the projects involve, in most cases, a community of effort. "The spirit of the group vitalizes the interest of each one The truest fellowships spring up among those devoted to common causes The surest mark of the good person is his ability to enter sympathetically into the activities of a group and to accept his share in common enterprises Habits of social responsiveness are the best training in moral responsibility ' In the program of ethical instruction, all that the teacher should do would be to give hints and suggestions, and never under any circumstance moral homilies

The old rule, "Spare the rod and spoil the child', has long long been in the discard in the progressive educational world. Goose stepping in education is thoroughly out of fashion. Pupils should be trusted always. They should be allowed, tactfully and gracefully, to learn from their own experience. There is practically no limit to their capacities to think their way through moral questions. "There is hardly any limit to the acumen and refinement of thought children can command when they face a *real* situation There is hardly any thinking to which they can be driven when forced up against an *artificial* situation.' The aim of the cultural teacher should be not to enforce Prussian discipline, but to help every boy and girl, young man and woman, into a thoughtful grasp of life's purpose and values. And if there is anything at all in the student, he will in time develop creatively.

Dr. Starbuck, with the aid of a staff of research assistants, is now engaged in preparing a detailed classified bibliography that will give school teachers quick access to the choicest materials on character education. Says Dr Starbuck,

"Teachers must have ready reference, to the best stories that stir the impulses of courage and heroism and the choicest poems that awaken a sense of the beauty of natural objects, the records in history that show the possibility of service through wealth,songs that voice the spirit of love and loyalty, and so on through an endless tools of culture that can vitalize and give moral significance to everything that is done."



Making Merry on the Green
Children enjoy their annual spring play day.

With the aid of such a bibliography which will utilize the best wealth of material now available in story, poetry, drama, tradition, the teacher will be able to help the pupils in establishing habits of moral reaction.

The question may be asked . Should religion be included in ethical teaching ? That depends upon the meaning of the word religion. To Dr. Starbuck, religion consists in whole-hearted response to ideal values such

as beauty, truth, reverence for the divine order of the world He sympathizes with the aims of those who would include religion, founded upon broad principles, in a program of moral training Liberal in religious and social questions, he holds however, that true religion has nothing to do with fabulous yarns, creeds, dogmas, and all the other cargo of beliefs invented by theology With all his gentle, warm affection for his fellowmen, Starbuck, I believe, would make a Cannibalistic holiday for all such non-essentials of theological category Well, why not? For one, I can surely offer no strong objection

In the Western world of to-day, culture, not sectarian religion, is the ultimate court of *appeal Social and psychological changes* leave huge sections of theology high and dry on the shores of time Theological creeds and dogmas are merely the handiwork of man They come and go as women's fashion-plates, they serve their time, they pale and die, and are forgotten John Calvin, who piled the faggots around the Spanish physician Servetus, because of his denial of the Trinity, was regarded by the Christians of his day as a religious saint Roasting a live man at the stake, for creedal differences, was supposed to please God and the Holy Ghost I am not an expert on ghostly matters; but I have always maintained that Calvin was a creed-monger. Most of the Calvinists, however, are now civilized and have developed better morals Today the creeds and dogmas of John Calvin no longer hold the intellect of Scotland in their paralyzing grip, as they did years ago Humanity has risen supreme over Calvinism, as it ever will over every other creed of the practitioners of theology As I see it, the religion that counts most in this sad vale of tears is the religion of heart, the religion of mercy and pity and charity

The future welfare of the citizens of a nation is in the schools They should be the power house of inspiration Schools which build character, which produce intelligent and public spirited citizenship, are among the greatest assets of a country. For after all, the purpose of education is not merely to make a living but a life This is the time for educational reconstruction in India We need better schools, and better teachers At present some of our teachers are as competent to teach as a troupe of chimpanzees to play the Vina We should know only one aristocracy the aristocracy of competence and culture Our country wants the best youth with the best training May the schools of the future in India become the true Temples of Wisdom, and the teachers their authentic High Priests!

THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD*

THE book contains the Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St Andrews in 1924-25 It is the second course of lectures the first course was delivered in the year 1920 in the same University and the subject was "Greek hero cults and ideas of immortality

Lord Gifford, a Scotch lawyer founded a lectureship in each of the four Scottish Universities viz of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and St Andrews, the amount of endowment to these Universities being respectively £25,000, £20,000, £20,000 and £15,000

The Gifford Lecturers are all men of approved merit and most of them are scholars of world-wide reputation

These lectures have grown to be a literature in themselves and some of them have already become classics Among the lecturers we find such names as—

Adam Alexander Balfour Bergson, Bosanquet Bruce, E Caird I. Caird Campbell, Driesch, Farnell, Fowler Fraser Frazer Gwatkin, Haldane, Inge James Jones, Lang Laurie, Lloyd Morgan, Max-Muller Patterson Pfleiderer Pringle-Pattison, Royce, Sayce Sorley Stirling Stokes Thompson, Tiele, Tylor Wallace, Watson, Webb (some of them twice)

Dr Farnell was twice appointed Gifford Lecturer and this shows in what estimation he is held by the literary world He is a scholar of vast learning, keen intellect and Catholic spirit He is a specialist in Hellenic Literature and his "Cults of the Greek States" (5 volumes 84 s) is a standard work His "Evolution of Religion" is an anthropological study and his Hibbert Lectures deal with the "Higher Aspects of Greek Religion". The Present course of Gifford Lectures is a valuable contribution to

* The attributes of God by Lewis Richard Farnell. Published by the Clarendon Press Oxford Pp X+283. Price 12s 6d

the literature on comparative religion. But the value of these lectures would have been far more enhanced, had he been able to draw fresh and additional materials from the Indian Literature. In spite of this, the book is extremely useful

We give below a summary of the lectures without any comment of our own

I (*a*)

This course of lectures is not directly concerned with the basic principles of all higher religions, its chief concern is to review the qualities and activities attributed to God in the living religions or in those that have lived and had force' 'It is an essential chapter in comparative religion

(*b*)

At the outset the author assumes that the basis of religion is never primarily intellectual The stuff of religion is emotional and psychic But he admits that intellectual activity reacts on religion and modifies it Thus", says our author, a devoted physicist may be so penetrated with the sense and the value of the law and order of the cosmos that he must revolt from a religion which proclaims indiscriminate miracles and casual divine interference with nature (pp 5-6)

(*c*)

ORIGINS AND VALIDITY

Our author says—"The discovery of origins may exercise a momentous influence upon religious faith and even practice" "If it can be clearly shown that certain dogmas that we have believed essential to our [-Christian] higher theology are only transfigured refinements or symbols of some old-world ritual that is abhorrent to us, such as human sacrifice or of some crude ethical view which are now pronounced immoral such as the rightfulness of vicarious punishment, it may well be that those dogmas will gradually lose their hold on the thoughtfully religious" 'We can imagine how difficult it might be to maintain a fervid Mariolatry among sincere Christians if the worshipper was vividly conscious that he was worshipping, not the historic personage but another form of the great Pagan Goddess of the Mediterranean" (p 8) "But recent discovery has compelled or stimulated the champions of orthodox Christianity somewhat to change their position" (9) Many of them have now accepted the formula "origin does not affect validity"(9)

(II) (*a*) ANTHROPOMORPHISM

The subject dealt with in the second chapter is "Personal and Anthropomorphic Deity" "The imputed attributes of the Highest God are,"—says our author. "The glorified reflex of the ideal man" (22). "The full history of anthropomorphism would reveal the evolution of the concept of deity, presented in the first stage as the naive and crude concept of the earthly king, with many of the weaknesses, tyrannies, jealousies of his human counter part, demanding nourishment, gifts and bribes, and angry and vindictive on their omission; then among the progressive communities divested more and more of all human weakness and degradation until it approaches the ideal of human personality transcending the limits of time and space; until at last in the highest speculation or vision, the idea is released from all material embodiment and God becomes pure spirit, but a spirit still in harmony with man's This evolution is the record of thousands of years of man's spiritual history, and has been the work of poets, philosophers and prophets" (27)

IDOLATRY. "Of the higher world-religions the only two that have remained consistently non-idolatrous are the Judaic and the Islamic ......The history of Christendom in this matter has been strange and tragic The early church upheld for a time the Judaic ideal but the spirit of the Hellenic and Mediterranean idol-lover triumphed soon over the spirit of Moses and the popular religion of Christendom, except within the shrinking borders of Puritan Protestantism, must to-day be called idolatrous" (36)

SACRIFICE "To the Cruder Anthropomorphic imagination The sacrifice is not only a gift to placate the divinity, a bribe by which to win his favour, as the earthly ruler may be placated and bribed, but it is necessary sustenance without which the deity like man, would perish. The Gods need the same sustenance as man and where men were cannibals or where they had once been cannibals, human victims might be offered as a cannibalistic feast" (38).

"The ritual of the gift offering to God, either of the fruits of the earth or of the animal life, has not actually survived in Christendom as an orthodox act of worship .. But as we might expect, the feeling that inspired it has not wholly died out among us (Christians) and occasionally manifests itsef among our own (Christian) Congregtion in quaint and innocent ways, the flock may be appealed to for contributions to the poor or for some gift to the church of furniture or vestment or decoration as if these were "gifts' to God. In religion, as elsewhere, what was once literal thought, survives in our speech as metaphor, and the history of the word 'Sacrifice,' which has become a common word of our secular-moral vocabulary is strangely interesting" P 42

VICARIOUS SACRIFICE "Far more momentous," continues our author, 'is the influence exercised by the pre-Christian ideas of the sacrifices on one of the fundamental dogmas of our traditional Christology, the dogma interpreting the death of Christ" (42)

"The idea of Vicarious Justice or vengeance is inherited from the savage state of our race, when the morality was tribal, communal or corporate only, when the sense of individual responsibility had not arisen, when the sin of one affected the whole group, when the savage blood-feud was satisfied with the slaying of any member of the offending tribe although the individual slain may have been wholly innocent of the original offence. Therefore in accepting the vicarious sacrifice the duty is as undiscriminating as the savage. We have risen far above it in our secular law and ethics, but as religion with its instinctive conservatism is the stronghold of ideas extinct elsewhere, the vicarious sacrifice is still a prominent dogma in our religious history (45) It is "reflected in the teaching that came to be accepted as orthodox in the church concerning the death of Christ" (46).

(III)

Polytheism and 'Monotheism". In the third

chapter the author tries to account for the rise and growth of polytheism and its drawbacks. He has described also its contributions to civilization and advanced religion

With reference to Christianity our author writes:—

"Mediterranian polytheism was never permanently overthrown and that many of its fibres *survive in the soil of our orthodox Christianity*. The fervent votary of the Virgin is touched unconsciously—it may be—by race-memories of Isis, *Artemis*, *Cybele*, or the Cretan Goddess We may applaud and approve this.. . But in this attitude we must part company with the old Testament and abandon any claim to call our religion a pure monotheism a term which strictly applies only to Unitarian Christianity the current popular religion of Europe should be rather described as a high spiritual polytheism *tempered and restrained by the Athanasian creed*" (100-101) In another place he writes—' There is a strong reason for believing that the majority of earnest Christians have always addressed their prayers primarily to God and to Christ as two distinct personages without any thought of the triune dogma, and that the Holy spirit is too shadowy an entity for the popular mind to grasp" (99)

(IV) Physical and Ethical Aspect

In the fourth chapter he describes two types of divinities, viz.—(I) Elemental and Nature-divinities; (ii) and divine personalities of ethical and *spiritual* characteristics 'Nature and the elements of nature may be felt and perceived as divine either in an animistic or theistic sense, the whole fabric of the world or striking parts of it may be believed to be permeated with an immanent divine spirit or spirits and this view in the terms of populor religion is called animism and is supposed to be more natural to primitive consciousness, or *it may be regarded* as directed either as a whole or in the various parts of it, by a High God or subordinate gods, personalities of super human power and intelligence acting from without and this may be called 'theism, belief in a world controlled by a personal *theos* or *theoi*. We may often find both beliefs and modes of imagination combined in the same religion and the animistic view appeals, not merely to the savage but to the civilized mind and agrees well with our higher poetry, the more ideal phases of science and with a pantheistic philosophy" (pp 103-104)

(V) Tribal God

In the fifth chapter, the author describes the development of Universalised God from tribal deities. The God of Israel was originally a tribal god. "The tribal god", says our author, "may be crueland pitiless in respect of aliens, the cruelty of Jahwe a reflex of old Hebrew ferrocity is a blot in the elder religion of Israel and its shadow remains in our own. The tribal god is a communal god and concerned mainly with the whole Society and less with the individual soul Also, the morality of the tribe, its moral responsibility is corporate, and the whole body must suffer for the sins of an individual, the sins of the fathers is visited upon the children. There is some survival of this mode of thought in our own culture; for in certain doctrine concerning the Atonement, as that through the sin of Adam all mankind are guilty, our own advanced theology" continues our author, "bears the imprint of the old tribal theory of corporate responsibility, of which the converse doctrine is that one life may atone for the sin of the whole community, and that is the basis of much of our Christology." (pp 124-125)

The tribal religion is according to the author, naturally intolerant 'Wars of religion, the outcome of the fanatical cruelty that prompts or justifies the extermination of aliens of different creed' are characteristically Judaic The same spirit appears with devastating results in Islam" The early Christian church accepted the Judaic dogma that God's pity and scheme of salvation are extended only to those who hold the right theory of his nature and follow the right worship and that those who do not are outside the pale of his mercy or orthodox man's compassion.' (pp. 127-128.)

(VI) Political Attributes

In the sixth chapter the author describes the political attributes of God He finds an interaction between religion and politics in ancient Greece But the ancient Greek Society was not theocratic The idea of theocracy was developed in the Semetic Communities Israel and Babylonia 'Before Jahove had dictated to Moses his ordinances for the tribes of Israel, *Hammurabai* had received the first secular legislative code in the world directly from the hands of the sun-god Shamash (110) 'The pyramid texts of Egypt, as recently expounded by Breasted reveal the same interdependence of government and religion' (111) This 'old-world view of God the legislator, the author of the whole social system under which a particular community lives probably survives nowhere outside Israel and Islam' (144)

In the old world, the kings were the immemorial depositaries of the state religion, thus showing the close association between kingship and Godhead We may note that 'the Christian tradition has maintained the political-religious conception of the divine right of kings' On the other hand we find 'in ancient Athens a religious consecration of democracy and that divinity of their state became a democrat' (153)

Regarding the warlike attributes of God, the author says—'There is scarcely any theistic religion in the world in which the high deity or deities have been kept aloof from any concern in war. Looking at least at its past history we must say that the religion of Christendom forms no exception, it has been deeply infected with the bellicose traditions of the Old Testament and in large areas inflamed with the war-like spirit of the north we discern this in much of the phraseology and metaphors of our liturgy and hymns, in a strong and naive verse of our Nationa Anthem and in our prayers for victory over the king's enemies, while our prayer to be delivered 'from battle, murder and sudden death' is no always sincere".—(P. 158).

'The old idea accepted and proclaimed by Judaism Christianity, Mazdaism and Islam that war agains unbelievers was inspired by God, is extinct now and not likely to survive. The higher ethical though of Greece, as represented by Plato, was conten to regard war as a grim necessity to be accepted at times by the most law-abiding state' (159).

(VII) MORAL ATTRIBUTES

(a)

The heading of the seventh chapter is "The moral attributes of God" The author says that beneficence is a fixed attribute of the deity in primitive religions and the concept of a maleficent deity is comparatively rare. In Mazdaism an evil principle is recognised "But Moulton has given strong reasons for believing that this apparent duality of Ahriman, the evil god, with Ahura Mazdah in a dualistic world was not part of the original message delivered by Zarathustra but was a degeneracy in later Magianism, in any case there is no evidence that Ahriman received any kind of worship from the good Mazdean, who was his mortal foe.' (163)

(b)

In all higher religions of the older world, the most prominent attribute of the divine character has been justice' This is the dominant aspect of the Old Testament in the Koran as well as Greek thought and the Vedic system, (167-168) But there are 'ugly facts of life'—the prosperity of the unjust and the afflictions of the just' (168) Various solutions have been attempted The *locus classicus*, the Book of Job, finds no solution But one passage of the psalms the easy solution is offered that we must not judge too hastily of God" (168) "The idea of belated justice has also suggested another solution, namely that though the unjust man will escape punishment in his own life, retribution will fall upon his children and his children's children the theory of vicarious punishment familiar to the old world and prominent in the Old Testament' (169) 'Another solution is the belief in a posthumous judgment' is most clearly expressed in the Egyptian and the Zorathustrian religion 'Next it appears in power and force in Israel shaping the vision of the Jewish Apocalypses and Christianity, deriving it thence, has made it hetherto the keynote of orthodox faith,' (170-1711

'If we reflect", says our author "of the various visions of judgment and the discourses on the theme contained in a vast body of literature sacred and profane the Jewish apocalyptic books, the writings of the Christian fathers, the creeds of the church, the works of the theologians of the middle ages and the reformation and post-reformation periods down to recent times, we discern how the ideas of divine justice embodied in them have been infected with human passion, human vindictiveness and intolerance and are dictated by ethical standards of action that are no longer accepted by the highest modern thought. For throughout this long period the award of salvation and happy immortality has been made to depend not on pure righteousness but on dogmatic belief, ceremonial sacraments, or in Gnostic systems, on the knowledge of certain formulae; therefore St Augustine was obliged to relegate the unbaptised infant and the virtuous Pagan to hell".. P. 171. But the author writes in another place —'

At least one early Christian father could rise above the orthodox view, namely Origen, who maintained that all God's punishments were purgatory merely, not vindictive and that ultimately all souls will be saved" (173.)

The Hellens, though they held some theory of Hell which was deepened by Orphism, were saved generally by their temparament from brooding on it with that insistence which has darkened the imagination of so many of the Christian and Moslem world And Neo-Platonism could at least expunge the idea of cruelty and vindictiveness from the character of God by interpreting Hell as a state of the mind" (173)

'The darker side of the traditional doctrine of the Day of Judgement rests on an ethical theory of Justice, human and divine, that is called the vindictive theory—'good must be meted out for good, evil for evil'. Jewish theology never seems to have risen above this in its exposition of the ultimate divine purpose -And Christianity down to our own day has been in its doctrine of Judgment in bondage to the Judaic spirit, of which it inherited a large measure from the beginning". (173-171)

"The vindictive theory was first challenged as we should expect, by the humanitarian ethics and philosophy of the Greeks. In conformity with Plato's theory of human punishment, that its intention should be reformative and remedial only, Greek speculation on the whole purified God's justice of any element of vindictiveness and explained it as directed to the good of mankind or the whole cosmos. We might conclude from passages in Plato's *Republic* that he could condemn the Christian traditional doctrine of the Day of Judgement on the view that it tends to base morality on a system of rewards and punishments and thereby to degrade its essential nature the true value of morality and especially of Justice, according to the highest teaching of Greek ethic is that it assimilates man to God" (175)

Our author refers also to "the theory that the dispensation of happiness and unhappiness in the next world will be the exact reversal of that which prevails in this, so as to make things equal as between one world and the other. It strangely appears as the motive of the parable of Dives and Lazaras and on the surface of such beautitudes as 'blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh', and in the counter utterance 'woe unto you that are rich' for ye 'have received your consolation' In such passages we have a picture of the two worlds as each mechanically adjusting the inequalities of the other, and such a vision of Judgement differs *toto caelo* from that other where in the divine justice is dispensed according to the tests of righteousness, faith, and good works." (177).

(c)

Then the author discusses the divine attribute of Mercy It is 'less prominent in the Old Testament than in Hellenic religious literature'. It reaches its strongest expression in the New testament. 'Hence emerges the concept of the Saviour God, Christ, Krishna, Asclepios' and 'hence the concept of the God suffering for humanity' (ix).

(d)

Other moral attributes discussed are Holiness and Purity From these emerges 'the idea of the total renunciation of the sex-life'—'the exaltation of virginity'.

(e)

In the concluding part of the seventh lecture, the following two pronouncements are examined:

(i) First, that religion was the source and formative cause of all morality.

(ii) Secondly, that religion, in the clear sense of belief in a personal moral duty, gives the only sure basis and ultimate validity to the moral life. (205).

The discussion is highly interesting and should be read not in a summary but in the original.

But for the convenience of our readers we may summarise the views of the author. He says—"It is obvious that to sanction anything is not the same as to originate it, therefore the observed fact that in ancient society and to some extent in modern, religion sanctions law is no proof that herein lay their origin." (206) He further says—"In fact we may find primitive tribes without any clear belief in personal deities but we find none without morality. (207)

"The opposition" says our author, "between the two views as to the source of moral validity, the secular and the religious, may be most strongly presented by contrasting Aristotelian ethics with the theories of the medieval disciples of Occam; the Aristotelian system is secular almost throughout, based on a subtle analysis of human society and the human soul; the practically wise and good man gives the standard for the moral judgement and it is valid because it is intrinsically reasonable; but for the Occamist it was valid because God pronounced it, and his paradox though quaint is logical that, if God had ordered us to hate him it would be our moral duty to hate God." (208)

Then he combines the two views:

"The secular and the religious points of view are combined by maintaining that the moral judgment is valid because it is reasonable and being reasonable it is also God's injunction. Only then, we must allow that its validity would remain even if belief in its divine origin disappeared."

"Or it may be that the surest method for harmonizing the secular and the religious aspect of morality is to maintain that the power of pronouncing a moral judgement comes to us from the intuitive perception of moral values, the perception that something is morally good and must therefore be done or chosen and that this is a value-judgment belonging like the value-judgments on beauty and truth, to the spiritual order and that spiritual order is permeated with the power and essence of God." (208–209)

VIII (a) Beauty

In the eighth chapter the author discusses the attributes of Beauty, Wisdom and Truth. In Judaism, Egyptian religion, Moslemism, Mesopotamean and Vedic polytheisms there is no prominence of the idea of beauty as a divine attribute. "The association of the idea of beauty with the religious sphere, encouraged by the strong anthropomorphism of the Hellens and their unique artistic faculty and enthusiasm was a distinctive feature of Greek philosophy and especially the Platonic and Neoplatonic, reappearing at a later period in the religious theory of the Cambridge Platonists." (211).

"The overmastering impressionableness of the Greek temperament to beauty suggested to Greek philosophy the conviction that beauty was a part of a higher reality." (212).

(b) Wisdom and Truth

Wisdom and Truth are considered divine in all higher religions. "But neither in Mazdaism nor in Judaism nor in orthodox Islam do we find any expression of the belief that God inspires or favours the devotion of the intellect to pure science or high philosophy. The religious trend of the three great peoples was innately hostile or indifferent to such pursuits." (218).

"The outburst and marvellous development of science and philosophy from the sixth century onwards in Hellas is primarily due to the intellectual genius of the race and their enthusiastic devotion to the things of the mind. As has been well said the Hellen was the first man who endeavoured to make himself at home in the world and for that purpose he was incited to study it as it was. And in this he was actually assisted or at least not hindered as for long centuries Christendom was hindered by religion. (218)

Regarding the Hebrew and the Hellenic idea of God's personality our author says—

"Whereas for the Hebrew personality of God is mainly a moral power by Plato and Aristotle and the succeeding schools it tends to be expressed in intellectual terms. So that God could be defined as the supreme 'Nous' or mind of the universe as Apollo was explained by Empedocles as the holy thought of the world. (219)

With reference to the Hellenistic and the Christian ideal, the author writes—"Although Hellenistic ideal survived with a changed expression in Neo-Platonism it could not maintain itself in the face of a victorious Christianity, whose spirit and trend of enthusiasm were essentially alien to the life of the secular thinker and scientist. Stress is now laid on repentance and faith rather than knowledge and among the divine attributes of justice mercy and love rather than wisdom are thought." (220)

IX Power

The ninth chapter deals with the divine attribute of Power. Power is the most essential mark of divinity not only in advanced but also in primitive religions. But the dogma of divine omnipotence is of later development. The developed mind sees this omnipotence in the Cosmic Law whereas the undeveloped mind finds it in the so-called violation of that Law. Our author says, "We have the right to believe that the primitive mind is more excited by that which is extraordinary and occurs at rare intervals than by the regular sequence and the constant order of recurrence of phenomena, and early theistic faith discerns more easily in the former, for instance in the hurricane, the thunder, the earthquake, the pestilence, the rainbow the undoubted manifestations of divine power. If such power so manifested is regarded as omnipotent, it might be the impotence of an arbitrary despot bound by no law but by caprice and varying emotion. It is at this state of thought on God, that miracles abound ... Gradually and with difficulty but with ever-increasing conviction our minds have arisen to the conception of the natural world, first proclaimed by the physicists of Ionia in the sixth century B.C. as a great cosmos of ordered and connected forces governed by Law. If this physical revelation is combined with theistic faith, these so-called Laws of Nature may be regarded as manifestations and determinations of God's infinite power and wisdom. Now it is no longer the arbitrary and irregular, but the fixed and rational order of things that is recognized as best displaying the transcendent majesty of omnipotence. Such recognition is broadcast throughout

philosophy where it uses theistic language " (240-241).

prayer our author remarks .—

need not be thought irreligious to pray for ost childish and grotesque. But as we gain ore educated sense of the laws of nature and e raise and define our conception of the ute of omnipotence by linking it with wisdom implies a mind working it in accordance a plan and with steadfastness of thought and we feel that there are certain things we ot pray for ... Our own (Christian) liturgy s in urgent need of revision in respect of the ts for which we think it legitimate to proffer we do not pray for alterations in the or movements of the planets but we show lves on the primitive level of knowledge and ion when we pray for or against rain as h the weather, being variable, obeyed no law depended on the caprice or temper of an ional deity and we seem to impute to the e ruler a startling inconstancy of purpose we petition him, as in the Burial Service to n the 'Day of Judgment (214-215)

(X) METAPHYSICAL

he tenth and last chapter is metaphysical and erefore highly controversial It deals with the lute and personality, the dilemma of pantheism, Eternity and timelessness, Infinity and evil, The theories of William James and Rashdall concerning a Finite God and some other kindred subjects.

According to the author the idealistic concept of God as the Absolute, ineffable, unknowable, indeterminate is of no value for religion 'Religion demands personality', and this idea is, according to him, inconsistent with the Absolute All-in-All.

Referring to a particular, though predominant school of Indian thought our author writes —

According to Indian thought a permanent unchanging God could have no relation to the movement and activity of life, for according to its narrower view permanence is excluded from activity But the Greek mind achieved the deeper theory that the power which caused change and movement might itself remain unchanged and unmoved, and therefore such a power might be interpreted as a divine creator and the source of life and activity". (259)

We have taken too much space, but considering the worth of the book we have thought it necessary to let our readers know what the nature of the book is

Of all the books covering the same ground it is the best The book is indispensable to the students and teachers of comparative religion No library should be without it

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed Assamese, Bengali English, French, German, arati, Hindi Italian Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, ish Tamil, Telugu and Urdu Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their olutions, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc.,will not be noticed. The ipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. review of any book is not guaranteed Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese iewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer etc., according to the language of the books. No icism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R*]

ENGLISH

OMAN EDUCATION FROM CICERO TO QUINTILIAN *By ney Gwynn, S J 260 pp (Oxford University ss), 10 s net*

This is a very well-written and instructive work the subject of educational history among the ld-conquering Romans and the influence of cation on their character at different periods r describing concisely the early Roman tradis and the ideals of the Greek and Roman races author describes the coming to Rome of hers from conquered Greece, the revolution (if strong term be permitted) in Roman education character, and the new Graeco-Roman culture ch was thus evolved. Cicero is studied in at detail, and rightly so, as he was the flower his fusion of cultures. So also is Quintilian, masterly exponent of the new rhetoric.

The work is not only interesting and plesant to read (on account of the author's lucidity and terseness and attention to "the *general principles* which underlie all Greek and Roman theories of education"), but gives the reader food for thought, especially to us living in a modern organized empire which replaced an oriental civilization of the mediaeval type in its last stage of decline

"A vast change was taking place in Roman society under the early Empire. Tacitus has analysed this social change (*Annals*, iii 55), and has described the various elements which were rapidly replacing the old Roman aristocratic families in the Senate and as officers of the imperial administration. Two main Types can be distinguished —the members of obscure *Roman* families and an increasingly large body of talented provincials to whom the imperial policy gave opportunities of public service which had been denied by the more conservative statesmen of the Republic. Vespasian's story is

the story of a successful civil servant owing every thing to the Empire His grandfather had been a centurion in Pompey's army, his father was a tax-farmer....The younger Pliny's correspondents, with their endless talk of culture and literary criticism, were the sons and grandsons of men like Vespasian ...The imperial civil service was perhaps the surest road to success under the early Empire" (134-137.)

Making allowances for the difference in race between the rulers of British India and the people of the country and the restrictions upon the rise of the latter up the official ladder, does not the above give us an anticipation of the state of things among the Indians equipped with that new learning which Bentinck and Auckland had introduced and of which the generation coming of age just after the Mutiny (headed by Satyendra Nath Tagore) took full advantage ?

On p 135, the author uses a marked man' in the sense of a man marked out for distinction We commend it to the notice of those Indian opium eaters who can write nothing themselves but make Pecksniffian structures on what they falsely brand as Indian English, though sanctioned by the best *Englishmen's* usage

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN (*Patna and Gaya Districts 1811) Edited by V H Jackson Pp 270+39 with 4 maps and 2 plates (Patna Govt Press) Rs. 1.*

Francis Buchanan, M D, first earned the gratitude of students of Indian antiquities and social conditions, by publishing in 1807, in theree quarto volumes, the notes of his Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar (made in 1800-1801), which describe "the state of Agriculture, Arts and commerce religion, manners, and customs, natural and civil history, and antiquities of the Dominions of the Rajah of Mysore' In 1807 he was ordered by the Government of India to go out with a staff of pandits, maulavis and draughtsmen, and make a similar Gazetteer survey of the Bihar and Bengal districts,—which actually extended from Shahabad in the west to Rungpur (and Kamrup) in the east. Buchanan's report to Government in 25 folio volumes with many drawings, remained in MS in the India office London, till at last in 1838, a selection from them made in the most haphazard and unintelligent manner by Montgomery Martin, was published in three octavo volumes, as "Eastern India" without Buchanan's name on the title page. (The report on the District of Dinajpur alone was printed in Calcutta in 1833)

In addition to the *Reports* submitted to Government, Buchanan also kept a private diary (*Journal*) during his survey, and this also (with the exception of the Purnia volume) has found its way to the India office. In addition he carefully corrected Rannell's maps of these districts from his own survey.

From this it will be seen what a vast mass of information, collected by a trained observer on the economic, social and architectural condition of Bihar and Bengal, just on the eve of their modernization, is included in the Buchanan paper. In the present century these attracted the attention of three high officials of Bihar—Sir Hugh Macpherson, Mr. C. E. A.W. Oldham, and Principal V H. Jackson,—during their Home furloughs Thanks to the generosity of some Bihar Rajahs, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (supplemented by the local Government) have undertaken to [illegible] Buchanan's *Journal* (as yet in MS.) and *Report* supplying all the omissions of M[illegible]

The Patna-Gaya Journal, annotated by Mr V Jackson, is before us No better editor could h[ave] been found, as he has again and again trave[lled] through the interior of the districts and retra[ced] Buchanan's paths in the tracts rich in Buddhi[st] antiquities Mr Jackson's Introduction conta[ins] many correctives of accepted views and indica[tes] his deep study of the subject from every ang[le] while his "Notes on old Rajgriha' (in the App[en]dix pp 239-250) with its site-map is invalua[ble] to students and tourists alike We are glad t[o] this map and notes are now available in a han[dy] form. No orthodox Hindu should read Dr Ca[ld]well's analysis of *Silajit* (pp 237-238) science is destroyer of caste purity like *kala-pani*

On the subject of Buddhistic antiquiti[es] Buchanan, who wrote in the days of ignoran[ce] before Prinsep, is disappointing, and his han[d] sketches of inscriptions mostly worthless [illegible] also are his draughtsmen's plates

HINDU-PAD-PADASHAHI *or a Review of the Hin[du] Empire of Maharashtra By V D Savarkar. [illegible] xii+296 (B G Paul & Co, Madras) Rs 3*

The volume has a *foreword* by the auth[or] himself an *introduction* by Dr R. C Majumd[ar] of the Dacca University, and yet another introdu[c]tion (called *announcement*) by the publisher Th[e] bookseller (naturally, as the cynic will add) mak[es] this boast—"The Author has laid under contrib[u]tion all contemporary records,—historical, literar[y] and epistolary,—and there is not a single f[act] cited here for which he is not prepared to qu[ote] chapter and verse as authority"

There is not a single citation of authorit[y] quotation from sources, or bibliography in th[e] whole work, and a study of its contents show[s] that it is the latest example of that roman[tic] writing which passes for history among th[e] Chauvinists of the Chitapavan caste Rajwade['s] critical insight and direct contact with origin[al] sources often saved him,—though a Chitpava[n] when he went perilously near such absurditie[s] But Mr Savarkar had no such equipment W[e] should be sorry if this book is taken as a specime[n] of the history which modern critical Marath[i] scholars can write, for such an inference would d[o] injustice to Sare and Khare, Parasnis and Sardesai besides several keen and rightly directed youngmen whom I have met with in the Western Presidency Mr Savarkar's feelings have no doubt affected h[is] historical vision, and this disturbing factor [is] wanting in the other writers

It is impossible to overestimate the inju[ry] which such false readings of our country's [pa]st and emotional extravagance of the platform orat[or] type put in print do to the true advance of [the] nation. Is the young Indian of the future to [go] forth into the world's broad field of battle and m[eet] his political and economic rivals, fed on wir[e]? *Knowledge* is power, passion only darkens [the] vision and unsteadies the boxer.

It will be enough to quote a few examples [of] Mr. Savarkar's view in illustration :

(*a*) The mutiny of the Sepoy mercenaries [in] 1857 due to the fear of forcible pollution by p[ig's] lard and cow's fat, was "a *national* rising" (p. [illegible])

(b) "The day when the Haribhaktas of Hindudom entered Delhi in triumph and the Moslem throne and crown and standard lay hammered and rolling in dust at the feet of Bhau and Vishwas Rao in 1761 was the day which made an honourable unity between the Hindus and the Moslems more or less feasible ..The Hindus conquered the conqueror and then could honourably embrace him if so he wished, as a fellow countryman and friend" (xiv) Mr. Savarkar recommends these views "to the attention of all Indian patriots, Moslems as well as Hindus." Yes, there is no love-philtre like the Taming of the Shrew!

(c) The Maratha annihilation at Panipat was a defeat that vanquished the victor as well" (p 121).

J. Sarkar

AN EXPOSITION OF THE DIRECTIONAL ASTROLOGY OF THE HINDUS AS PROPOUNDED IN VIMSHOTTARI DASA *By Dr V G. Rele, L M and S, F. C P S Published by the author (Girgaum, Bombay), pp 36 Price not known*

An interesting booklet on Astrology. It contains a chart explaining the periods of planets according to Vimshottari Dasa.

THE ISVAR-GITA TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH *By L Kannoo Mal M. A, Judge Dholpur State Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Proprietors The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot Lahore Pp 62. Price Re 1-8*

The book forms a part of the Kurma Purana and contains 11 chapters with 496 slokas It is written in imitation of the Bhagavat-Gita and is worth-reading.

The translation is readable, but the translator has made some provincial mistakes which jar upon our ears He writes 'Brahm' for 'Brahman' or 'Brahma, 'Pran' for 'Prana' 'Har' for 'Hara', Ahankar' for 'Ahankara', 'Nirvan' for 'Nirvana', and so on.

THE HOLY LIFE OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR BHAGWAN SHRI-KRISHNA VOL I BALA-KANDA *By S N K Bhurkar, B A. Coondapoor, S K. Dst. Pp 63 Price 12.*

Compiled from the Puranas.

MAHESH CH. GHOSH

THE SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER PAPERS OF RAI CHUNILAL BOSE BAHADUR, C I E *Ed. by J P. Bose, M B, F. C S D C. 16, pp. 558, Vol II, Calcutta, 1925. Rs. 5.*

The second volume of collected papers of Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose has been published. Unlike the first volume which was meant mainly for scientific readers this volume is written in a simple style free from technicalities and contains matter of general interest such as dietary, milk supply, infant mortality, maternity and child welfare, health of college students, temperance movement, etc. There are also certain biographical sketches and articles on social problems. The variety of topics discussed indicates the wide range of the author's interest. The paper on food adulteration contains many interesting suggestions which if acted upon will certainly remove this evil to a large extent. In trying to prove the injuriousness of certain types of adulterated articles, *e. g.*, ghee, etc., the author has put forward arguments which may not be accepted as convincing by scientific authorities. The author has made a special study of dietatics and the food values of different articles of diet, and his paper on some common Indian foodstuffs deserves our closest attention. We would, however, like to point out that ordinary analysis of foodstuffs to determine the percentages of protein, fat, carbohydrate etc, gives us very little information about their dietatic value. For example gelatine has very little nutritive value in spite of its high protein content. At the present day no analysis of a food-stuff will be worth considering unless the relative parcentages of the different types of amino-acids yielded by it is known. Animal experiments with proper control are also desirable before anything can be said definitely about any article of diet. The author has advocated the claims of fresh milk-curd and there is no doubt that it can occasionally replace meat and fish with advantage in the Bengali dietary.

In his article on impure air and infant mortality the author has given us a vivid pen picture of the insanitary conditions of the lying-in-rooms in most Indian houses But defects are much easier pointed out than remedied and it is to be feared that no appreciable improvement in this direction will result unless the general economic and educational level of the country is raised

The author's paper on the health of college students is based on the findings of the Student Welfare Committee. The author feels for the students and his suggestions should receive the consideration of the authorities. The author would ascribe the cause of our present degradation and misery to our straying from the high standard of Brahmacharya as preached by our ancient sages. This is an assertion which one frequently comes across in pseudo-scientific works and it would be wise not to attach too much importance to it even when it comes from such an authority as Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose. The author's paper on temperance is well worth reading although one may not agree with all his views or with those of the authorities he quotes The biographical sketches give the personal impressions of the writer and are interesting. The popular lectures on scientific subjects will be appreciated by a large circle of readers. The papers on marriage dowry and professional beggary will amply repay perusal The paper on immoral traffic bill is obviously based on reports of certain social bodies and lacks that element of interest which comes through personal study.

The book is provided with an extensive index. The price Rs. 5 seems too high.

THE YOUNG DELINQUENT. *By Cyril Burt, M. A. D Sc, (Oxon) Demy 8, pp. 643. University of London Press, Ltd. 17/6d. net.*

Dr. Cyril Burt in his book *The Young Delinquent* has given us an exhaustive study of the problems of juvenile delinquency. The study of the abnormal child is of importance not merely because it strives to improve the condition of the young delinquents, but also because it throws valuable light on the problem of education of the normal boy, and the author in his book mainly appeals to those who are interested in the moral welfare of young people. The author writes in a pleasant style and has a clear grasp of the different standpoints from which the problem of delinquency may be approached. It is not merely the investigation of the causes of delinquency that interests him. He has given us valuable sugges-

tions for tackling the problem from the practical standpoint. The author's vast experience in this line has enabled him to make a detailed study of the different factors that are responsible for the abnormality that prompts a child to commit anti-social acts. From the mathematical consideration of the data the author has apportioned the relative patho-genicity of the different factors involved. He has made it clear that it is not a single factor that is responsible for delinquency but that the abnormal state is the result or the final outcome of a multiplicity of factors. So far as the hereditary factors are concerned our present state of knowledge does not indicate any method to modify them, and notwithstanding the best efforts of the eugenists the author believes that no practical results can be obtained in the present generation at least. On the other hand the environmental factors are susceptible of modification and precaution at the early stages will certainly be productive of very hopeful results. The author believes that an intensive study of the child in its earlier years will enable the expert to predict with some amount of definiteness the chances if any of its turning a criminal. The adoption of remedial measures in such cases would certainly be fruitful.

The author's classification of the sub-normal children into the backward, the unstable and the delinquent is of doubtful scientific value, but it has the advantage of practical utility. The book deals exhaustively with the problems of the influences of home life, defective family relationship, companionship, leisure and work so far as they are of importance in the development of a criminal tendency. The physical developmental conditions and the pathological states responsible for delinquency have also been considered fully. Mental deficiency as the most important single factor in the production of the criminal type has been very fairly treated. The instability in the instinctive and the emotional life and the question of habit formation have also received due attention. The author has kept himself abreast of the times and has devoted a special chapter to the findings of the newer psychologists. There is a valuable index of authors, as well as an index of subjects and a bibliography of selected references. On the whole the book is an excellent production and we can confidently recommend it to the lay as well as the technical reader.

G. Bose

The Birhors : A Little Known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur. *By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C., Ranchi, 1925. Price ten rupees, foreign fifteen shillings. Pp VI+608, with index.*

The above account of the Birhors is the third volume of a series of monographs from the pen of the veteran anthropologist, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, on the primitive culture of the different aborigines of Chota Nagpur—an area, of which we owe practically all our systematic data of ethnology to the indefatigable investigations of the same worker.

The people whose manners and customs are described in this volume are one of the rudest and little known of the jungle tribes of India. As in the case of other tribes in a very low state of material and mental culture, the people were believed until recently, to be of cannibalistic habits. At this day, though no long accused of feasting on the flesh of human bein they are credited even by their near neig bors with wonderful magical powers. In t respect they are comparable to the Kurum of the Nilgiris and other tribes in an equa lowly state. Detailed accounts of people l these are of special interest to the student culture history. Some idea of the service do to ethnology by this latest contribution Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, may be gaug from the fact that the previous accounts, ev when quoted *in extenso* (excluding second ha gossip) cover a bare thirty eight pages. The r of the volume running to 597 pages (and plates) is packed with details of the life of t jungle people collected first hand by Mr. Roy repeated visits to their settlements. The di culty of the work was aggravated by the f that the Birhors are scattered in very small migr tory bands over an extensive area of hi and jungles—and the people are usually on t move throughout the year. It is only duri the rains that they form something like a settl ment, usually in some inaccessible place.

In the second chapter of his book the auth gives us a general view of Birhor life, passi on to their social organisation—in the fami and the clan,—and their relations. A full a count of the customs of birth puberty, marria and death follows in the next three chapte and are naturally succeeded by accounts religious and magical beliefs and practices valuable chapter on folktales and one on ar crafts, games and amusements of the Birho brings the survey of the life of the tribe to close. Useful linguistic and anthropometric da are given in the appendices. Appendix IV co tains some interesting data about the size a sex of families. The language of the Birhors belon to the Austric family—a form of speech ass ciated almost everywhere with low material a mental condition. Their economic life belongs to type usually found in the earliest strata material culture. Gathering of fruits, roots a jungle produces, hunting of small animals a monkeys suffice for their economic need Houses are shelters of leaf, even more rudimenta than the temporary huts put up in our ri fields when the corn ripens, while clothi dwindles away to the minimum that may be call covering. The social organisation is also ve simple. The clan may regulate marriage and t tribe exist in name ; but the real effective soc unit is the tanda or hunting camp with constant association in food quest, sacrifices an festivities. Sufficient evidence is however fort coming from the data of kinship and soc usages to show that the clan life was mo organised at some previous stage in the life the people, and the present apparent simplici is due to the almost complete disappearance many complex features. To the student of soc organisation the life history of such a tribe most important ; and the large amount of fir hand data collected by Mr. Roy will prove high useful in a scientific study of the subject.

The Home of an Eastern Clan : A Study of th Palaungs of the Shan States : *By Mrs. Lesl Milne. Pp. VI+428 (including the index). Th Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924. Price 16s.*

Mrs. Leslie Milne is known to readers interested in the people of the Far East, as the authoress of a volume on Shans. The present work is a study of the remnants of an earlier people of different culture, displaced by the Burmans and later on by the Shans who became their rulers. The account given is of the people of one particular Shan state where the ruler is of the same race as the conquered people. The Palaungs whose customs are described in this book by Mrs Milne, are among the few races of Burma speaking a language of the Austric family. Any account of such a people are therefore of interest and value to the culture historian. The usefulness of the work is doubly increased when the writer happens to be fairly conversant with the language of the people described. Mrs Milne's book on the Palaungs will therefore be read with interest by students of ethnology.

The authoress is not familiar with anthropological literature and has not received any training in that line. She has however taken pains to collect as much detail as possible and carefully described the ceremonies observed by the people. The description of these and the life of a Palaung boy or girl from babyhood to marriage are admirable. Very useful information concerning their religious and magical practices and beliefs, are found in the later chapters. The information supplied on many important points are however meagre. There is practically nothing about descent, inheritance succession and kinship nor much about the economic organisation of the village. The strong points of the book lie in the careful attention paid to those aspects of the life of a strange people that draw the attention of an outsider. The weak points are in those matters which are of special interest to the ethnologist but do not obtrude themselves into the everyday life of a people in their relation with a stranger, albeit a welcome and sympathetic visitor.

K. P. Chattopadhyay

Theosophy as the Basic Unity of National Life. *Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price Re 1 1925.*

The four Convention lectures delivered in Bombay at the 49th Anniversary of the Theosophical Society by Dr Besant, J Krishnamurti, Lady Lutyens and C. Jinarajadasa have been collected in this book.

Towards Discipleship (Illust) *By J. Krishnamurti. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1925.*

A collection of "extremely informal and unconventional talks" given "to aspirants for Discipleship."

Gnosticism : *By Mary W Barrie · Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, Price Re. 1-4, 1926*

The substance of lectures delivered in the Brahmvidya Ashrama.

Commercial Arithmetic : *By T. V. Subramania Ayyar : Published by S. Varadachari & Co. Mount Rd. Madras. Price Re. 1-4.*

This book is intended for students of secondary and Commercial schools.

Assam Congress Opium Enquiry Report *Published by Sj. R. K. Hatibarua Chinnamara, Jorhat, Assam Pp. 165. Price Rupee one and annas eight only. Foreign 2 sh. 1925.*

Both in opium-smoking and in opium-eating for non-medicinal purposes, Assam holds the blackest record in India. In its sitting of the 20th June, 1924 the Assam Provincial Congress Committee appointed a representative Committee to enquire into the opium habit, "which has caused misery, unhappiness, physical and moral degradation among the Assamese people". In general in the report, under review, the Committee has succeeded in giving full public information concerning the opium sale, consumption and addiction in Assam. While commending the devoted courage and perseverance of the members of the Committee, we sincerely hope that their recommendations would be accepted by the reformers of Assam and that opium will very soon be prohibited among the indigenous population and the Hill tribes.

P. C. S.

An Introduction to Physical Science · *By Ivor B. Hart, 1925 Oxford University Press. Cloth bound. pp XII+306. Price Rs. 1.*

This is an elementary manual for beginners in Physical Science Considering the size of the book rather a comprehensive treatment has been made of the subject in all its branches, especially Electricity. Moreover the book is quite uptodate The illustrations, lessons and examples will be of real help to the students The arrangement of lessons is sound and should be imitated by Indian authors. The special feature of the book is the stress laid on practical details and experiments.

Chemistry to the Time of Dalton · *By E J. Holmyard The world's manual series, Oxford University Press 1925 Pp 128. Price 2-6d net.*

The main outlines of the development of Chemistry from the earliest times to the establishment of the Atomic Theory by John Dalton at the close of the eighteenth Century have been given in this little manual. The book is throughout made attractive by illustrations. The author has tried to emphasize on the continuity of chemical thought giving in detail the works of the alchemists. The book is however incomplete in the sense that India's contribution to the development of the subject has not even a bare mention. Recent researches show that the very theory of atomic structure of matter owes its origin to the philosophers of India, Kanad and others. The theory was first propounded in Europe by Democritus who had it from India through the Arabs. We request the author to consult Dr. P.C. Ray's History of Hindu Chemistry before publishing a second Edition.

Hindi Religious Poetry. *By the Rev. Ahmad Shah and the Rev. E.W. Ormerod, 1925, pp 232 Price Rs 4-8. Published by Rev. Ahmad Shah, S.P. G. Mission Cawnpore.*

This is a choice collection of Hindi religious Dohas of such saints as Nanak, Kabir, Dadu, Tulsidas, Surdas, Mirabai and others, rendered into beautiful English by the two compilers. The translations are faithful and retain the charm of the original. The compilers have done well in

giving the original Dohas in Hindi script for with those on the left and the traslations on the right pages the book will also help in learning the language itself. The compilers and the publishers deserve our praise for presenting so many beautiful things in one single volume

SELECTED RUSSIAN SHORT STORIES: *Chosen and translated by A E Chamot The World's Classics series, Oxford University Press pp 414 Price Rs 2*

The selection includes fifteen beautiful short stories from the pen of Master Artists of Russia from Alexander Pushkin to Leonid Andreev. Russia has perhaps attained the highest standard in story-writing The stories of Anton Chekhov (two of which are given in this book) are recognised as the best of his age Pushkin Gogol, Lermontov, Turgenev, Dostoevski, Garshin, Gorki, Kuprin and Andreev are considered first class writers of the world This book, containing stories selected from their works, is really a precious addition to one's Library The stories can be read and re-read No selection from Tolstoy is included as his stories form a separate volume of this series.

S. K. D.

BORDERLANDS OF ECONOMICS *By Radhakamal Mukherjee, M A, Ph D, Prof of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University—George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, Indian Agents The Book Co. Ltd. Pp 280*

In this treatise Dr Radhakamal surveys the borderlands between Economics, Biology, Psychology, Ethnology, and Sociology and his wide and extensive reading in these sciences has enabled him to make a solid contribution to Economic Science. In his previous volumes on "Comparative Economics" he has made an intelligent synthesis of the different branches of economic and social sciences. In this book he makes out a plea for understanding the economic activities of mankind from the platform of Natural Science Neither the old classical school of Economics though renovated to a great extent by Dr. Marshall nor the historical school of economists can satisfactorily explain the economic phenomena of our modern days. Hedonistic psychology and utilitarian ethics still dominate the field of modern economics It is no longer wise to consider that man is guided solely by material considerations and mechanistic interpretation of life is not only a false one but fails to adequately explain the human urge Man is a bundle of instincts and impulses and his activities cannot be cribbed, cabined and confined to a "Procrustean bed of classical or neo-classical formulae, averages and indexes." Prof J. S Haldane has shown us that there is a "guiding power innate in us" and the psycho-analytic and experimental analysis of life is progressing rapidly so that the complexity of man's nature has to be understood before any economic interpretation of his activities can be undertaken. Economics has to be slowly but surely lifted from the material and physical plane. Biologic instincts, psychological factors, physical influences, social values and habits and ethical endowments are influencing economic concepts. Orthodox economic theory might refuse to include them in their interpretation but in the practical field economists can no longer hope to neglect their influence. In the help of agricultural production we invoke the aid of scientific research. Modern agriculture requisiti the services of Chemistry, physiology, mechan Engineering, Bacteriology and more besid Coming to industrial production an attempt is m to evoke the creative instinct of the worke Economists hope to secure distributive justice discarding the old theories of wages and t "Fair or living Minimum" wage is being put ir practice by the Trade Boards. Group Control being exerted to check over-individuation a unethical competition. Social control and soc standard have distinctly supplanted t ideals of individual standard and individual contr There is belief in common onward march Cons dering the field of distributive justice the efficien of transport agencies and means of communicatio is being secured with the aid of recent scienti researches The services of science are enrolle in the field of consumption. Adulterated mil leads to typhoid, diptheria and croop (children diseases) and pasteurising plants are installed i New York and Ontario to gaurantee the sale fresh and pure milk Inspection of sale shop cow-houses etc, is also provided To secure health food for a growing population science is t only remedy. Taking trade and business into co sideration book-keeping and scientific accountan are becoming important Thus the economists d not only realise that the motives for human actio are very many and understood only by increasin grasp over psychology and other sciences but the are actually seeking their service in aiding th human factor Economic reformers are undoubte ly availing themselves of the researches in th kindred sciences.

Dr Radhakamal however insists on a refor in the teaching of Economics so that the rece findings of the researchers in the other importa social and physical sciences can also be include He pleads for a new interpretation of economic li brought about by a scientific cooperation of a sciences and hopes that the regional and huma differences would certainly be reckoned in explai ing out "parti-coloured tapestry of civilisation."

But our Modern Comte should not show signs impatience at the inability of the present-day ec nomists to take the above theories into accoun Theories die hard. Neo-malthusianism still flourishe in spite of its being refuted effectively by latte day economic history. The marginal utility theor of value persists in spite of the fact that value i determined by an impersonal social process. Agai it must not be understood that 19th centur economic thought was neglecting the influence instincts and impulses in dominating the action of individuals. Unfortunately it has emphasise the wrong instincts leading to concerted grou action Dr. Radhakamal himself asserts that "th process has begun New lines of enquiry and eff are suggesting fruitful currents of economic inte pretation." We only wish along with the auth that this process of reorientation proceeds in quicker pace. We also hope that this valuabl contribution will receive due attention it deserv at the hands of Western writers on Econom Theory.

B I

COMMON SENSE OR EKATMA VIGNAN: *By Param hansha Sohom Swami. Published by Surja Banerjee B. L. (Gandaria Press, Dacca) pp 310, price Rs. 4 only.*

This posthumus work of Sohom Swami would be welcomed by many earnest spirits of India and elsewhere. The attempt to develop a philosophy of the "common sense" requires courage and the Swami is a veritable incarnation of Courage and ardour. He scatters to the winds the innumerable ... and superstitions of humanity and points out with a phenomenal clarity and conviction that the only way to cross over the illusion of Maya and to have Perfect Rest…is to have faith in *one undivided and universal consciousness*—the Self or *Atman*."

If this is what the Swami means by his philosophy of the common sense then we must say that it is the most uncommon thing in human mind, ...ntally a victim to inherited and acquired superstitions. The Swami has shown with a rare catholicity of outlook and profundity of thought that man's salvation depends on him and him alone. Moreover this salvation is not something transcendental and imaginary but within the reach of every one who by self-desciphne becomes a revelation to himself a *Jivan-mukta*

We recommend the book to all those who are aspirants after this life of vigorous and independent self-realisation.

K. N.

FRENCH.

EASY FRENCH READER PART I *By Dr Pashupatinath Shastri, 1926 41, Baghbazar Street, Calcutta.*

This little book would prove to be a very easy and faithful introduction to the French grammar. Dr. Pashupatinath Shastri has already made his name by publishing an "Easy German Reader" and one finds from the present French Reader that he spares no pain to make the book as correct and interesting as possible Beginners in the study of the French language in Bengal would be thankful to Dr Shastri for this primar and we recommend the book to them

K N.

SANSKRIT

MIMAMSA NAYAPRAKASA OF APADEVA *Edited with an original Sanskrit Commentary by Vedantavisarada Pandita A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Professor of Mimamsa, Benares Chaumkhamba Sanskrit series office, Benares City.*

The book, as the very name shows, deals with the subject of the *Purbamimamsa* It is a well-known manual and read widely - in Sanskrit Pathasalas. Though it is meant for beginners there was keenly felt the want of a commentary. The late Pandit Mahamahopadhyaya Krisnanatha Nyayapanchanana removed it to a considerable extent by writing a commentary on it. Now the second commentary which is better in more than one respect is written by Pandit Chinnaswami who is really a master of the subject as the book itself shows. Without knowing well the Samhitas and *Brahmanas* none is quite fit for understanding the Mimamsa sytem excepting of course, the purely logical or philosophical topics. It is just like reading the *Brahmasutras* without first knowing the Upanisads. Pandit Chinnaswami has this advantage, besides having the practical knowledge of performing different Vedic rituals and ceremonies. He has explained the text in a clear way and has tried his best to meet the requirements also of the students who are not familiar with the Vedic sentences quoted or referred to in the work by tracing their sources and giving charts of different *Vedas* which will undoubtedly help them very much.

CALCUTTA ORIENTAL SERIES. No. 17 E 10: PADMAPURANA AND KALIDAS, *By H. Sarma, M. A., Professor of Sanskrit, Ramjas College, Delhi, with a Foreword of Dr M. Winternitz, Ph D.*

What is the source or sources of Kalidasa's *Abhijnana Sakuntala* and *Raghuvamsa* is a problem and Prof Haradatta Sarma undertook a thorough investigation of it at the suggestion and under the guidance of Prof Winternitz when he came to the Visvabharati as the visting Professor for 1923, and the result is embodied in the little volume lying before us. The story of Sakuntala is related, though not in the same form in different Puranas, such as the *Bhagavata* the *Padma* etc., in the *Mahabharata* and in the *Jatakas*. Some references to it are also found in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, and one may add, in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (8 23) as well Having thoroughly discussed all these details Prof. Sarma arrives at the conclusion that the *Abhijnana Sakuntala* is based on the *Svargakhanda* of the *Padmapurana* and not on the *Mahabharata*. He says · "The story of Sakuntala seems to have been known of course not in the present form, in the time of the Brahmanas Then the story was developed. and in the time of the old *Mahabharata* contained the incident of Dusyanta's deliberate insulting of Sakuntala. Then it fell into the hands of some rhapsodist, who added the didactic portion to the story. This was further increased in bulk by some still later editor, by adding lengthy descriptions of the hunt and the hermitage. The *Padmapurana* probably borrowed from the older recension the 108 verses which are wholly didactic. Then the story was influenced by some old ballad on which is based the Buddistic legend. and from it, it derived the incident of the ring. The whole was then recast by the *Padmapurana* or by some other writer earlier than the Padma. Finally from the *Padmapurana* it was adopted and the present shape given to by Kalidasa."

As regards the *Raghuramsa* his conclusion is the same. While the source of the *Abhijnana Sakuntala* is the *Svargakhanda* that of the *Raghuvansa* is the *Patalakhanda* of the *Padmapurana*.

Prof. Sarma's decision may not be accepted by all, but his discussion is scholarly and as such deserves to be studied.

In investigating the matter he has examined a number of MSS. of the *Padmapurana* all of them being secured from Bengal. These MSS. present a recension different from that in the Anandasrama edition. His researches show that there are reasons to believe that the Bengali recension is older than that found in the Anandasrama edition. It is nearer to the stories of both the works of Kalidasa namely, the *Abhijnana-Sakuntala* and the *Raghuvamsa*. And so Prof. Sarma has given us in his book a critical edition of these two sections of the *Padmapurana* viz. the *Svargakhanda* and

Patalakhundu of the Bengali recension Sanskrit scholars, and specially the readers of Kalidasa are thankful to him for his present contribution to the studies in Kalidasa literature

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

HINDI

VRATATSARA CHANDRIKA *By Pandit Sivalaulal Sarma, Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares. Pp. 356, Price Rs 3.*

The rites and ceremonies of the orthodox Hindus are fully described here As many as 14 are delineated as fully as possible The old puranic basis, the popular form and the moral of these ceremonies are a very interesting study of Hindu sociology We endorse the opinion that the Hindus immortalised the birth, victory or religious propaganda of the great men, but not their death The author's enthusiasm for the vindication of these ceremonies sometimes leads him to express opinions which cannot be supported by modern educated Indians The bulk of the work could be compressed if the unnecessary remarks were left out

SRI BUDDHA GITA *By Swami Satyadeva The Lanania Publishing House, Agra Price As 12*

This translation of the famous Pali work 'Dhammapada' is much welcome The translator rightly names his work as 'Buddha Gita"

KARMA YOGA *By Chhabinath Pandeya, B.A LL.B Hindi Pustak Bhaban, 181, Harrison Road, Calcutta Price As 12*

Translation of a well known work of the late Aswini Kumar Dutt

RAMES BASU.

ORIYA.

TARKA VIJNAN—PART I *By Bipin Behari Roy, M.A. Price Rs 2-8-0*

We have gone through Prof B B Roy's Tarka-Vijnan Part I (a treatise on Logic) in Oriya This is quite a new attempt at introducing the logical principles of the West into the Oriya Vernacular In view of the proposals made by Indian Universities to introduce the medium of Vernaculars in higher classes of High Schools and Colleges, we think it will satisfy the needs of Oriya Students of Logic It will make a good text-book in Colleges and Training Schools The author has carefully set forth the different topics in a language easily intelligible barring of course the Vernacular equivalents which may seem to the beginners difficult not because of their unintelligibility but because of their novelty in the language Logic as we know is a controversial subject in which any two logicians are always at loggerheads at least on some points The author has however embodied in his book the views of eminent logicians with criticisms wherever necessary. At places references have been made to Hindu logic with a view to creating an interest in a comparative study of the subject We congratulate Prof. Roy on his new attempt which will give a stimulus to other writers in other subjects. The present volume mainly deals with deductive Logic and we hope the author will fill the want by soon publishing the 2nd part which will give us the Inductive portion.

R. L. B.

ARABIC

A GRAMMAR OF THE COLLOQUIAL ARABIC OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE: *By G R. Driver, (Probsthain and Co, 1925, 256+xii, 12s 6d.*

Though not in line with the well-known grammars of the Oriental languages published in the 'Porta Linguarum Orientalium' series, it still deserves our appreciation The author has composed this work in the land where this Arabian dialect is spoken and has availed himself of the help of the educated inhabitants of the place While supplying a practical basis of study for those officers and men who may be serving in Syria and Palestine, this careful work is not without its use for those who are studying the modern dialects of Syria in a scientific manner The print and the general get up of the work leave nothing to be desired We sincerely congratulate Mr Driver as well as the publishers on this nice production.

KITAB-AL-MA'THUR *By Abul Amaithal Al-Arabi edited by F Krenkow (in German), (Probsthain, 1925) Pp 8 (German)+100 (Arabic) with 2 plates of facsimile of MS, Price 6s net.*

The text, occupying 86 pages of Arabic beautifully printed at Beyrouth, is taken from the Constantinople Codex The author was a Maula of Jafar ibn Sulaiman ibn Abdullah ibn Al Abbas and flourished in the year 213 of the Hijra (84[illegible] A D.) in the province of Khurasan

This work will be of interest only to those few who are engaged in the scientific study of classical Arabic The book deals with those Arabic words which when written appear to be similar in shape but indicate entirely different meanings. It is therefore, of purely lexicological interest, but a critical edition of works of this nature, though a labour of love is not to be regarded as valueless. We are sure it will prove of use to the scientific investigator of Arabic lexicography.

Ph. D

GUJARATI

MAHATMA MAHIMA: *By Meharjibhai Manekji Batora Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. Pp 338. Price Rs. 2-12 (1925)*

On reading this substantial volume one finds it hard to believe that it is written by a Parsi so saturated it is with the philosophy, mythology and theology of the Hindus. His object is to impart *Dharmajnan* and *Brahmajnan* to the erring and the ignorant. To get them he has been in quest of *yogis* and to his surprise he found several *yogis* in quest of learners. The language of the book is quite in keeping with his former works and though the form in which the teaching is given is that of a drama, we think the usual drawbacks inherent to such a form would stand in the way of its general popularity.

JIVAN RAHASYA: *By Girdharlal Govindji Mehta Professor of Phrenology, printed at the Subodhini Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 396. Price Rs. 7-0-0 (1925)*

A most sumptuously bound volume (our copy) with numerous illustrations and a store house of information culled from India and Europe, the work is meant to regulate "Sexual Life." Each and every phase of the life, theoretical and practical is touched, Sanskrit and English works have been ransacked and their contents co-ordinated. There has been a lot of outspoken comment on our ways of life by the author and altogether it is a work which would please a majority of people rather than displease them

THE POPULAR TALES OF KATHIAWAD *By: Gokaldas Dwarkadas Raichura Printed at the Ganatra Printing Press, Rajkot, thick Card board, pp 200. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1926) With illustrations*

These tales illustrate the mode of life of the indigenous population of Kathiawad They manifest an undercurrent of chivalry, simplicity and courage on the part of both men and women and for the moment the reader is transformed into a being living in some remote age so vividly are the scenes depicted The style is easy and a little provincial, but that it was bound to be otherwise the subject would not have been well brought out.

K. M. J.

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MARATHI

POLITICS OF THE DISARMED. *By Dr S V Ketkar, M. A. Ph, D, pp. 164 Re. 1 Published by the author himself*

Dr. Ketkar is about to finish his colossal work of Marathi Encyclopedia and has decided to devote his future years to another work of immensely greater magnitude, viz, that of obtaining Swaraj of the Dominion type for India. He realises that the work will require sustained intensive effort and that there is no escape from it if India is to attain Swaraj. This work is to be accomplished by 1929, i e, within about 3 years from now and for this purpose he proposes to organise a body called the League of self-determination which will employ 5000 well-paid missionaries to carry on the necessary propaganda amongst the peoples of the two countries concerned, viz, India and England. The present booklet is a preliminary work meant to explain and popularise the idea of the League and the methods to be adopted by that League for the end in view This booklet is to be followed later on by another in which will be explained the lines on which the Swaraj government is to be conducted. Dr Ketkar is of opinion that England has really nothing to lose by granting Swaraj to India, that the only obstacle in the way is the absence of a class which will be ready and fit to accept the responsibility which the grant of Swaraj will entail and that it is quite possible to create, by 1929, a body of men who will be able to undertake the necessary responsibility. The booklet sets the various considerations to show how it is to the ultimate interest of England to let India have Swaraj, but it is at least extremely doubtful whether these considerations will appeal to a nation which throughout recorded history never been known to see farther than its nose. As regards India itself, the whole nation has durning the last 150 years of foreign rule lost its habit of caring for anything higher or nobler than the safety of its own skin and is at the present moment so completely covered by fissiparous tendencies fed by selfish and narrow views that Dr. Ketkar's unbounded optimism alone can hope to overcome, within the short space of 3 years, the whole lot of these tendencies and raise the nation to that high moral altitude from which it can, as one man, make a determined and sustained stand for Swaraj. The learned Doctor has not the shadow of a doubt as to the capacity of his League to prepare the country for such a stand, but he does not completely shut out from view the possibility of England not being willing to grant Swaraj even with the creation by 1929 of a class of men willing and fit to undertake the responsibility of Swaraj, and against this contingency he contemplates the use of that alluring weapon of the disarmed which goes by the name of mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes The goal is admirable, the methods of doubtful efficacy and the time limit impossible The language suggests that the book is thought out in English, written in best (or worst) yankee style and then translated in Marathi Extreme optimism also has its uses in the economy of nations and we have no doubt that the 100,000 readers whom the booklet is intended by the author to reach will benefit by its perusal. The booklet is fully worth its price, viz, Re 1.

KARKUN (A NOVEL). *By Mr G. T Desai-Kolhatkar B A. Publisher-Shri Dutt Agency, Narayan Peth. Poona City Price Re 1*

In these days when vitiated taste both of Marathi fiction-writers and their innumerable readers is rampant, a novel even of moderate merit is welcome more so when it treats of a neglected subject like that of the social, economic and moral condition of the class of poor clerks in Govt. service. The state of things depicted in this novel is not overdrawn. The author has taken good care not to raise goblins of imagination and to show his bravery in killing them. The slavish mentality generated among clerks in offices by the treatment they receive at the hands of their 'boss' the hardships they have to undergo, the vices to which they become addicted, and the immoral means (like betting at the races) to which many of them resort in their anxious desire of escaping from the clutches of a money-grabbing Marwari, are all every day occurrences, but not so their accidental deliverance from the pit of misery at the hands of a retired Rao Bahadur who with a philanthropic motive visits the race course in search of one who needs reclamation The author instead of using such accidents as a means of deliverance, could have done better to contrive more usual and surer means of the reclamation of the fallen. The novel is interesting from cover to cover and deserves well at the hands of fiction-readers.

MAHARASHTRACHA PUNYAGRAMA OR A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF POONA THE CENTRE OF MAHARASTRA *By Mr V. V. Karmarkar. Publisher—Mr. N. A. Godbole. Price as 12.*

Poona is renowned not only for its political

glory in the past, but is even now the intellectual centre of Maharashtra, the source from which all reform movements, political, social, religious or literary, emanate and radiate the whole country It is to Poona that the whole Deccan looks for the lead, and it is to Poona that many a public institution owes its inspiration, existence and useful career under careful guidance based upon a lofty ideal of self-sacrifice in public interests It is a pity that for want of a suitable hand-book in English a reliable descriptive and historical account of the city its numerous temples, historic buildings political, social and educational instituations foreign tourists should go with the impression that Poona is a hot-bed of sedition and profitless wrangling It is some satisfaction, however, that at least Marathi-knowing public from outside will not be misled if they care to read Mr. Karmarkar's little Guide to Poona. This little book with all its shortcomings is eminently useful and therefore its author deserves to be congratulated on his performance of civic duty.

V. G. APTE

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views misrepresentations, etc, in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor The Modern Review]

Another View Of "Crime In America"

To the Editor of the Modern Review

Having just finished reading the February issue of your highly prized Review, will you permit me to say, very respectfully and very regretfully, that I am sory to find there the article by Dr Sudhindra Bose which he entitles 'The World's Worst in Crime." I have a very high regard for Dr. Bose But I think he made a mistake in sending you such an article

The black picture which he paints of America unquestionably has much truth in it, or, would have, were there not a very large other side, which I wish he had given, so that the people of India might have the whole truth, which means the real truth about the American people, I hope he will give that other side in some future article If there is a serious crime wave sweeping over America at the present time, as unfortunately is the case the causes of it are plain But it does not represent the normal America, and it will pass.

It has to be confessed, and I confess it with shame, that in some respects the United States goverment has not treated India well, our immigration laws are, in my judgment, unjust and cruel toward all the Asiatic peoples, Indians included. But is that helped by gathering together a list of our worst sins and crimes and evils, and sending the same to the Indian people? There is no nation or people in the world that does not have its dark side. When we attempt to portray that alone, we throw things out of perspective and we are almost sure to exaggerate, thus we convery a false impression The Indian people can easily understand what I mean, for they have had to bear much of this kind of treatment from this country, from England and from Europe. England has persistently wronged India in representing the Indian people as half civilized, and therefore unfit for self-rule (Kipling portraying the typical Indian as "half devil and half child"), Christian missionaries have persistently wronged India by bringing to West reports and pictures without number of the darker side of her civilization, her religion, and her life,—emphasising her superstitions and her social evils, such as her untouchable class, her child marriage, purdah abuse of widows, etc, and ignoring the whole vast higher and better side of Indian civilization and life. If we regret these unjust portrayals of India let us be careful not to make an equally one-sided and unjust portrayal of America, or any other country It is a beautiful trait in Gandhi that, he looks for finds and rejoices in, the best that is in men and nations So does Tagore. I think that this is generally recognized in India as the better spirit.

America has many and grave sins, but she has also many and great excellences I am sure that India has much to teach her, but I believe she has some things of importance to teach India. Let us all think on the things which will draw us together, not on the things that will separate us and make us distrust, despise and hate each other.

In closing, let me repeat my hope that Dr Bose will correct the impression he has made, and do justice to America by writing for the Modern Review another article giving an intelligent, sincere, and at least measurably adequate portrayal of the real American people, their ideals, their aims, their civilization, and their actual lives,—a portrayal, not of our few criminals, for they are relatively few, but of the vast body of our people who are not criminals, but who hate crime as much as do the people of India, or as does Dr Bose himself.

NEW YORK, U. S. A.
March 10th 1926

J. T. SUNDERLAND

THE HINDU-MUHAMMADAN PROBLEM

A Western anthropologist has laid great stress on what he calls "Disease of Nations;" that is to say, there comes a time when nations, however strong and vigorous, suffer from "disease", and if the proper remedy is not applied, they become past recovery and sink and die. This explains the position of the long-suffering sick man" of Europe for many centuries past

From time to time, the Hindus also suffered from the "Disease of Nations", but with the application of suitable remedies they recovered somewhat and thus did not altogether succumb Muhammadanism, like a tornado, passed over many lands in the East and the West and swooped down upon many a nation whom it held in subjection for several centuries Among other nations, it brought under subjugation the Hindus in the East and the Christians of Spain and Greece in the West The two latter countries, when they recovered from their disease, not only shook off the yoke of their Muhammadan conquerors but took steps not to let any of the followers of the Crescent remain in their lands

When portions of India recovered somewhat from the Muhammadan domination, the Hindus did not adopt the same measures towards their Muhammadan conquerors as the Christian Spaniards and Greeks did. The Marathas and the Sikhs brought about the downfall of the Muhammadan power in India, but they did not treat the Muhammadans as the Spaniards and Greeks did They did not break or desecrate a single Muhammadan mosque. On the contrary, the spirit of toleration of some of the Hindu sovereigns was so great that they built mosques for their Muhammadan subjects. Thus we read in the *Panjab Notes and Queries* Vol. 1, p. 61, contributed by Mr. R. W. Trafford.

"The principal queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh lived at Shekhupura (Gujranwala district), where she built a *Masjid* for her Muhammadan subjects In a similar spirit of liberality a Masjid was erected at Botala *Sivala* by a Sikh sardar"

The Hindus are not only tolerant, but a very forgiving people. They easily forget and forgive the insults and injuries they receive. They are taught from their childhood to do so In the Hitopadesa, there is the golden maxim, अभ्युदये क्षमा ;

"On attaining one's desired object, one should forgive his enemy who thwarted him in obtaining it"

Ahimsa or non-violence is a part of Hindu spiritual idealism. Therefore the Sikhs and the Marathas did not behave in the same manner towards the Muhammadans as did the Spaniards and the Greeks

Some of the Hindu reformers tried their best to bring about friendly relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans of India. The blessed Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya tried it, but it must be admitted that they failed in their attempts

The greatest defect of Hinduism is, in its social side, the existence of caste. Unless and until this is abolished, there is very little hope for any reformer to bring about good relations between Hindus and Mussalmans, or between high and low caste Hindus.

The strength of Hinduism lies in its spirit of toleration and syncretism. The latter word may not be familiar to many and hence it requires explanation. In the course of an article on "Syncretism' in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII, pp.155-159 James Moffat says:—

"There is a blending of religious ideas and practices, by means of which either one set adopts more or less thoroughly the principles of another or both are amalgamated in a more cosmopolitan and less polytheistic shape. Such movements in the religious world are often preceded and accelerated by a new philosophical synthesis as well as by a political re-arrangement, but the outcome invariably is a unification of deities which proceeds on one or other of two lines, either two deities of different religions are assimilated by comparison or several deities are grouped together in a fresh synthesis. The motives for this re-statement are drawn from the dawning consciousness that any particular form of religion is no longer adequate by itself, that others possess like features, possibly of superior efficacy and appeal, and that such features can be incorporated without detriment to the essential principles of the particular religion in question.

"The tendency of syncretism, when broadly viewed, was to *henotheism* or pantheism, rather than to monotheism."

The Hindus absorbed Buddhism by giving a place to Lord Buddha in their pantheon They are again doing the same with the creeds of Christ and Muhammad. This shows their spirit of toleration and the efficacy of syncretism.

The strength of the Muhammadans lies in democracy among themselves, in their fanaticism, in their not tabooing, disparaging or condemning sensual pleasures, and, on the whole, in their abstinence from strong alcoholic liquors.

Democracy without education and culture becomes mob rule, and, unfortunately, such is the case to a great extent with the Muhammadans in India The criminal or turbulent and unruly sections form a larger proportion of the Muhammadan community than of other communities. Amongst the former they have a more effective influence because of the democratic spirit in Islam The social value and status of a thorough gentleman in the European sense of that word and of one who is not so, being practically the same among Moslems, there is not much stimulus for the illiterate people to distinguish themselves by education and culture

Fanaticism is also a distinguishing feature of the Moslem creed An orthodox Mussalman will not be considered a true one if he is not a fanatic The masses are governed more by passions, prejudices and sentiments than by cool judgment or sound reason Unfortunately such is the case with the majority of Muhammadans.

In fanaticism lies the strength and corresponding weakness of the Islamic world The Muhammadans do not believe in the Brotherhood of all men, but in that of their co-religionists only. Their fanaticism has brought into existence among them practically a dual code of morality—one code for Moslems and another for non-Moslems.

The great German philosopher Schopenheur accounted for the fanaticism of the Semitic creeds, amongst which is also Muhamamadanism, by their monotheism He wrote

* "As a matter of fact, intolerance is only essential in monotheism, an only God is by his nature a jealous God, who can not permit any other God to exist. Hence it is the monotheistic religious alone that furnish us with religious wars, persecutions and heretical tribunals, and also with the breaking of images, the destruction of the idols of the gods ;—and all this because a jealous God had said : *"Thou shalt make no graven image"* "

Their religion allowing polygamy, Moslems have multiplied very rapidly. The spread of Islam was due in not a small measure to the "confiscation of women". Writes Draper, in his well-known work on the "Conflict between *Religion and Science*, (*pp* 100-101)

'A nation may recover from the confiscation of provinces, the confiscation of its wealth , it may survive the imposition of enormous war-fines , but it never can recover from that most frightful of all war-acts, the confiscation of its women ..... It was the institution of polygamy based on the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule The children of these unions gloried in their descent *from their conquering fathers* No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished by North Africa The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things was very striking In little more than a generation the Khalifa was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, all the children born in that region were Muhammadans, and all spoke Arabic

Polygamy amongst Muhammadans has produced one good result - a result which has been referred to in favourable terms by travellers to Turkey, *viz.*, the non-existence of prostitution, as it exists at the corners of every street in big towns of Christendom like London and Paris In India, prostitutes have a better chance of rising in the social scale among Moslems than in any other community The prostitutes amongst Muhammadans are eligible to be married by well-to do members of that faith and thus have the prospect of rising to the respectable class

Some Hindus have also increased the number of Muhammadans by keeping Muhammadan concubines as their progeny could not be taken into the fold of Hinduism they have gone to swell the ranks of Muhammadans.

Under the Muhammadan rule the number of Muhammadans in India was not so large as it is now. This is partly due to the rigors of the caste system of the Hindus, which has done very little for the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes, or of the widows, who, when they go astray, are turned out of their houses and thus are in many instances forced to adopt Muhammadanism.

The temperate habits of the orthodox Muhammadans is much to be admired. But a certain Christian British military officer who had long served in India told the present writer that this abstemiousness of the Muhammadans is one of the main causes of their fanaticism He explained it by saying that "wine cheers the hearts of men, those

who do not take it are morose and take a gloomy view of life, this leads to fanaticism"

The Muhammadans call others *Kafirs* or infidels, especially those whom they look down upon with contempt as "*But-parast*" or idolators. The door of Heaven is believed to be wide open to that Muhammadan who reduces the number of the *Kafirs* even by one. Many Muhammadan sovereigns imposed the tax called *jezia* upon their non-Moslem subjects, whose places of worship were also desecrated and destroyed by them.

The Hindu-Moslem *entente*, therefore, seems on its very surface to be an impossible thing. This can only take place if the Indian Muhammadans accept Kamal Pasha as their guide, friend and philosopher, and follow his lead. They should remember the position of the Islamic world to-day. Although they consider the Christians as people of the Book, their earthly possessions have been appropriated by Christians all over the world. Half a century ago, Turkey was one of the largest empires in the world. But how stands that empire to-day? Gladstone wished to drive Turkey bag and baggage out of Europe. Had he been alive to-day, it would have gladdened his heart to see his fond dreams almost realised.

The Moors are under the tight grip of the French and the Spaniards. The Crusaders have after all gained their object, for the Holy Land has been delivered out of the hands of the followers of the Crescent. Very few Muhammadan kingdoms or states have independent existence to-day; they are mostly under the leading strings of and are used as puppets by the Christian powers.

It is time, therefore, for Indian Mussalmans to ponder over the fallen condition of their co-religionists all over the world. They should not make Hindus their enemies by terrorising them. They should not dream any more to make India a wholly Muhammadan country. The Indian Mussalmans should not forget that they are greatly outnumbered by the Hindus and if the latter boycott them socially and economically, what will be their condition? In many things they cannot do without the Hindus. They are a minority in India and therefore should live harmoniously and peacefully with their Hindu neighbours. That the Muhammadans cannot do without the Hindus is evident from the fact that they are allowed to live unmolested in lands which are professedly Muhammadan. There are many Hindus living in Baluchistan who enable its Muhammadan inhabitants to feed and clothe themselves. "The Bakkal (Hindu Bania) does not feed me," is a well-known saying in Baluchistan. The saying is used when the Baluch runs into debt and the Hindu Baniya ceases to supply him with food-stuffs on credit.

The present writer, who spent several years on the Frontier and frequently visited many an Afghan village where he very often enjoyed the hospitality of the Pathan rustics, once remarked to an official of that race that his compatriots being so hospitable and kind to strangers, how is it that there were so many Ghazi outrages in his land? The reply of that official was very remarkable. He said "Go to any village and you will find large numbers of Hindus there. They are idolators and so are kafirs. But they are not only not molested by the Pathans, but addressed by such endearing terms as Chacha, Mama, Bhai, &c. No Pathans cannot do without them. The Hindus are the money-lenders, shopkeepers and traders and are quite inoffensive and therefore left unmolested. The victims of the Ghazi outrages are mostly Feringhees, who being Christians are people of our Book. The Pathans believe in 'blood for blood', which explains the frequent blood feuds amongst them. If one were to analyse the cause of the Ghazi outrages, one is sure to find that some friends or relations of the perpetrators of the outrages were hanged or transported for some crime or offence by British officers, and revenge being the code of honour with the Pathans they kill the Feringhees whenever they get a chance to do so. One should remember Frontier Law was no law at all. Criminals are summarily tried and either executed or transported for their crimes."

The above conversation took place with the present writer nearly thirty years ago, before the creation of the North-Western Frontier Province. Even when the Muhammadan rule in India was at its zenith, the Muhammadan rulers could not do without the Hindus and hence they conferred high offices of trust and responsibility on some of them and left them unmolested without any thought of converting them to the creed of Islam.

The Hindus should recognise their perilous situation. They should close up their ranks and bidding farewell to the obnoxious caste system should elevate the position of the depressed classes and take back such Muhammadans and Christians as

are willing to return to their fold It should be remembered that the Muhammadans and Christians in India were for the most part Hindus before their conversion to those two Semitic creeds There are many Muhammadan communities in India who even to-day observe Hindu customs and manners and are governed by Hindu Law in their social usages It will not be a difficult task to reclaim them if the Hindus welcome them heartily when they join them

The remarriage of Hindu widows should be introduced in Hindu society and their lot ameliorated, and they should thus be prevented from embracing any Semitic faith. It is therefore that the Shuddhi and the Sangathan movements should enlist the sympathy of all Hindus

Bad times are in store for the Hindus if they do not take steps to be so strong physically as to defend themselves, their persons, property and the honour of their women They should practise *lathi khel* and have *akharas* for physical exercise.

After the suppression of the Mutiny, some of the responsible British officers gave it as their opinion that for the existence of the British supremacy in India, the policy of "Divide and Rule" should guide the British Government. Thus wrote Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay

"*Divide et impera* was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours"

Lieut.-Colonel John Coke, holding the very important office of Commandant at Moradabad, wrote —

"Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them *Divide et impera* should be the principle of Indian Government"*

Who knows if some of the British officers are not acting on that policy and are therefore doing very little to bring about good relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans? The members of these communities should remember that they have to live and die in India and therefore should not cut each other's throats

Formerly, riots took place on the cow-killing question In this perhaps the Hindus were to blame, for they attempted to rescue the inoffensive cow from the butcher's knife. But now, "the favorite wife" of some bigamist English administrators has taken it into her head not to allow music in front of the mosque where she happens to pray. While "the favourite wife" objects to music, she has no objection to the rattling noise of carriages or the discordant notes of the cries of hawkers in the streets Her prayer in the mosque is disturbed by the concord of sweet sound but not by discordant and abominable noises

The Hindus have during the last forty years flattered the vanity of the Muhammadans in every conceivable manner, to make them live amicably with them. But neither flattery or cajolery, nor the offer of any indirect bribe has had the least permanent effect on the followers of the Cresent to come to terms with them Unfortunately there is no far-seeing statesman amongst the Indian Mussalmans, and those who are educated and have been honoured by Government with titles and responsible offices seem to be more intolerant and fanatical than the illiterate Moslems Who knows if the Calcutta riot was not due to the recent utterances of one of the most prominent Muhammadans who had been in Government employ for the last twenty years Hindus should no longer pander to the vanity of the Moslems Some of the Muhammadans think they are basking to-day in the sunshine of official favours But they should not think that such would be their happy condition always They should remember what Britishers wrote and said regarding them during the days of the Indian Mutiny. "The Muhammadan religion must be suppressed", was their war-cry For an account of this, let them read the Modern Review for September, 1925 pp 274-274 and also for November, 1925, pp 611-612

"Never place your trust in princes The policy of governing India by England is so inconsistent that one would rue it if he were to think that there were any stability and permanency in her policy in administering Indian affairs In an editorial note in the *Modern Review* for November, 1907, pp 471-472, it was written

"That British policy is inconsistent and variable is not a surmise of ours. It rests on the high authority of Lord Salisbury In a minute written by him on April 26, 1875, he says :—

"The other and more serious difficulty is that

* *The Modern Review* for February, 1926 pp. 226-227.

have not the power to give permanent force a new policy Can we enact that our successors shall do exactly that which we are not doing forbear from altering their predecessor's work? ir Louis Mallet notes a long series of inconsisncies in the course of the Indian Government ive we any grounds for thinking they will ase? They are not merely subjects of reproach ey are a warning of the fashion after which n Indian Government is made By the law of its xistence it must be a government of incessant change is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns e limited by climatic causes to five years Whatver power exists in England is divided between council of which the elements are fluctuating, nd a political officer whose average existence mounts to about thirty months It would be absrd to expect from this arrangement a persistent nd systematic policy, if the policy is to epend on the will of the Government We might ndeed commence a new policy with some onfidence, if the state of opinion in the ervice and among Anglo-Indians here was such s to give assurance that it would be sustained, ut of that security there is no appearance Any harp change of measures would not be a natural evelopment It would be "Octroye' by the resent Government, and would be at the mercy t any succeeding Government to set aside, and nother link would be added to the chain of inonsistencies that would present themselves to ture criticism." *Notes on Indian Land Revenue.*

The Indian states at present are mostly Hindu, there being only half a dozen Muhammadan ones In most of the Muhammadan states, the Hindus are not fairly treated and not unfrequently attempts are made to convert them to Muhammadanism. Although the subjects of these states are mostly Hindus, they are not employed in large numbers in the public services, or hold any position of trust or responsibility

Imitation being the most sincere form of flattery, it may lead the Hindu rulers to follow the example of Mussalman administrators and do all they can to advance the earthly interests of their Hindu subjects alone

Some of the Britishers are not tired of saying that before the advent of the British in India, the Mussalmans were cutting the throats of the Hindus and if the British were to leave India, the Muhammadans from the North-Western lands of India would make short work of the Hindus. Here, of course, the wish may be father to the thought. But those Britishers should remember that they are condemning their rule in India by indirectly admitting that the Hindus have become so emasculated under their administration that they would not be able to defend their hearths and homes if the Frontier tribesmen were to attack India A century ago, those wild tribesmen were subjugated by the Hindu Sikhs. The Muhammadans of Afghanistan were then so terror-stricken that even to-day the name of Hari Singh Nalwa is that of a bogey-man to their men, women and children. Naughty children are made to sleep by their mother saying, "Hari Singh Nalwa raghle de" (Hari Singh Nalwa has come).

A WELL-WISHER OF INDIA

BRITISH EXPANSION IN TIBET

CHAPTER III (*Concluded*)

Anglo Japanese Alliance, Russo-Japanese War, and Younghusband's Expedition to Tibet.

BY TARAK NATH DAS

While the discussion between the Governments of Russia and China on one side and the British Government on the other were in progress, the British Indian Government, under the direction of Lord Curzon, authorized Col. Younghusband to present a plan regarding the proposed expedition, and ordered the march of the expedition. The despatch of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 26, October, 1903, stated among other things —

"After consideration and upon Col. Younghusband's advice, we unhesitatingly recommend that the advance should extend to Gyangtse and should

not be confined to the Chumbi Valley. We do not anticipate any serious resistance."

The policy of sending a British expedition to Tibet took a definite shape when the British and Japanese governments felt that the Russo-Japanese war was inevitable. The details of the operation are immaterial, the British entered Lhasa and in the process, many Tibetans were killed. British superiority was impressed on them by looting of Monasteries and Churches—certainly an action indefensible and against the sanction of International Law.

The progress of the British soldiers on the sacred soil was not confined to the killing of a few thousand Tibetans, but was accompanied by rapine and plunder of the treasure-houses of the Monasteries. A correspondent of the London "Daily Chronicle" says:

The expedition has looted Monasteries, and for weeks past bales of plunder have been coming over the passes into India. Their contents have brought joy to the officers' wives and friends whose houses in the hill stations began to look as some of them looked after the sack of Peking four years ago (during the Boxer uprising). An Indian vernacular paper depicts the deeds more graphically, and by the way, gives vent to the feelings of the Hindoos on the subject:

"The Dalai Lama has made himself scarce from Lhasa, and there are no early prospects of a settlement. In the meantime syndicates are being formed in England to plunder the wealth of Tibet. Before this systematic spoliation has had an opportunity to begin, informal loot has been going on, and Tibetan curios are already displayed in Darjeeling drawing-rooms. The English have such a special knack of looting, and they do it in such an adroit manner that no one can venture to call it by its true name".7

Col. Younghusband and others were for virtual annexation of Tibet and to accomplish this he entered into a treaty with the Dalai Lama after the latter's complete defeat. The provisions of the treaty would, if accepted as drawn up, have made Tibet a British protectorate in the true sense of the word.

The most important clauses of the Anglo-Tibetan agreement signed by Sir Francis Younghusband on the 7th, of September 1904 are the following:

"Article VI. As an indemnity to the British Government for the expenses incurred in the despatch of armed troops to Lhasa, the Tibetan Government engages to pay a sum of pounds five hundred thousand—equivalent to rupees seventy-five lakhs—to the British Government, the indemnity shall be payable at such place as the British Government may from time to time, after due notice, indicate, whether in the British districts of Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri, in seventy-five annual instalment of rupees one Lakh each on the 1st of January in each year, beginning from the 1st of January, 1906.

"*Article VII. As security for the payment of the above-mentioned indemnity, and for the fulfilment of the provisions relative to trade marts in Articles II, III, IV, and V, the British Government shall* continue to occupy the Chumbi Valley until the indemnity has been paid and until the trade marts have been effectively opened for three years, which-ever date may be the latter."

"Article VIII. The Tibetan Government agrees to raze all forts and fortifications and remove all armaments which might impede the course of free communication between the British frontier and the towns of Gyantse and Lhasa.

"Article IX. The Government of Tibet engages that, without the previous consent of the British Government, no portion of Tibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation, to any Foreign power; (b) no such power shall be permitted to intervene in Tibet's affairs; (c) no representatives or agents of any Foreign power shall be admitted to Tibet; (d) no concession for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights, shall be granted to any Foreign power. In the event of consent to such concessions being granted, similar or equivalent concessions shall be granted to the British Government; (e) no Tibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash shall be pledged or assigned to any Foreign power, or to the subject of any Foreign power."8

On November the 11th, however, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Ampthill, who was acting in the absence of Lord Curzon in England, modified the treaty with a declaration by which the sum of indemnity was reduced to 2,500,000 rupees and the British occupation of the Chumbi Valley would cease after the payment of three instalments of the indemnity and the opening of the marts.9

Col. Younghusband expressed his view about the rejection of his treaty in the following terms:

"If after a day like this the Government at home throws away the chance we now have of strengthening Tibet as a buffer state, why, they will be guilty of retrospective murder."

Sir Francis Younghusband's great desire was to bring the Chumbi Valley under British control, and for that very reason he arranged the treaty with Tibet in such a way that it would at least remain under British control for seventy-five years. However others suggested that it must be annexed under the pretext of leasing.

"In any case and whatever else is done, the Chumbi Valley should be retained permanently as British possession. This can be effected with due regard, if desirable, to Tibetan susceptibilities under the name of lease or by treating it as equivalent to compensation or indemnity. Neither geographically nor historically does it form part of Tibet. It was conquered in 1888 and abandoned in defiance of reason and advice. As a source

...one it is worth nothing, but strategically and ...mercially it is of high importance, being the ... open gateway from the Tibetan plateau to the ...ns of India, only some 800 miles from ...utta. It cannot be allowed to pass again into ...hands of the people who might permit its ...upation by a rival Power which already ...eatens our Indian frontier in other places.' 10

Demand for the annexation of the Chumbi ...lley, after the Younghusband expedition, ...s persistent. But Lord Lansdowne did not ...nt to take an immediate aggressive measure ...ile the Russo-Japanese War was on, and ...ld to the same view when Russia met defeat in the same War. But, some ...ite of the British Imperialists urged imme... ...nnexation. The Hon Ian Malcolm, M P, in an article gives the following view —

"The Chumbi Valley, which lies on the Indian ...e of the watershed, has never been claimed by ...bet as the Kingdom of the Dalai Lama. It is ...o late for the suzerainty of China to be claimed ...s a reason for not disturbing the status quo in ... Chumbi Valley. If suzerainty is to be res...ted, it must be effective, and we have learned ...t least the lesson that the Chinese suzerainty in ...ese regions is a protection *pour rire*. Nor can ... terms of the pledge, so explicitly referring to ...t alone, have been extended solely for the ...sure of Russia, whose desire for the integrity ... China is manifest in Manchuria unless indeed, ... hold some reciprocal guarantee from her that ... will respect for all time the Chinese Kingdom ... Mongolia and Turkestan "11

If the Government of India were free to ...t then undoubtedly Tibet would have been ...nnexed; but because of the world situation, ...nd very possibly not willing to anatgonise ...ina, and Russia unnecessarily, Britain ...d not *formally* annex Tibet 12

All this happened during the Russo-Japanese War, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had a ...od deal to do with the Tibetan affair. Russia could not intervene in Tibet, and ...ina was incapable of doing anything against ...reat Britain at that time, and thus Great Britain virtually extended her power over Tibet.

In connection with the British expedition ... Tibet, Col. Younghusband makes some in...teresting remarks.

That strange force which has so often driven ...e English forward against their will appears to ... in operation once more. It is certain that ...ither the British Government nor the British ...ople wish to go to Lhasa."

Then he pertinently remarks:—

These quotations are not applicable to the Tibetan affair alone, but to the British Empire ...nerally and not only to the British Empire, but ... the Russian Empire, the Chinese Empire, the ...apanese Empire. : to the French in Tonquin and Annam, Algeria and Tunis, to the Americans in the Philipines, the Germans in Asia Minor the Austrians in Bosnia and Herzgovina. They are of fundamental importance and go to the very root of things. They are, therefore worth examination by so practical a people as ourselves the (British)

He then with all solemnity and sincerity and altruistic profession of the cause of freedom and order, goes to the root of the thing with the following answer —

"It is when we have found ourselves in contact with disorder or repugnance to association that we have been so often compelled to intervene. we have intended and we have publicly and solemnly declared our intention, not to intervene, somehow we have to intervene somehow we have to stay. Not only we find this but other great nations find the same. Practical statesmen find nothing so disturbing to their wishes and intentions as contact with a weak unorderly people. They try for years to disregard their existence, but in the end, from one cause or another they find they have to intervene—to establish order and set up regular relations, they are in fact driven to establish eventual harmony, even if it may be from the use of force at the moment." 13

All the great nations are moving in the same directions to establish international harmony! This is another irony of fate, because this spirit of bringing about harmony through imperialism and expansion at the cost of other weak nations has produced wars. Since the classic partition of Poland by the great Powers to the present-day punitive expeditions of the twentieth century, the theory of establishing order and harmony has played a great part, and force has been used to establish harmony among nations by depriving peoples of the enjoyment of their own freedom. But, the reflex of this use of force has inevitably generated another force which has even destroyed mighty empires of the world. Imperialism is its own justification to the Imperialists, and to others no justification will ever make imperialism sanctified and acceptable

Regarding Tibet, the question of harmony and order may be the justification of conquest by Britain, but Article IX of the Anglo-Tibetan Agreément shows that Tibet is rich with mineral resources, and economic imperialism demands the control of the raw materials for the material gain of "the practical people" of Great Britain. Tibet is not strong, as Lord Curzon pointed out, in military strength, and thus she is the victim of "the great nation" which wishes to establish "harmony" there It may be said to those in the West, who are really looking for world peace, that the people of the East are beginning to under-

stand the argument the West values most, that is, that force is the only means of attaining peace and harmony

In the question of British expansion in Tibet, there cannot be any justification. It has been a gross violation of justice, and it was a reflex of *rivalry among* European nations on the one hand, and military weakness of China and Tibet on the other Lord Rosebery *in* defence of the action of the British Government in Tibet, has made it a question of prestige rather than justice, and I shall let him speak for British statesmanship and its imperial motives.

"As regards the question of justification for Lord Curzon's policy, it was noticed by Lord Rosebery in the House of Lords in 1904, that the situation of 1903 in regard to Tibet presented some rather sinister points of resemblance to that of 1878 in regard to Afghanistan At both dates an independent state on our borders was showing a strong inclination to enter into relations with Russia. In both cases we had the doubtful ethical or legal right to interfere, but in both, too, there existed a strong feeling, in many respects no doubt well justified, that our prestige would seriously suffer if we were excluded and Russia's representatives were admitted Once more a vigorous policy was pressed on reluctant home authorities by the Indian Government 11

As early as 1904, Mr Crosby in an article in the *North American Review*, (May) remarked

"The practical destruction of Tibetan independence which may be assumed as the object of the present Younghusband's Expedition will serve Russia admirably as authorising the conquest of Chinese Turkestan For such is the accepted code of balance generally adopted by the nations who believe themselves commissioned to benevolently assimilate certain other nations - Recognising then that the status quo is now rudely shaken in Tibet and may at any time be destroyed in Turkestan let us note that in both cases there will result a partial disintegration of the Chinese Empire, for whose integrity the world may well be concerned European and American diplomats in China should endeavor to watch the back door as well as the front door of the great mansion which all desire to enter"

German opinion regarding the Tibetan expedition was bitter, suggesting Great Britain was taking advantage of Tibet and even playing Russia against Japan, while she was taking the rich territory belonging to the Tibetan people under the pretext of violation of Treaty obligations

Mr Dillon says —

'Russia and Germany are especially indignant at the land-greed of England, to which neither human nor divine laws would seem to have set any bounds, and at the shamelessness with which she robs weak nations of their independence with no avowed motive and without even a plausible pretext The German press has discovered, that the raids complained of by the Indian Government are imaginary, that the trade between India and Tibet is almost nominal, and the treaties broken were violently thrust upon the Government of the Dalai Lama, who, therefore, naturally is not keen to further English trade An influential Berlin press organ informs its numerous readers that in order to seize Tibet Lord Lansdowne cunningly provided funds necessary for Japan's war preparations and induced the Mikado to keep that danger hanging over Russia's head without actually letting it fall In this way Japan and Russia are being hoodwinked at one and the same time, for friends and foes are all one to the perfidious enemy of the human race"

The Mission to Tibet by E J Dillon—*The Contemporary Review*, January 1904, pages 123-142

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7 The British invasion of Tibet by Moahammad Barkatulla, *The Forum* New York July-Sept 1905, pages 128-140

8 Hertselet's China Treaties, vol 1, pages 206-207.

9 Ibid, page 208

10 *The Saturday Review*, London, August 13 1904, p 194

11 *The Nineteenth Century And After* April 1905 p 583

12 The Mission to Tibet by, E J Dillon *The Contemporaray Review*, January 1904 pp. 123-142

13 Younghusbann India and Tibet. Pp 430-437

14 Roberts, Paul E History of British India under the Company and the Crown. 1923 page 537

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY'S MISSION TO ENGLAND

(*Based on unpublished records*)

BY BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

II

DINNER TO RAMMOHUN IN LONDON

PUBLIC honours came thick and fast upon Rammohun while in England. His reception among the Anglo-Indian officials appeared to have brought about a change in the attitude of the East India Company, who had refused to recognize his official position and his title On 6th July, 1831, they entertained him at a dinner at the City of London Tavern, attended by about 80 distinguished guests, the Chairman of the Company presiding. It is interesting to read the account of this entertainment published in the pages of a contemporary journal

"It was what is called a family dinner, in contradistinction to the grand feast given upon the eve of the departure of a governor for India The Chairman said · 'They had been honoured with a visit from the distinguished native of a great country. Those to whom he had the honour of proposing the health of Rammohun Roy were aware of the virtues of the distinguished Brahman, of the vast services he had rendered to the Indian community, and of the effect such an example was calculated to produce. Like the bee, which sucked the choicest sweets from the flowers of the garden, the Brahman collected from the boundless stores of knowledge, to which from travel and study he had access, the richest intellectual treasures The reception which the Brahman had met with would, it was to be hoped, influence other able and influential members of the Eastern community to visit England'

Rammohun Roy rose, and in a very graceful manner addressed the company ···

It was rather curious to see the Brahman surrounded by hearty feeders upon turtle and venison and champagne and touching nothing himself but rice and cold water." (*Asiatic Journal*, Aug. 1831, pp. 236-37)

RAMMOHUN RECEIVED CORDIALLY AT THE ENGLISH ROYAL COURT.

The Home Government, however, recognized his embassy and title Royalty itself honoured Rammohun

'At the levee held at the Palace, St. James's, on the 7th September [1831], the Rajah Rammohun Roy was introduced to an audience of the King [William IV] by the Right Hon. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, and was most graciously received. The Rajah wore the costume of a Brahman, *viz*: the turban and kabah. The latter was composed of purple velvet, embroidered with gold." (*Court Circular*)

At the Coronation this distinguished visitor from India had a place assigned to him among the Ambassadors of the Crowned Heads of Europe He was also received with the utmost consideration on his visit to France during the autumn of 1832. He was introduced to Louis Philippe, with whom he had the honour of dining more than once. *

The Royal Asiatic Society (of Great Britain) invited the presence of Rammohun at its 10th Annual Meeting held on 11th May, 1833. The Rajah delivered a short speech † on the occasion.

Miss Collet has truly observed · "Rammohun's three years in the West form the crown and consummation of his life's work" The three principal objects which brought him to England were one by one crowned with success

The Rajah had indeed a very busy time of it He presented the counter-petition—brought from India §—to the House of Commons and had the satisfaction of being present when the appeal to the King in Council for the renewal of the *Sati* atrocities was rejected and the decision announced, on 11th July 1832.

Rammohun, as a recognized authority on Indian questions, was called upon to give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons—appointed to consider the renewal of the Company's Charter Though he declined to appear before it, he by successive "Communications to the Board of Control" gave his views on the Revenue and Judicial Systems, and the Condition of the People

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* *The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy* by Mary Carpenter (2nd edn), p. 69.

† For the speech of the Rajah, see *Asiatic Journal*, May-Aug. 1833, p. 224.

§ For a copy of this petition, see *Asiatic Journal*, May 1831, pp. 20-21.

of India, which undoubtedly evince acuteness of observation and depth of reflection These communications between Rammohun and the Board of Control passed during the months of August and September 1831 and were embodied in the Blue-books.

DELHI EMPEROR'S CLAIMS URGED IN ENGLAND—SETTLEMENT

The mission from the King of Delhi was ever present in the mind of Rammohun Although he had proceeded thither as a private individual, it appears from Governor-General Bentinck's Political Despatch to the Court of Directors that he avowed himself as the Agent of the King of Delhi after his arrival in England

"2. In the course of my route from Roopur to this place I learned from various sources, as well as from the English newspapers received by the *Thomas Grenville*, that Rammohun Roy had avowed himself in England the accredited Agent of the King of Delhi" (*Pol Letter to the Court*, No. 22 dated 16-12-1831)

Rammohun delivered to the Court of Directors, and circulated before influential personages, a printed statement on the subject of the claims of the Delhi King, corresponding in substance with the letter from the King of Delhi to His Majesty, George the Fourth, which he had framed in English and Persian. (*Asiatic Journal*, Jany 1834, p. 57).

The Court of Directors had received during 1828-1831 several despatches from the Government of Bengal regarding the claims of the King of Delhi and the mission of Rammohun, but they had hitherto remained passive. It was only when Rammohun began an agitation of this question in England * that they found it unwise to leave the matter unsettled. In their Political Letter No 5 dated London 13 February 1833, addressed to their Governor-General in Council, Fort William, Bengal, they sanctioned an addition of 3 *lakhs* of Rupees per annum to the stipend of the Delhi King

"1 We now reply to your letters in the Political Department dated
3rd July 1828, paras 66-79
22nd May 1829 (whole)
9th October 1830, paras 48-49
14th October 1830, paras 169-171 & 334
in which you acquaint us with the pecuniary claims upon your Government advanced by the King of Delhi with the application made to you by Rammohun Roy on the part of the King, and his departure for England with a view to the prosecution of these claims. And we now proceed to state the opinion which we have been led to form on the question of the augmentation of the stipend of the Royal family founded on a mature consideration of all the documents to which you have referred us in the letters above acknowledged.

2. It is not our intention, nor do we deem it at present necessary, to enter into a discussion of the various points that have arisen out of the agitation of this question being persuaded of their tendency rather to embarrass and impede, than to facilitate a sound and satisfactory decision.

3 We are willing to sanction an extension of the provision at present fixed for the support of His Majesty and the Royal family to 15 lakhs of Rupees per annum leaving it to your discretion to distribute the additional three lakhs among the members of the family in such manner as may appear to you most just and proper upon a consideration of their respective claims

4 It must be distinctly understood that the further pecuniary grants which we have now authorized are to be received by the King of Delhi in full satisfaction of all claims of every description that he may be supposed to possess

5 We think it expedient to advert also to the representations regarding the ruinous state of the Palace at Delhi and the expense necessary for putting it in repair. If the increased annual allowance to be made to the Family would, in your opinion, be too much pressed upon by putting the palace in repair we think that an adequate sum might be granted by you for that purpose. The charge of afterwards keeping it in repair should rest entirely with the head of the family."

This decison of the Court of Directors was formally conveyed to the King of Delhi by Mr Fraser, the Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi, in his letter dated 12 July, 1833. The King, however, declined to accept the conditions proposed until he should receive accounts from Rammohun Roy, his Agent in England, which were daily expected:

"I have received your petition, dated 12th July 1833, representing that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had been pleased to sanction an increase of three lakhs of Rupees a year on the fixed tribute (*peshkush*), but that this addition was to be understood as answering the demands made through

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* In an obituary sketch of Rammohun, contributed to the *Asiatic Journal* by (according to Miss Collet) Mr M. Sandford Arnot, who served the Rajah while in England as his Private Secretary [but was not quite reliable—Ed., *M R*], we find that·

"A short time before his death, he had brought his negotiations with the British Government, on behalf of the King of Delhi, to a successful close, by a compromise with the Ministers of the Crown, which will add £30,000 a-year to the stipend of the Mogul, and, of course, make a proportionate reduction in the Indian revenue. The deceased ambassador had a contingent interest in this large addition to the ample allowance of the Mogul pageant, and his heirs, it is said, will gain from it a perpetual income of £ 3,000 or £ 4,000 a-year." (Nov. 1833, p. 208).

Rajah Rammohun Roy, informing me likewise that it was left to the discretion of the Government here to distribute the sum amongst the members of the Royal family, and that a part of the amount would be set aside for repairing the palace and its buildings. I have understood perfectly what you represent.

That the Court of Directors should have caused this addition to the annual provision (*peshkush*) has very sensibly gratified me But as my claims, which rest upon compacts concluded with officers of the Company, are of higher nature and the Royal Agent I have sent for the purpose of prosecuting them is still in England, until I receive information from him I must decline acceding to the conditions proposed I stated this to you when you waited upon me in person." (*Pol Procdgs* 2 Aug. 1833, No. 13).

Mr. Fraser forwarded a translation of the Delhi King's reply to the Secretary to Government, Pol. Dept, and remarked in his covering letter dated 18th July, 1833·

"3 I was informed the day before yesterday that letters had been received from Rammohun Roy on that date recommending His Majesty to reject any offer which might be made to incline His Majesty to forego the benefit of those claims preferred in England, which it was probable would be conceded through the exertions of his Agent." (*Pol Procdgs.* 2-8-1833, No. 13)

The Governor-General in Council reported to the Home authorities that the Delhi King had declined their offer.* The Court of Directors replied as follows.—

"2 The King of Delhi having refused to accept the increased provision granted by us on the condition annexed to it, until he should receive further information from his Agent in England, you very properly apprized him, that you did not deem yourselves at liberty to enter into any further discussion on the subject, and that the fact of his having declined the offer would be made known to us. You will apprize us if any new application should be received from him; but in the event of his hereafter offering to accept the proposed increase, with the condition annexed to it, you will consider yourselves at liberty to carry the arrangement authorized in our instructions of 13th February 1833, into complete effect †

Delhi Emperor accepts the increase of his pension.

The unfortunate death of Rammohun, which occurred on 27th September, 1833, sorely disappointed the Emperor of Delhi, and retarded the prosecution of his claims. He was thus obliged to be content with what had already been offered to him

* Pol. Letter No. 8 dated 2 Sept. 1833 to the Court of Directors. Paras 42-44.

† Pol. Letter No. 14 dated London 1 May, 1835 from the Court of Directors to their Governor-General in Council.

In his letter, dated 13th September 1834, to Mr. W. Fraser, the Governor-General's Agents at Delhi—an English translation of which is quoted below—he expressed himself willing, although somewhat vaguely, to accept the increase of his stipend by three lakhs of Rupees per annum

"Your petition,—in reply to our letter calling for information on the determination of Government to increase the amount originally proposed, *viz*., three lakhs of Rupees, also intimating, that in the event of no augmentation having been made, to send the amount from the date of its becoming appropriated,—has been received,—representing that no instructions have been received from the Presidency in reply to your petition [and] also suggesting that we should write a letter in the event of having accepted the increase, agreeing to the conditions upon which it is to be made, [in order] to forward [it] with a report and to act as should be directed In your first petition to us on the subject you stated that one of the conditions on which the increase should be made is that the part of it so disbursed should be apportioned to individuals of our House in conformity with the wishes of Government. Another condition was to abstain from prosecuting the matters entrusted to Rajah Rammohun Baboo. A third condition was that the Royal Palace and its buildings should be kept in repair by an assignment of money out of the increased allowance. Now, the state of the matter is this. The apportionment of sums of money out of the addition proposed to those of our family who shall receive them, will be done with the knowledge of the Officers of Government. In regard to not prosecuting claims on account of which Rajah Rammohun Roy was sent to England, this person was commissioned to obtain an increase according with the engagements and promises of the Government. If the Justice of the Court of Directors is satisfied with the increase now made, have I the power (*sic*) to obtain a larger increase or to enforce the engagements of the Government? Helplessly, on acount of the clamor of debtors occasioned by our heavy daily expenses and the large outlay incurred by sending an Agent to England which is very great, the increase proposed is accepted. But as our claims according to the engagements of Government are greater, ascertain and report [as] to the reason of 3 lakhs of Rupees per annum being fixed upon, and what are the grounds of making an additional allowance only to this amount. With respect to titles and ceremonies which were subject of complaint on our part through the Rajah, I shall observe, that as our favor was increased towards Lord Amherst, by our favor also the same will continue (meaning future Governors will be received as Lord Amherst was received) and Lord William Bentinck may now address me as was before usual or in the style adopted by Lord Amherst. In this respect I wish to please the Governor General. The repair of the Royal Palace and its buildings, I, of course, desire for my own comfort, and it will be done, a monthly amount being set aside for the purpose. Do you now, aware of the pressing claim of our debtors and the straitness of our means

even for daily expenses, write quickly to Government and obtain the amount of increase of tribute from the date of its offer up to the present day." (*Pol. Con.* 16-10-1834, No. 22)

Mr. Fraser, however, suggested respectfully to the King to "signify in explicit terms his pleasure and the acceptance of the proposed increase to the stipend, with the attached conditions, if he thought proper to do so, by which means future misunderstandings would be obviated" (*Pol Con* 16-10-1834, No 21). This the King of Delhi did in a letter, dated 14th October 1834 (Pol. Proceds 31-12-1834, No 15)

WHAT RAMMOHUN DID FOR THE DELHI EMPEROR.

The foregoing facts can leave no doubt in a reasonable mind that Rammohun had before his death effected the object of his mission, at least in part We are, therefore, surprised to read the following remarks in a letter, signed "A B", published in the *Asiatic Journal* (Jany 1834, p 57) —

"No negotiation on the subject, verbal or written, was carried on with Rammohun Roy, neither has his mission been referred to in the Court's instructions to the Supreme Government of Bengal, as having had any influence or concern whatever in their resolution to augment the stipend of the royal family of Delhi. That augmentation was founded exclusively on a consideration of the condition and exigencies of the King and his family, as represented through the channel of the local Government, and was the result of a specific reference on that subject from the Governor General in Council to the Court of Directors, and would have taken place although Rammohun Roy had never made his appearance in England"

This attempt at saving official prestige must have emanated from some official source, and the historian cannot support it That the impecunious Emperor of Delhi—prior to the deputation of Rammohun as an envoy to the Court of Great Britain—failed to achieve any redress of his grievances from the local Government, despite his repeated efforts for half a decade, will be evident from the following translation of a *shukka* which he addressed to the Resident at Delhi in November 1831 :

"..... I had invariably *looked for relief from the Government in every case through the medium of the Resident in attendance at my Court, and that I had always continued to make him the channel of communicating my grievances to the Government, but that no one had ever exerted himself, in any instance, in my case. Providence at length favored me with a visit from Lord Amherst, which I hailed with feelings of the fullest confidence and delight at the prospect which it afforded of securing to me the fulfilment of the pledges that had been given me and the realization of all my desires. I accordingly did everything in my power to please His Lordship and showed him every kindness that I could possibly manifest, explaining at the same time the* engagements of the British Government towards me and making a full disclosure of my wishes to him. His Lordship, however, evinced as little disposition as others to redeem those engagements or execute the provisions contained in the regulations of Government, and, not confining himself to this, he had recourse to the novel procedure of setting aside the ceremonials and forms of address (*adab wa alkab*) observed by his predecessors, thus lowering me even in respect of the style of correspondence adopted towards me,—a thing that I could have least expected.

I am in this place desirous of calling your attention to the fact that, when I resolved upon deputing Rajah Rammohun Roy as my agent I fully apprized Sir E Colebrooke of my intention and through him transmitted to the Government copies of the several papers which I had entrusted to the Rajah, distinctly informing him at the same time that that individual was about to proceed to Europe But, notwithstanding I had given notice of my proceedings and had furnished copies of the documents which I intended to send by the Rajah the Government remained perfectly passive, and the whole case has now been accordingly referred to England, in due order and in conformity with the practice prescribed by the Regulations of Government" (*Pol Procdgs* 31-12-1831, No 15 *Punjab Govt Records, Delhi Residency*, i 347-48)

Justice to the memory of the venerable Rajah demands the admission that, however officially ignored his mission may have been, it was his exertions alone that impressed on the Court of Directors the need of making terms with Rammohun's master without further delay. The unhappy descendant of the Great Mughal had been petitioning the E I Co ever since 1827, but without effect The Governor-General concurring in the opinion held by Sir Chas Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, had on 3 July 1828 counselled the Court of Directors not to increase the Delhi Emperor's allowance, and a year later he held the same view (*Pol Despatch* 22 May 1829). Nor had the Court of Directors for years before Rammohun's mission shown any inclination to do justice to Akbar Shah on their own initiative Rammohun reached England in April 1831, and the Court of Directors decided to increase the Delhi Emperor's allowances early in 1833. These dates are conclusive.

RAMMOHUN DIES AT STAPLETON GROVE, NEAR BRISTOL

But the great Rammohun, crowned with victory as he was, never set foot on Indian

il again He had intended to return home n 1831 via Turkey, Russia and Persia, but ied on 27th September 1833 at Stapleton ove, near Bristol.

"Sacred as was the spot where he was laid, and ...uring to those who knew and loved him no ...ne to mark the spot, beneath the overhanging ..., which their hearts reverenced,—yet it was ...ht that the public should have access to his ...ve and should see a befitting monument erected ...er it This could not be done at Stapleton ...ove, which had now passed out of the Castle ...ily The Rajah's friend, the celebrated Dwarka-...th Tagore, desired to pay this mark of respect to ... memory, and it was therefore arranged that ... case containing the coffin should be removed the beautiful cemetery of Arno's Vale, near ...istol This was suitably accomplished on the ...h of May 1843, and a handsome monument was ...ted in the spring of the year following by his ...nd' *

I shall conclude this paper by quoting an nteresting incident—hitherto unappropriated ... the biographers of Rammohun—of the mployment of Rajah Ram at the Board ... Control, which Sir William Foster was ... first to recall in an article read before the Royal Historical Society on 10th November 1916 :

"After his father's death, Rajah Ram came to London and applied to Sir John Hobhouse who was then President of the Board of Control, for an appointment in his office, 'requesting that the opportunity may be afforded him previously to his return to his native country of acquiring an insight into the mode in which the public business is transacted in England' He was appointed in August 1835 for one year as an extra clerk on a salary of £ 100, but a writership in Bengal was refused to him In Alexander's *East India Magazine* for July to December 1836 (vol. 12,p 568) the following extract from the *Hurkaru* may be found,—

'We hear that the Court of Directors have refused to confirm the nomination to a Bengal writership by the President of the Board of Control of the adopted son of the late respected Rammohun Roy and that the refusal of the Court will be brought before Parliament'

Rajah Ram, however, retained his post in the Board's office for nearly three years: and when he then expressed a desire to return to India, he was allowed to draw his salary to the end of the third year and received in addition a donation of £100 'in consideration of his diligence in the discharge of his duties and the circumstances under which he accompanied his father to this country' Details of his subsequent career are wanting." (*Bengal Past and Present*, Oct-Dec. 1925).

* *The Last days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy* by Mary Carpenter, p. 160

THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA BILL

By N SHRI RAM

THE National Convention, which drafted the Commonwealth of India Bill, was a body composed of 256 members, all men ...d women of influence and representative ...aracter, of whom 231 were members of the ...ormed Legislatures, Central and Provincial ...ere were members in it belonging to every ...litical party represented in the Legislatures. ...e only object for which the Convention ...s assembled was the framing of a Consti-...tion for India giving her Swaraj at Home ...d Dominion Status abroad, and the only ...ndition on which members of the Legis-...tures and the others who were coopted by ...ose members were invited to participate in ...at endeavor was the taking of a pledge to ...raft such a Constitution, on the basis of ...rtain principles, which every party in the Legislatures has since formally accepted. The Convention was, in no sense a party affair On the other hand, its composition and the procedure adopted by the National Conference, also a representative body formed for the purpose of calling the Convention with all due publicity, enable us to say to Britain "This is a Bill drawn up by representatives of the Legislatures which you have established in India'

In December, 1918, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution claiming for India the right of Self-Determination, a principle for which the Allies professed to be fighting in the War, and which Mr. Lloyd George, the then Prime-Minister, declared was to be applied in tropical regions as well as the temperate. It was then

understood that for the purpose of Self-Determination, the voice of the representative Councils that were to be established in India was to be considered as the voice of the Nation. In the National Convention movement, that resolution has been carried out. As was stated in the Memorandum issued in support of the Commonwealth of India Bill soon after the appearance of the Bill by 40 leaders belonging to all parties in India, *the Bill is based on the principle of Self-Determination.* The Preamble of the Government of India Act makes the insulting claim that Britain must guide the steps of India to the distant goal of Responsible Government The Bill is a challenge to that claim, for it embodies a Constitution made by Indians, with due regard for Indian conditions and requirements and their present limitations, to be applied at once

The Commonwealth of India Bill places India on a footing of equality with the Self-governing Dominions sharing their responsibilities and privileges. It provides for the exercise of the right of Self-government from the village upwards in each successive autonomous area of wider extent, namely, the Taluka, the District, the Province, and India, excluding the Indian States In the village, all adults are to elect every year a Panchayat which will look after all village affairs; in the Taluka, a Sabha, based on a very wide electorate, is to administer functions allotted to it by the Bill, the District Samiti is to be elected by voters possessing slightly higher qualifications than the Taluka electors . these three Local Bodies, or "Sub-Provincial Units of Governments," as the Bill prefers to style them, are to do much of the work that is now performed by the Provincial Governments; a Provincial Executive, responsible to a Provincial Legislative Council, consisting like all tne other representative bodies provided for by the Bill, entirely of elected members; an All-India or Commonwealth Cabinet, responsible to a bi-cameral Commonwealth Parliament, and a Supreme Court of Judicature complete, in graded order, the constitutional edifice The keynote of this arrangement is decentralisation of functions along with responsibility of the agents to the people more particularly concerned. The Bill also gives power to the Indian Parliament for amending the Constitution

Defence is, however, temporarily reserved to the control of the Governor-General, who *otherwise is a mere constitutional he* This reservation is necessitated by t impossibility of Indians taking over respon bility for it at once, an inability which of course, due to no inherent defect theirs, but to the emasculating policy delib rately pursued by the British Governme in India. But the Bill does not leave tl discretion for terminating this transition arrangement in the hands of the Briti Parliament There is to be a Defen Commission, constituted in India with majority of Indians on it, which will fix tl minimum of military expenditure that mu be voted by the Commonwealth Parliame and recommend measures for the Indianisati of the Army; and the moment India is in position to take over the responsibility f Defence, the Indian Parliament may, by a Act of its own, assume full control over i The Bill it will be seen, is a self-contain measure, obviating any further resort to th Westminster Parliament. It is a fully worke out scheme which fulfils the ideal, suggeste by the Minority of the Reforms Enqui Committee, of a Constitution on a permanen basis, with provision for automatic progres in the future

The proposals for Constitutional Reform embodied in the resolution on the subjec carried in the last September session of th Assembly, by the combined strength o practically all the elected Indian member are for the most part a reproduction of those that underlie the Bill. This fact constitute a valuable testimony to the support that it main principles have received in the countr The proposals were silent, however, on th question of Communal Representation, with regard to which the Bill, discarding th system of communal electorates, provides only for earmarking seats in the Legislatures for Musalmans and Europeans, in the existing proportions, leaving the question open, how ever, for further consideration five year later. Similarly, several other points that had necessarily to be left unconsidered in the Resolution, a circumstance which the officials and Anglo-Indians have not failed to turn to their own advantage, have been fully and satisfactorily tackled in the Bill. It presents no surface for the criticism that any of the constitution-making intricacies have been left unravelled, as far as it is necessary to perform that task at the outset of our constitutional journey, before gaining the practical experience in the light of which

one finality can be attained in the detailed ming of a Constitution.

Since the Bill was published in April st, it has won remarkable and widespread ipport. Swarajist leaders, like Mr Jayakar nd Mr Kelkar, No-change Congressmen, presented by Srimati Sarojini Naidu and [r Shaukat Ali, Independents of the stamp f Mr T. Rangachariar, Sir Ali Imam and [r Hasan Imam, Liberals, prominent among hom are the Rt. Hon. V. S Srinivas Sastri nd Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, leaders of e *Justice* party in Madras, such as Sir Venkata Reddi, have given it their acking It is impossible to expect that on l points there would be complete agreeent among all schools of thought. But it not without significance that on no olitical platform, except the one improvised t Bombay for protesting against the Bengal rdinance, have members of all parties nited as they have in blessing the Comonwealth of India Bill The Maharashtra rovincial Conference accorded its support the principles of the Bill Though at e Patna meeting of the All-India Conress Committee a resolution on the Bill ll through for want of a seconder, has been publicly stated by some of e members present that no significanc as to be attached to the incident. Gandhiji imself has stated that if he were assured at Lord Birkenhead would sanction e Bill, he would undertake to obtain for the signature of any Congress leader at might be named—a queer way of proaching the practical problem before but testimony to the generally acceptble character of the Bill.

The plan of presenting to Parliament r enactment a Bill embodying the ation's demand is the only way in which dia's freedom can be won in the shortest ssible time with the least amount of ffering to ourselves, and without the neration of any avoidable ill-will between itishers and Indians. It has behind it Besant's unrivalled knowledge of the ethods of agitation best calculated to press the British mind and of the psyological moment for inaugurating great ovements. So long as "Swaraj" was simply catch-word or a slogan or a cry for someing intangible and undefined, it was ssible for the average Britisher, with his jective outlook, to dismiss it with a shrug his shoulder or a puzzled look. His representatives in India have assured him that it was a longing for the unattainable, the expression of an unrest due to causes that may be trusted to work themselves out, at any rate an ideal for the realisation of which, impossible in any foreseeable future, a long process of discipline and consolidation under Britain's experienced guidance was absolutely indispensable. The problem was thus left in the hands of the bureaucracy here, unwilling to part with its power, and confident of its ability to crush all manifestations of rebellion against it It is useless, therefore, merely to keep knocking at its door, and impossible to overthrow it by methods of physical force, open or camouflaged We are weak materially but rich in the righteousness of our cause. Our battle must, therefore, be fought on a plane where arguments will tell, where Reason and Justice can enlist supporters on their side Dr Besant and her co-workers hence regard constitutional methods as the best and the only practicable ones for India, and look upon the Bill as an instrument whereby, if it is properly supported by Indians, the British public can be taken by storm, despite its reactionary elements, its ignorance and prejudice It states what India wants in concrete striking terms, offers a solution of the Indian problem acceptable to Indians themselves and consistent with Britain's own declared ultimate objective in India, and asks only for Britain's acceptance of it, so that an era of goodwill and co-operation between the two great Nations may be ushered in at once, and the danger of an ultimate rupture between them, with all the anxieties and struggles of the intervening stages safely avoided

If Britain is to take notice of India's demand, India must speak with one voice. Hence the supreme necessity for all parties ranging themselves actively behind the Bill, whatever else might divide them. They all agree as regards the end to be attained, and differ only as to the means to be employed to reach it The Bill represents the end and thus provides a basis of union between them. It is constructed in such a fashion as to make an appeal to the entire population, as it gives to the masses in the villages rights of control over matters intimately affecting their daily life. Hence a vigorous agitation for its passage, if carried on now, will soon gather a momentum

that it would be impossible for Britain to ignore, and may easily surpass in power the agitation of 1917, which succeeded in eliciting the Declaration of August 1917 and effecting the release of the three interned patriots whose crime was their advocacy of Home Rule. If we cannot all of us immediately unite under the banner of the Congress, let each, at least, in his own way, give his support to the Bill and do all that he can to push it forward

Already much has been done in England by Dr Besant to pave the way for the passage of the Bill It has attracted the notice of the press and prominent politicians in that country Lord Birkenhead's offer to consider any constitutional proposals, framed by Indians, on which there is "a fair measure of general agreement,' was a recognition of the prominence the idea of Self-Determination underlying the Bill had assumed in Indian politics The Labour Party Conference recently held has asked him to examine the Bill, but it goes without saying that there is no chance of the present Government in England accepting it or anything like it If India backed up the Bill sufficiently strongly, there is every reason to hope that the Labor Party and all other progressive elements in Britain would be forced to take it in right earnest To ask for more Conferences in India to draft a similar Bi[ll] is not only waste of precious time, but a wish which, if it were fulfilled, would carry no certainty, in the present state of affairs of resulting in the realisation of our cherished ambition. We must strike wh[ile] the iron is hot The Bill has been cast by the Labor Party's Parliamentary draftsmen into a form suitable for introduction into Parliament It has been introduced in Parliament by some influential Labor Party members. If the Party unanimously backs it up, then even if the Bill is defeated in the present Parliament, there would be practical certainty that it would be reintroduc[ed] the moment the Labor Party comes again into power and passed by it into law Will India strengthen the hands of our friends in England for the attainment of this consummation ? Here is a golden chance for the winning of Swaraj for our Motherland Will Indians snatch it, putting aside their petty party quarrels, prepossessions and prejudices ? Does party or country come first If the latter, will you, reader, enrol yourself as a soldier in the army of Liberation of the Motherland, marching along the open tra[ck] traced out by the Bill ?

Since the above was written, the go[od] news has come that the Bill has been plac[ed] in the Labor Party's list of business in the House of Commons

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DR. VENKATARAMIAH AND THE DISCOVERY OF ACTIVE HYDROGEN

By GANPAT TENDULKER

IT is my purpose in this article, to write in a few words about the very original research work achieved by an Indian scientist, which received wide and warm recognition in different intellectual circles of Europe The importance of this work is acknowledged to be great and its potentialities are recognised to be still greater The work consists in the discovery of a new gas named Active Hydrogen and its discoverer is Dr. Venkataramiah of the Vizayanagram Laboratories.

The constant attempts of the Scientists which led to the discovery of this gas date as far back as 1853, when Osann obtained an active variety of Hydrogen by the electrolysis of diluted sulphuric acid and to which he gave the name "Ozonwasserstoff", but Lowenthall showed in 1[illegible] that the acquired activity of Hydrogen, prepared by Osann, was due to sulphurous anhydride com[ing] from the sulphuric acid. Towards the same [illegible] Magnus tried to confirm the work of Osann [illegible] with no succeess.

In 1912, Langmuir discovered an active modification of Hydrogen (1). He showed that by heating a wire of tungstene or of Palladium to a temperature higher than 1300° in an atm

(1) J A C. S. Vol. 34-1912 V. 36-1914 V [illegible] 1916.

sphere of Hydrogen under a pressure from 0. 001 to 0 2 m m the Gas disappears slowly. This author also showed that this Hydrogen was chemically active and under certain conditions preserved its activity for several days. This Hydrogen could repeat on the Oxygen and the phospher at an ambianta temperature and that its activity was not due to ions. Sir J. J. Thomson [2] concluded from his studies on the trajectories of positively charged particles that they reveal the presence of particles having an atomic weight 3, which he attributed to the triatomic Hydrogen Thomson found [3] that the Gas which gives the ray me-3 can be prepared only if one submits certain minerals, metals and salts to the cathodique bombardement and that the Gas thus obtained is very stable and chemically almost inert, although it has the property of chemical combination in certain cases Thomson gave to this element the name X3 This was followed by the work of Dempster [4] Duane and Wendt prepared in 1917 an active modification of Hydrogen by the action of the Alpha Rays These authors think that the characteristics presented by the Gas could be attributed to the molecules H3 produced by the Alpha Rays. Wendt and Landauer prepared this Gas in 1920 [5] by different methods, alpha rays issuing from the emanation of the radium, electric discharges under reduced pressure etc In 1922 they prepared the gas by other methods and also observed many properties.

Independently of Wendt and Landaur [6], Dr Venkataramiah prepared in 1920 the active modification of Hydrogen [7] in submitting the ordinary hydrogen to the action of the silent electrical discharge in an ozoniser and equally in exploding a mixture of Oxygen and Hydrogen, in presence of an excess of the latter In studying the activation of hydrogen by explosion in a quantity of oxygen insufficient for bringing about a complete combination Dr Venkataramiah employs four new methods

1. Continued combustion of oxygen into hydrogen
2. Combustion of hydrogen and oxygen over a surface of platine.
3. Arc of high tension in hydrogen.
4. Heating of hydrogen in the arcs of several metals He further showed that the gas of Langmuir was distinct from this new variety of hydrogen.

A great interest will always remain attached to the constitution of this new Gas. In 1912 Stark [8] suggested the hypothesis of a triatomic hydrogen, based on the electroioniquo conception of valency. According to this theory there is a relation existing between an electron maintained in position between two atoms which it connects by means of numerous lines of force extending towards these two atoms. Thus triatomic chain is formed of 3 atoms maintained in position by 3 electrons.

Bohr submitted in 1913 the hypothesis of the possible existence of a triatomic molecule of hydrogen more or less stable in placing himself on the modern fundamental conception of the atomic structure and particularly on the atom of Rutherford. In 1919 Bohr [9] studied the structure of that atom Bohr finds the conception of triatomic molecule explainable. According to Rutherford a molecule of Hydrogen containing more than 3 atoms is not susceptible of existence.

The existence of this new gas H3, which has completely passed out of the stage of speculation and imagination to enter into the domain of practical Science presents an immense interest from the chemical point of view. It is no longer possible to conciliate the existence of this new gas with the old conception of valency, and adopting this point of view, one is constrained to admit that the whole chemistry will have to be written anew. Among the several papers that have found their place in the Scientific Journals for last many years, Dr. Venkataramiah's papers are certainly some of the most important ones. Dr. Ramiah is not only responsible for the discovery of this new Gas, but he is also responsible for finding out the best and the most practical means of preparing it. The importance of this new discovery is so great and has been felt so strongly in the scientific world that Prof. Baly described the papers of our Scientist "as without question, bidding fair to revolutionise the fundamental conceptions of Chemistry".

Born of a well-to-do and cultured family—his father being the late principal of the Maharaja's College and the present Diwansaheb of the Vizayanagram state—Mr. Ramiah is not unacquainted with the difficulties that an average Indian student has to face. The rigid, merciless and perhaps unreasonable, regulations of the Madras University could not allow the College-student Ramiah to get his B. A He did not know enough English ! The self-confident, revolting "failed" undergraduate seemed a failure both to his exact and severe father and to the Institutions and it was only after his work brought him the due recognition from the Western scientists that the "prodigal son" found the grace of his father and the undergraduate his place of an Honorary professor in the Madras and then in the Benares Hindu University It was on a Scientific Mission that Mr. Venkataramiah came to Europe last year and presented a part of his work, on the encouragement of the Paris professor, for obtaining the degree of the Doctorate of the state. Prof Urbain, the president of the Examining Commission—his colleagues being Jean Perrin and Auger —at the sessions of the Judges remarked——"It is a great honour that you have done us, by allowing us, to appreciate your work. Your case is different from any that we ever met before. You are our co-worker and colleague and the only quality in which we can presume to appreciate your work is that we represent an ancient University. Your case must be an example, to our French students. In Europe, where everybody is occupied specialising in narrow limits the width of the region of your knowledge and your ability all-round in the subjects that you touch, stands in an agreeable relief";

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[2] Philo. Mag V. 24-241-1912

[3] Proc. Royal Soc. V 89A p 1—1913

[4] Phil. Mag. V. 31-1916 and PHYL. REV. N. S V 8-1916

[5] J. A. C. S. V. 42 N 5 V. 44. March 1922.

[6] Dr. Wendt acknowledged the independence and priority of the work of our Scientist in his paper on "Ozone form of Hydrogen"

[7] Proc. Sc. Ass. Maharajah's College, July 1921.

[8] Jahr Radioact. Electro. V. 9-15-1912.

[9] Modd. K. Vetenskapsakad Nobelin V, 5 N, 28 1919

and then before a meeting of students.—"M. Ramiah is working on and of the most interesting problems of the day. He has already succeeded in getting qualitative results I wish him a speedy success in the quantitative work that he is carrying on, at present. Then, he will have established beyond doubt his reputation, as one of the greatest chemists of our times."

Gentilly Sceine.

France 11, February 1926

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indian Education and a Proposal

S V. Ramamurty writes in *The Young Men of India* —

It is a fact not often remembered in India that *the education of the few is paid for by the uneducated many* Private philanthropy helps to some extent in the spread of education, but the bulk of *the cost is met from the general revenues* The tax-payer in this country resides to the large extent of 90 per cent in villages He pays for our education *and what does he gain in return?* The large majority of men who live in the village live a life of ignorance, of poverty and of dirt Have our University *graduates done anything to lessen that ignorance?* They cannot, because they carry a load of alien knowledge, neither the substance nor the *form or which is assimilable by the villager* They cannot lessen their poverty, because the very large majority of our graduates do not create wealth but *only seek to guard it* They have not helped to remove the dirt in villages because they have not acquired either the power of organization, or the *moral* enthusiasm, or the creative ability, with which disintegration physical or moral can be stopped Abolish our universities and yet our village life will remain unaffected The men who thought and taught in older India gripped the village minds and it is their intellectual and cultural influence that still survives in villages The books the villager reads or hears are not made by our universities and their products The social and moral life the villager leads is unaffected by the knowledge of our universities If the higher education of a country is a national concern and is paid for by the villager, there is something radically wrong when the villager pays for what does him no good

National unity in India is not mainly geographical India is a country of long distances, diverse races, languages and creeds But there is an intellectual and cultural unity which is the foundation of her national unity The knowledge and culture of the intellectual classes was not isolated, but permeated the masses so completely that even now with mere tradition, an illiterate Indian of the masses is more cultured than a literate European The education which is now supported by the country in universities and schools is something alien to the culture of the country It is imparted mainly in a foreign language which about 99 per cent. of the people do not understand. Its gospel is European. In literature, philosophy, logic, and history, India furnishes enough of material for study But it is English literature, European philosophy and logic and European history that are mainly studied in our colleges A young man who studies a few books in English philosophy is a graduate, and is given a decidedly higher status than a Pundit who studies as high philosophy in Sanskrit or Tamil So, too, in literature The result is that the prestige of Indian knowledge is ruthlessly put down The confidence of the Indian in his own country's achievements becomes weakened Thus while 99 per cent of the people possess only the remnants of the ancient culture, the present day leaders of the country are men following a different culture which has the prestige of power The intellectual **and** cultural unity of the country was split up **tending** towards national disintegration And yet the cry for more and more universities goes on Several universities have been started in the last decade or two The desire for emphasis on Hindu and Muslim cultures gave rise to the Benares and Aligarh Universities The need for the vernacular as the medium of instruction gave rise to the Osmania and it is hoped, the Andhra Universities

The present system of education gives the wrong training to men Education does not help in life, it often hampers, the writer says

Roughly speaking, primary education is for peasants, secondary education is for artizans, and university education is for artists An artizan requires a more live intellect than a peasant The peasant gains by long experience a knowledge of the simple laws of nature and waits on nature The artizan gains from training a knowledge of the simple laws of the dominance of mind over matter and repeatedly copies The artist evolves new laws and new qualities and creates Our universities, instead of developing artists, have been schools of intellectual coolydom

The majority of our graduates are absorbed in the subordinate ranks of Government service Their numbers are growing rapidly while the needs of Government service are not Hence the large class of the unemployed It is a waste of money and labour to produce the numbers of graduates that we do I would rule that he who would function as an artizan should be debarred from entering the university course and that a graduate should be prohibited from becoming a clerk or clerk-equivalent. If in Government service, graduates can hold only executive appointments of the grade of a Deputy Tahsildar and above, the numbers of

aduates can be cut down. India has no need for irge numoer of mental artizans with the training a graduate. It is no use therefore to produce em. Only men who are likely to be artists should permitted to enter on the university course

And those whose vocation requires not a ghly intellectual training should receive a artizan's or a peasant's training as the se might be. The primary education, which ncerns 90 p c of India's population, should be based on a sounder curriculum. The writer akes two proposals to give the masses a under education and utilise the university en for the uplift of the villagers

The first is that in the primary school should taught two books. One is to contain a little of h of different sciences which a villager needs—a tle of physics, of physiology, of hygiene, of meorology, of astronomy and so forth. The second to convey what may be called the emotion of tory. It should give them an idea of what India s stood for in the centuries, what it is driving what is the ideal it is seeking to achieve. This l include religion

But he does not give a solution to any indu-Moslem Problem that might arise as a sult of carrying his proposal into effect nyway, he makes use of the graduates in e following way

Every graduate, after he passes his examination, ould serve a period of probation for, six months. His business would be go about villages in a prescribed area. With small bundle of clothes, he could walk from lage to village and stay a few days in each, ling the villagers the essence of what he had unt. At the end of the period he should present the university an account of what he had taught d what he had learnt

In Bengal numerous educated men are llowing the above ideal voluntarily. Some ve done good work. Their experience ight help to give shape to the writer's ideas

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Indianisation?

The *G I. P Union Herald* says garding a recent affair concerning the ppointment of train conductors on the I. P. Ry

The train conductors are required to work on Bombay-Poona Mail and Express Service and do the checking and collecting of tickets and to k to the convenience of the passengers. When se posts were first created they were given to ropeans and Anglo-Indians. During the last year wever a departure was made from that long ablished practice and four Indian Ticket Inspect- s of more than 10 years' service were promoted work as conductors. Everybody then thought it this change was a permanent one and that se appointments would no longer be the sole privilege of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians as of old. We however were soon disillusioned. In February last these Indian Conductors were asked to revert as Ticket Inspectors and the posts were again filled in by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. During the period these Indians worked as conductors not a single complaint was received against them and so far as we know the Indian Conductors have acquitted themsives creditably in the discharge of their duties. What then can possibly be the ground for asking them to revert to the posts of Inspectors? This action cannot be justified on the ground of economy, because from what we know the new incumbents are drawing salaries nearly double of what the Indian Conductors were drawing. Nor can this action be defended on the usual plea of special qualifications. The new conductors have no special qualifications to boast of. Some of them, from what we know, were not even in Railway service ever before this. If efficiency was the test the Indians had passed that test. We see now ground whatsoever to justify these appointments in suppression of the Indian Conductors.

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The Glory of the Crocodile

India is famous for making gods out of friend or foe without discrimination. The case of the crocodile readily proves how even a pest can find an honourable place among people whose one obsession is to deify things and grovel before it. S. T. Moses gives us an amusing and interesting note on the crocodile in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. We quote portions from it

Of the living saurians of to-day, if the recently recorded survivors of the extict genus Dinosaur are excluded, the crocodile is easily of the first magnitude. Its dense horny covering usually considered bullet-proof is described by Job in the 41st chapter. The Leviathan, however, which occurs in two other places in the Bible stands for a sea-monster in Psalms civ, 26 and for a snake in Isaiah xxvii. 1

The terror-striking aspect of the crocodile combined with its distructive power is enough to secure for it sanctity among men timid by nature or even otherwise. It is sacred to the Egyptians who consider it a fitting emblem of God because of two features. The eye of the crocodile, as in that of birds, is covered by a thin transparent membrane which made the ancients believe that the crocodile like God can see without being seen. The tongue of the crocodile being fixed to the floor of mouth can neither be raised nor protruded. Hence the crocodile was believed to be tongueless by the ancients who saw in it a resemblance to God who never stands in need of speech but merely ordains all things by His will. The crocodile, according to the Hindus, is the vehicle of Niridhi, the regent of the south-west point of the compass.

A crocodile is said to be responsible for making Sankaracharya an ascetic. He had long wished to become one but his mother was against it and once when they were bathing in the river near Kalladi off Angamalai he was caught by a crocodile.

He then cried out to his mother and wanted her permission to die as an ascetic and thus depart to peace. No sooner had she said that he was already an ascetic than Sankaracharya miraculously escaped from the crocrodile and lived to be an ascetic. Even Mahadeva is said to have been bitten by a crocodile for a reference to it is found in a mantram used by Mannans which begins, "Even as the swelling *of the holy foot of* Mahdeva due to the bite of a crocodile has subdued."

In Egypt there is a belief that crocodiles harm no people during the seven days sacred to Apis. In Kerala it is believed that no member of the Valluvar caste, a caste famous for the beauty of its women, is ever harmed by crocodiles. A common form of "trial by ordeal" is to make the accused wade through or swim across a crocodile-infested river or tank. Two such scenes of trial are the Muthalapula (Crocodile river) near Anjengo and a tank attached to the Pagoda at Palli port fifteen miles north of Cochin. In Africa men are believed to transmigrate after death into crocodiles and "Fetishmen" are credited with assuming the form of crocodiles to maim or kill their enemies. No *such belief is current in South India, through* immense sanctity is attached to the crocodile. It is in Kerala, however, that crocodiles are fed and feted in tanks or rivers attached to certain temples. Any attempt to kill these sacred animals is believed to result in the cecity of the irreverent.

The chief places in Kerala where sacred crocodiles are kept *may now be mentioned.* At Pounnala is a rock-cut cave and a Hindu temple to which a a tank is attached where a crocodile lives in royal but single state. Palliport has already been mentioned. Tripsvar on the western bank of the Ponnani has a famous temple, the property of which consists solely of crocodiles adorned with gold and other ornaments. It is a religious duty on the part of the pilgrims to feed them. Last year, I am told, one of the sacred brutes escaped from the temple precincts but was brought back with musical honors, headed by a procession of devotees. At Madai—the railway station is known as Palayangadi—the temple has a pond where many young crocodiles and one or two large ones live. Their daily food is given by the Pidarans, the priests of the temple. Once a year when the grand annual festival of the Kavu is on, a huge metallic vessel full of rice cooked in milk and sugar and other eatables is placed on the brink of the pond. The senior crocodile drags the vessel into the water and all of them partake of the offerings. The vessel was usually returned a day or two before the succeeding annual festival by a crocodile placing it on the edge of the pond. Some four years ago, there was no sign of the vessel—my informant is sure some irreverent rogue forestalled the priest and stole it away—and so the offerings are now given in large leaf-plaited baskets.

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The Christian Church of To-day

Prabuddha Bharata says :

It is our opinion that the Christian church of to-day does not truly represent the Master and his ideal. And it is also the testimony of many Christians even that Christ, the Crucified Saviour, is not to be found in the church. Fraud, political wire-pulling, theological jugglery, bigotry and superstition, they say, are some of the many undesirable vices that characterise the church. Of course, there are exceptions. We quote here the remarks of Count Ilya Tolstoy, the son of the famous Russian idealist. He says, "Neither in America, nor in Europe there is any real Christianity. Churches are everywhere full of rank insincerity, nauseating hypocrisy, grossest sham. In the continent the churches are a veritable instrument of oppression in the hands of the government." It is indeed a very pessimistic picture if it is literally true.

The decadence of the Christian church is due to many reasons, of which infatuation caused by material prosperity and race-pride of the people of the West is *among the primary ones.* The church is nothing but one aspect and department of a community. When the community has gone down in its outlook upon life, the church, however lofty its ideal, cannot maintain its pristine purity; it must come down. For it is from the community that the church recruits its members. So the decadence of the Christian church is only one side of the general degeneration that has come over the West.

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Silt Clearance Cooperative Society

Ghulam Haidar gives an account of the above in the Punjab in *The Bombay Cooperative Quarterly.* The institution may find an useful place in the economy of Bengal, says Mr Haidar.

One of the most useful forms to which co-operative principles have been successfully applied in the Punjab is found in co-operative silt clearance societies, their main object being to arrange for the silt clearance of water channels and their improvement in other respect.

In the south-eastern districts of the Punjab, there are numerous inundation canals owned by either a single landlord, a number of landowners, or by Government. In the absence of any organization and through lack of interest on the part of irrigators there has been great economic waste resulting in the aggregate in very serious loss to the community. Canal water has been wasted because it is no one's interest to prevent such wastage. Only well-directed effort and organization can cure the evil and the most suitable form of such organization in present conditions is the co-operative.

In 1920, Khan Sahib Malik Fateh Khan Nun, Deputy Registrar, suggested the formation of silt clearance societies as the solution of this important problem. The first society was started in the Multan district in the year 1920. In 1921, two more societies with 16 members and Rs 929 as working capital were added to the number and from 1922 onward there has been steady progress. The number of societies rose to 12 with 126 members and Rs. 1,230 as working capital during that wear. The benefits derived from this form of co-operation have been direct and immediate, and agriculturists even appreciated the idea, by taking to this type of co-operative activity in larger numbers. In the following two years the movement extended to all districts where there were inundation canals. By 31st July 1923, there were 18 societies with 302 member and Rs. 3,91 as

; capital, and 13 societies with 409 members 4,257 as working capital on 31st July, 1924. roup of these societies is situated in the r District. The figures given below have been with the revenue records and every care has iken to ensure their correctness :—
rrigated, in acres —

	31-7-22	31-7-23	31-7-24	31-7-25
the existence of societes.	975	940	1,420	2615

natured, in acres :—

	31-7-22	31-7-23	31-7-24	31-7-25
the existence of societies.	372	860	1,136	1 22

re were 5 societies with, 74 members upto ily 1921 and 9 with 145 members on 31st 925. It is estimated that the members have ed to the extent of Rs 120 Rs 307 and 14 per individual, respectively, during the iree years from the increased acreage of e On the other hand, the annual expend-n silt clearance is nominal, say Rs 10 per lual member. These societies aim at the cation of people to secure co-ordination of and discipline over recalcitrants

se institutions are registered under the Co-ve Societies Act Any landowner or tenant l under irrigation from the channel is eligi- admission to membership Shares are not ary, and the liability of each member is l to Rs 20 The full authority vests in the il meetings which are held twice a year, one the first of June when annual contributions ie and the second before the first of January the time for silt clearance arrives general meeting elects a managing ittee to control the business, this committee res of an organized system for clearing the el and has the work done either by the ers or at their cost All disputes touching usiness of the society are referred to tion. All profits go to the reserve fund.

e societies seek to replace a haphazard style rance by an organized system The channels draw water from inundation canals formerly up and were cleared very irregularly. They ot begin to run till late in the season and d a short supply. They are now cleared r and better so that the water runs sooner he supply is greater In consequence, the irrigated was increased, likewise the area ed. The net gain to the members amounts veral thousands of rupees. The societies are ng in popularity.

e benefit is, however, apt to be lost when non-er cultivators instead of clearing their own apply to the Canal Department to have their ction cleared from channels. The main obstacle xpansion is the apathy of the people The ulty is to instil into them the idea that well ted efforts will bring results, will improve economic condition and moral welfare, and they need not be so poor as they are. The acy of most of the irrigators presents another cle.

the Shahpur District, these obstacles have successfully surmounted by constant teaching; st all the landowners and tenants of land r irrigation from the channels concerned have admitted, leaving none to cause mischief. ent control and strict supervision have ed success. Illiteracy remains, but it may gradually be overcome by co-operative education and patient teaching.

It is no exaggeration to say that this type of society is more beneficial than the credit society The value of organized self-help has been appreciated and recognised Under similar circumstances, this beneficial form of co-operation can be tried everywhere The careful application of co-operative principles to agriculture will add to the economic interests of the country.

Value of Discipline

Mr M B Dixit writes in *the Volunteer* :—

"An undisciplined army is a rabble". Time and again India has learnt to its cost the truth of this adage Whether at the fields of Panipat or Plassy, warring with Moslem hordes or the English, the lack of discipline has been the ruin of the Indian. Throughout her long story there is no lesson which has been so constantly hammered on, and as often left unheeded Clio (the muse that presides over history in Greek Mythology) weeps that her teachings are wasted, and all her endeavours end in nothingness India refuses to profit by history. She had no use for her It is not that Indians do not realise the truth that organisation is the backbone of all social structure and national regeneration. But they only pay a lip homage to it And they will not bestir themselves to find out means and methods of organisation

It is too late in the day to preach the benefits of organisation. It is purile to illustrate them with examples from the bee-society and plant or animal life That is a sad academic exercise and in no way fitting to the hour We have only to open our eyes and look around to see the havoc wrought by our indiscipline and dis-organisation. There is dissention and dis-union everywhere Petty cliques and parties are rampant and chaos holds the day To those 'base uses' have we come—we, who boast a civilisation that colonised the plains of Peru and the hills of Mexico

The recent victory of the Government on Regulation III of 1818 in the Legislative Assembly is a glaring example of our disorganisation When all the accredited representatives of the Nation behave in that fashion, there is great cause for dispair. This is not the place, nor the time, to go into a discussion about the utility of defeating the Government But had those members who were in the city only attended the Assembly, the Government could not have won

This only illustrates that the members were not acting together They were not disciplined. Such a thing is an impossibility in a well organised body The state of that country is indeed, hopeless where each individual rides his own horse and sounds his own trumpet India has yet to learn many things from the Occident And not the least among them is discipline.

What would have been the condition of Great Britain or France at the first onslaught of the German Arms, had they not been disciplined Nation? To be disciplined is to be prepared—and prepared for the worst Organisation keeps up the morale of the nation Without discipline there may be fits of national upheavals but substantial regeneration is impossible.

The truth of this was witnessed during these recent years. After the first tide of Non-co-operation was over, the Nation has again sunk back and entered on her traditional sleep. Had there been sound organisation such a hopeless state of affairs would not be possible.

The only *Ram ban* (infallible) way of awaking and keeping awake and when once awakened is disipline. You may, like it or not, that is the only way. Discipline, no doubt entail some sacrifice. Licence must go, unbridled freedom must go. Individual freaks and caprices must go. But the thing to be gained at this cost is National Independence. Will you do it?

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International Labour Organisation

Mr. Abdul Hamid gives an account of the above in *The Indian Review*. We quote portions from it:

This organization is an adjunct of the League of Nations and is concerned with the questions affecting labour all over the world particularly those touching the working classes and their welfare. Its main object is to seek an improvement of the conditions of labour. The object for which the International Labour Organization was called into being are set forth in the preamble to the charter of this organization, which is contained in the Treaty of Versailles. The text of the Preamble is as follows :—

Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice.

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled, and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required as for example by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour, supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures.

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries. (Here follow detailed provisions for the establishment of this organization.)

56 countries of the world including India are now members of this Organizstion. Representatives which include non-officials are sent every year from India to attend its meeting. The permanent organization consists of

1. The general Conference of the Representatives of the members.
2. The International Labour Office controlled by the Governing Body.

The decisions of the Conference take the form either of Draft Conventions or of Recommendations.

Any Convention ratified shall be registered with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall only be binding on the States Members who ratify it. It has also been laid down that no decision taken by the Conference shall in any way lessen the protection afforded by the existing legislation of any country to the workers concerned.

The functions of the Industrial Labour Office include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial lifs and labour and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions and the conduct of such special investigation may be ordered by the Conference. It prepares the agenda of the meeting of the Conference. It edits and publishes in French and English a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

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Inadeaquacy of Veterinary Doctors in Bengal

Next to the produce of the land, cattle wealth forms the most important item in the catalogue of goods which enable humanity to live and live well. In Bengal the condition of cattle is worse even than that of its Malaria and Kala-azar stricken population. This is due in no small measure to the dearth of suitable cattle experts. Mr S. S. Ahmed, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Fourth All-India Veterinary Conference, Calcutta, whose address appears in *The Indian Veterinary Journal*, says in the course of the same address:

Allow me to mention in passing that Bengal has its own peculiarities. the area is vast being 1, 2[illegible] 900 square miles, the number of cattle though poor is also not small the cattle Census Report of Bengal (1924) putting it down to 2, 47, 24 2[illegible] this includes 81, 18, 235 cows mostly indifferent milkers, which is not surprising when we think of (a) the great dearth of pasture lands (b) want of good Breeding Bulls (c) slaugpter of prime Cows (d) retention of useless ones (e) prevalence of epizootic diseases and inadequate staff to control the same (f) ignorance, poverty and prejudice of ryots and cultivators.

No wonder the public Health Report puts down Infant Mortality for the year 1924 at 18[illegible] per 1,000 births. It is very sad to think that so many lives are cut short from poverty of milk the only food of babies and children.

There is a vast field for improvement of this state of affairs. If you gentlemen can after deliberation arrive at any line of action which in your opinion will help us in solving this burning question. I am sure the general public of Bengal will greatly appreciate your efforts and you will also help the premier province of India to save its children from dreadful diseases which after all, attack and

arry away only those who do not get vitamin in their food in infancy and so fall easy prey for want of resisting power. Pure milk, well-bred cows, strong bullocks and fertile soil were assets of Bengal in her golden days. Let Bengal get these back and Malaria, Kala-azar, Tuberculosis and a host of other diseases will disappear like mist before the rising sun.

I have a lurking fear that you from the Punjab, United Provinces and Madras who have favourable conditions and being unacquainted with Bengal might think us idle, but, gentlemen let me be frank and assure you that it is not so.

The veterinary aid in this province consists of only one Director, no Deputy Directors, two Assistant Directors, eight Inspectors and 120 Veterinary Assistant Surgeons spread out for the whole of Bengal (I have not included the College staff or the Glanders staff here)

So it comes to 2,06,035 cattle for one veterinary Assistant Surgeon and his hands are more than full with —

(I) Inoculation of cattle

(II) Inspection of the animals of the local bodies who employ him

(III) Attending fairs and outbreaks

(IV) Devising means to prevent the spread of epizootics and

(V) Office work

Surely these are more than enough for his work

It is a matter of very great regret that there are only 145 breeding bulls of sorts for the whole of the province

We, as you gentlemen know very well, have to depend entirely on cattle population for milk and for the plough The net crop area is 2,41,69,800 acres and the number of plough cattle 99,53,772 which computes it at about 40 bullocks to hundred acres.

People not knowing our condition may advise the employment of motor tractors and other mechanical farm appliances but our landholdings are small and scattered and our farmers terribly conservative and poor and I can emphatically say that the welfare of our province is linked up with the welfare of cattle and we should put our heads together and think out a plan of action

It is no Joke to be a Prince

Indian Princes have been deprived of their power by the British, but they still retain much of their wealth Much wealth and proportionate want of responsibility has made the type of the Indian chief which specialises in "having a good time" in India or in London or Paris as the case may be The following advice given by Lord Curzon to Ruling Chiefs, which appears in *The Garland*, should prove salutory to our "aristocrats".—

A Native Chief cannot remain a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him. He must be the servant as well as the master of his people He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification but for the good of his subjects that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest and that his gadi is not intended to be a Diwan of indulgence but a stern seat of duty His figure should not merely be known on the polo grounds or on the Race-course, or in the European hotel. His real work his princely duties lie among his people There is the difficulty but the necessity of maintaining a clear line between public and private expenditure and remembering that the resources of the State are to the people and not the chief, and if contributed in one form ought for the most part be given back in another

Untouchability and the Maha-Sabha

At a juncture when Hinduism is fighting for life against Christianity on the one hand and Mohamedanism on the other, the attitute of the high-caste Hindus towards the untouchables is of the greatest importance in deciding whether Hinduism will survive the struggle. The following note appearing in *the National Christian Council Review* deserves the attention of the Hindu Maha Sabha in connection with the problem of untouchability:

While the best sense of the educated Indians of today is in favour of the complete removal of untouchability, there are disquieting evidences to show that the forces of reaction are at work for preventing any change being effected in the *status quo* of the untouchables The latest exhibition of his reactionary tendency is the uproar created in the sessions of the Hindu Maha Sabha at Delhi last month over the adoption by a majority of a resolution which ran as follows "This session of the Hindu Maha Sabha appeals to the Hindus in general to remove all restraints which are at present imposed on the so-called untouchables in the way of their use of public schools, public wells and public roads, and in their attendance at public meetings This Conference appeals to the authorities of Hindu temples to provide facilities for Devadarshan' At the sessions of the Sabha held in 1925 in Calcutta, we remember the forces of orthodoxy nearly succeeded in making the resolution on untouchability a dead letter by adding qualifying phrases such as 'according to Shastric injunction' and 'as far as possible' This year's resolution was intended to be a bolder pronouncement. It was acceptable to a majority, but the vigorous opposition it has raised leaves us in serious doubt as to the attitude of the higher castes in general to the untouchables. It is clear, however, that the spirited controversy the question is raising in the rank of the Maha Sabha and the Sanatana Dharma will not allow it to rest here It is not in any spirit of light-hearted criticism that we refer to this controversy in which, apparently, Hindus alone are concerned The whole country, and not Hindus only, are vitally interested in the issue, as it affects the welfare of about sixty millions of our countrymen. The removal of such disabilities will be all the more enduring if it comes as the result of a

movement from within the Hindu community. The share of Christian missions in giving the first impetus to this movement and in doing constructive work among the depressed classes is acknowledged on all hands. Missionaries should rejoice that a battle, which in the early years had to be fought single-handed by them on the very outskirts of Indian social life, exposing themselves to unmerited slanders and virulent attacks, is now carried on valiantly by Hindus themselves in the very citadels of orthodoxy.

The Menace of the Mulla

Even Mahomedans are not blind to the danger of leaving millions of their fanatical coreligionists in the doubtful care of the Mullas. *The Islamic World* says:

The Mullas have done tremendous harm to the cause of Islam. They have invariably created difficulties in the path of reforms. They have disfigured the beautiful teachings of the Holy Prophet, and made them disgusting. They have twisted the simple tenets of Islam so as to serve their selfish ends. The masses who follow them are ignorant, and fall an easy prey to their machination. The Mullas have practically enjoyed an absolute sway over the minds of the whole Islamic world and are, to a great extent, responsible for the degeneration that has crept among Muslims. It is, however, a healthy sign that Muslims are now opening their eyes and have begun to see the Mulla in his own original plume.

Education and the Teaching of Fine Arts

In connection with the proposed establishment of a Hindu University for South India, Prof. P. Sheshadri writes in *The Educational Review* in appreciation of the idea. Regarding the inclusion of Music, Painting and Architecture in the curriculum Prof. Sheshadri says:

It is hoped that the idea of providing for the teaching of the Fine Arts will apeal to many as very desirable reform. It may be pointed out here that the Benares Hindu University has just laid down courses in Painting and Music for the special benefit of girl-students, and the recent University Reform Committee in Bombay has also recommended the inclusion of these subjects in University courses. It is hardly necessary to say that the latter subjects will be taught essentially from the Hindu standpoint, some very praiseworthy attempts having been made in recent years to revive the study and practice of the Hindu style even in architecture in many parts of India.

He also says:

I would propose that the University should start teaching two of the Hindu sciences, Ayurveda and Jyotish, branches in which Hindus have great achievements to their credit, either in the Faculty of Oriental Learning or in a separate Faculty of Science. A striking feature of the teaching of these two subjects in the University should be the combination of the scientific methods of the West with a knowledge of the best and most comprehensive ancient Hindu theory in each of them.

Indian Students in Great Britain

We take the following from the same journal:

According to the latest report issued by the High Commissioner for India, the number of Indian students at the various British Universities is as follows:—

London 360
Cambridge 117
Oxford 86
Edinburgh 166
Glasgow 62
Manchester 51
Bristol 24
Sheffield 21
Leeds 17
Belfast 13
Aberystwyth 4

The legal profession is overcrowded in all parts of India, but in spite of that there were as many as 583 Indian students registered at the Inns of Court.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Golden Game of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is an expensive game and nations spend huge sums annually to support people, who live in the capitals of other nations as ambassadors. *The Living Age* gives us (from *the News Wiener Tagblatt*) an idea of what it means (or rather meant before the War) to be an ambassador. Very often ambassadors spend fortunes to be popular and sometimes the fortunes are their own. As:

If a diplomat of recognized ability is not able with his private means to maintain an establish-

[illegible]nt on the scale demanded, he is sometimes given a special allowance for that purpose. This happened, for example, when Count Beust was appointed ambassador of Austria-Hungary in London. That gentleman had no private fortune, so the Government appropriated money to enable him to entertain suitably at the British capital. Our country (Austria) had been previously represented there by prince Paul Esterhazy whose great wealth had enabled him to make the Embassy one of the most brilliant social centres of the great metropolis. Even the Esterhazy fortune, however, could not stand this drain indefinitely and after the Prince resigned he lived most economically in retirement for many years in order to restore his depleted resources. He had spent what was for those times the huge sum of three million guldens (or nearly one and a quarter million dollars) to represent his country in a becoming manner.

Of the various courts in Europe the Tzar's court was the most expensive.

The keenest rivalry existed there as to who should give the most brilliant and expensive entertainments. It caused no remark when Prince Czetvertinski brought the most famous reciter in Paris to St. Petersburg for a single soiree or when prince Yusupov, at a ball in his palace, gave as favors a diamond-studded powder-box to each lady guest and a solid-gold cigarette-case to each gentleman. Even more famous was a party given by a fabulously wealthy mining man from the Urals, which included a drawing for prizes where the principal winner received half a million rubles.

—

On Combs

We are all familiar with combs, both as an instrument to keep the hair tidy and as an ornament to adorn the ladies' coiffure. *Chambers's Journal* gives us the following account of combs in different times and places:—

The earliest specimens that have been discovered and from time to time deposited in the British and Continental museums, belong chiefly to the second (or Memphite) Egyptian Dynasty, which dated from a period some 4000 years B. C. They were usually made of wood (some times, however, of bone, ivory, or gold), with long roughly-formed teeth placed wide apart. In the case of combs with [illegible] a single row of teeth, occasionally rude attempts [illegible] decoration of the back have been made, by the [illegible] bull or one of the many gods. A specimen in a Paris museum is shaped like a half-moon, and apparently must have been intended to be worn [illegible] the hair much as in the present day, and not [illegible] merely as a toilet implement for disentangling [illegible]

Coming down through the ages, we find from [illegible] authorities that both the Spartans and the [illegible] were very careful of the manner in which [illegible] hair was arranged, and this fastidiousness was [illegible] means confined to members of the gentler [illegible] for it is chronicled that before going into battle [illegible] customary for the soldiers to comp and [illegible] their locks with the utmost care, and al[illegible] with the solemnity of some religious rite.

At a little later period, however, we find that quite a variety of combs—made of wood, bone, ivory, gold, silver, or mother-of-pearl, and of many shapes were used by Roman women to make ready the hair for the elaborate coiffure affected, and to retain the tresses in place when once put up. Most of the combs of the period which have been discovered and preserved appear to belong to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, and they vary very considerably, both as regards shape and the materials of which they are made. There is one specimen, remarkably well-preserved, in the Guildhall museum, which has a wooden handle. It was unearthed during excavations near the Stock Exchange many years ago.

The combs of the succeeding periods of our history down to the Middle Ages which were in common or general use were coarse-toothed, and not usually of a very ornamental shape or style. The noble classes, however, had them of great beauty, exquisitely carved, sometimes with allegorical scenes, sometimes with sporting, and at others with more conventional designs of flowers and fruits. They were often very large, and, one would think, troublesome to wear.

On coming down to the end of the eighteenth century it will be found that high, tortoise-shell combs—many of which have been preserved in families as well as in museums—were rapidly taking the place of more elaborate and elevated forms of coiffure, and coming into general use as hair ornaments. They came to us from Italy and Spain, the women of those lands having for some time previously realised the picturesqueness which was possible in their adoption.

Some of the Spanish combs of the age differed very little from those still worn to ornament the hair, sustain the tresses in place, or pin on the graceful mantilla. They were long-toothed, elaborately carved, and were, owing to the extreme width of the back, frequently as much as nine or ten inches in length. The designs were often extremely elaborate, some of the most beautiful being those in which mythological figures were introduced, or fern patterns formed the basis.

But Europe is not alone the place where combs are worn and made. Some of the early Oriental combs which have been preserved for us are wonderfully beautiful, although as a general rule the designs are somewhat too elaborate and even intricate for Western tastes. Indian combs are more especially notable for this kind of decorative work. In China may be found examples of rare artistic merit almost alongside those of a most primitive nature. The Japaneses, ever noted for delicacy of art, do not affect combs of great elaboration or those having much wall-space to cover. The backs are usually of small dimensions, and consepuently a spray of cherry blossom, a lotus, a trail of leaves, a lizard, or some similar single design is generally favoured.

East and West the comb is found. Indeed, one of the most interesting features connected with most articles of feminine dress or adornment is their universality. The lady of fashion in London has her combs both for use and for ornament, the Parisienne places in her beautifully arranged coiffure a comb of tortoise-shell set with real gems or *diamants de Paris*, as the case may be, the Indian lady has hers of ivory or gold, the Japanese hers of turtle-shell, ivory,

jade, or lacquer, and the South Sea maiden, often guiltless of fashion as regards dress, combs her hair with a rough substitute made of fishbones or sharks' teeth, or clumsily fashioned from wood

—

Essentials of Political Success

John Maynard Keynes writes in *The New Republic*

The political problem of mankind is to combine three things, economic efficiency, social justice, and individual liberty. The first needs criticism, precaution and technical knowledge, the second, an unselfish and enthusiastic spirit, which loves the ordinary man, the third, tolerance, breadth, appreciation of the excellencies of variety and independence, which prefers above everything to give unhindered opportunity to the exceptional and to the aspiring The second ingredient is the best possession of the great party of the proletariat. But the first and third require the qualities of the party which, by its traditions and ancient sympathies, has been the home of economic individualism and social liberty

Indian Political "Leaders", please take note

—

Lord Reading Appreciated

Cecil Kaye appreciates Lord Reading's work in India in a note in *The Asiatic Review*. He chooses the "Before and After" way to prove his case Says the writer —

When Lord Reading took up the reins of government, the first session of the Reformed Councils had just closed, and the new dispensation was entering on its trial The conduct of martial law administration in the Punjab was still an open sore, the Khilafat agitation was at its height Mr Gandhi, at the zenith of his power, had just begun the collection of the crore of rupees that was to form the financial backing of his non-co-operation movement, and that did, in fact, provide the money for the recruitment of the "National Volunteers," who were the direct cause of so much of the violence that followed the trouble with the Akali Sikhs had attained great proportions, the Nankana massacre having occurred only six weeks before The Afghan situation was still unadjusted, with a deplorable effect on the situation on the frontier. In the year 1920-21 there had been no less than 391 frontier raids, resulting in the death of 153 persons and the kidnapping of 56 others, important military operations were proceeding in Waziristan There had been a conspicuously bad monsoon in 1920 the price of wheat was soaring to unprecedented heights, trade was in the lowest trough of depression, the balance against India amounting during the year to no less than 79 crores of rupees, the attempt to keep up the exchange value of the rupee by the sale of "reverse Councils" had disastrously broken down, and it had fallen alarmingly, the finances of India were thoroughly disorganized the financial year having ended, a few days before Lord Reading's arrival, with a deficit of 20½ crores of rupees. Now, when he lays down his office, the Reformed Constitution has survived the early peril of a complete break down, and is visibly beginning to work; the Punjab troubles are forgotten, the Khilafat agitation is irrevocably dead: the non-co-operation movement has withered away, and the power of Mr Gandhi had departed the Sikh dispute is settled A treaty has been signed with Afghanistan, the frontier is quiet, and raids have ceased. There are still troops in Waziristan, but only on a "peace footing" There have been five successive good monsoons prices have fallen, trade is improving, the "visible balance," is greatly in India's favour, the rupee is steady at over 1s. 6d and the budget shows a substantial surplus.

And let us add As soon as Lord Reading leaves India, Communal Riots Break Out in Calcutta Or are they due to the arrival of Lord Irwin? Mr Cecil Kaye seems to us to be not only a rare judge of the Indian situation but a veritable Ready Reckoner of causes and effects His way of looking at the National Volunteers, the Punjab troubles, etc, is also interesting

—

The Best Literary Work of the Year

The following is taken from *Public Opinion*

The Hawthornden Prize for the year has been awarded to Mr Sean O'Casey for his play 'Juno and the Paycock,' now appearing at the Fortune Theatre. The prize goes to the author (who must be under forty years of age) who in the judgment of a committee of literary men has produced the best work of the year in imaginative literature It was presented to Mr. O Casey in the Æolian Hall by Lord Oxford

"Lord Oxford, who made a delightful speech of appreciation, prepared the way for the announcement by a few remarks on the state of the drama He said that in all the domain of imaginative literature there was no department in which it seemed to him not only we but all the rest of the world were so far behind as in the production of new works of enduring quality and character in drama," says the *Manchester Guardian*

"There was no department in which we were in more need of a fresh outlook and new departures and the playgoers—one of the most intelligent blasses in the community—had become heartily sick of the state, monotonous reproductions of the sex peoblems with its triangles, its complexes its more or less thinly disguised indecencies, both of language and situation.

"We shall all hail (he said) the prospect of emancipation from this too prolonged and now outworn interlude in the history of the drama During the last twelve months we have had a relief and a revelation in the discovery of a str young man who satisfies the conditions of the prize, and who has produced a work which I do not hesitate to describe as the most moving and impressive drama we have seen for ten or perhaps twenty years—'Juno and the Paycock.'

"The play (he went on to say) has had the advantage of the incomparable acting individually and collectively of what he believed to be the

finest company of actors on any stage in Europe at this moment—those who had been nurtured and trained in the Abbey Theatre at Dublin.

"But great as Mr. O'Casey's debt is to the actors who have every possible advantage of artistic appreciation of his ideas and of his characters, we who have seen the play will agree that in the delineation of character, in the rich variety and appropriateness of the dialogue, in the invention of situations, in pathos, and in humour it is, in the most adequate sense of the word, a great work of art."

—

East & West Compared

The Living Age reproduces an article by a person of the name of Mortimer Standing which originally appeared in the *Month.* The author attempts to prove himself well versed in things Indian by citing the fact that he had been a private tutor in India and had lived among Indians for a long time. The views propagated in the article are mostly of the ignorant-fanatical missionary type and would deserve not the slightest attention but for the fact that Mr. Standing published them in 1925 A.D, when most people are better informed than he would like them to be on India and the game of misrepresentation has become an impotent and obsolete institution Mr Standing's type retains for these reasons the same interest for us as do the "misguided savages" of Africa and Polynesia for Christian intellectuals. Mr. Standing says

> After an intimate contact with Indian social life, there gradually presented itself to the writer's mind one fundamental and all-inclusive difference It is not easy to express it in one sentence ; but if the attempt hid to be made it would run something like this · 'The fundamental difference between the civilizations of Europe and Asia lies in the fact that the former has the Christian Middle Ages behind it, while the latter has not.' By the term 'the Middle Ages' we refer to a very definite influence, unique of its kind, ·· a Zeit-geist, if you like, · not to be found in any other part of the world.
>
> Without particularizing furthur, we may say that for a thousand years the spirit of Europe was moulded by organized Christianity, The moulding influence of the Church during this period was so stupendous, so comp'ete, so enduring, so omnipresent in its effects, that for the most part we pass unconscious of it , nor can we ever properly realize it until we pass beyond its borders into a pagan world that has never been under its sway.

He evidently forgets or does not know, that religious renaissance in India commenced with Buddha continued down to Rammohan Roy and that the spiritual backbone which has enabled Indians to resist several onslaughts by arrogant foreign powers was not developed in a day. Our "middle ages" stretch a bit longer than that of the West, and when we fully emerge from it, as we are doing now, we hope to produce better intellects and spirits than Mr. Mortimer Standing. Mr. Standing goes on ·

> Taken collectively · the moral tone of Europe as expressed in our institutions, conventions, and ethics, is vastly superior to that of the Orient. Hence the average European···through no merit of his own · is born into a loftier vision of life with its ideals and obligations than the average Oriental

This needs no comment. The average Oriental can safely let the average Westerner enjoy his moral attainments.

Then we are treated to a few choice experiences of the higher men in India, e g.—

> An Englishman, new to India, stands on the verandah of his bungalow , and there heaves in sight *a fat and oily Bunya·· merchant·· coming to* display his wares The Bunya ambles easily along, carrying nothing but his well-fed body ; behind him and bearing the burden of his goods there staggers a half-naked woman. She is merely a beast of burden, and he regards her as such. And no one, except the Englishman, seems to have any misgivings that this is not a very right and proper arrangement · not even a Westernized Indian with his B. A. degree at Bombay University,

We do not praise the Bania. We feel for the staggering woman But we must say that of all the staggering and half-naked women in India, fully seventy-five per cent work, not for the fat Bania but under English mine, mill and plantation managers. But they do not shed bitter tears for these women inspite of being educated outside Bombay. It may be that the profound thinker, Mr Standing, believes that these women are *made to work* against their will. It is not so. Most them *have to* stagger about, because the British "Conquest" of India has made the Indians rather poor If the Bania carried his load himself the woman would starve, while Mr. Standing's countrymen feast at first class restarants. Westerners ignorant of India also need to be told that in this large country it is the exception rather than the rule for women to carry loads it is men who generally do it

Mr. Standing is also a politician He says.

> When I went out first, I confess that it seemed to me that the only fair and logical course for England to take was to grant India self-government, But, in coming into closer contact with the actual conditions, I began to see things in a very different light, The practice of self-government can only be safely intro-

duced to a people which already possesses, embedded, as it were, in the very texture of its mind, certain fundamental notions as to the nature of mankind. And here again one comes across a profound cleavage between the East and West.

Centuries before the doctrine of the equality of man became a political catchword in the eighteenth century, the mind of Europe had been schooled to the idea that all men were of equal value in the sight of God. For a thousand years the Church had persistently taught this doctrine, driving it home through the labors of millions of priests in every corner of Europe driving at home so completely that men found nothing extraordinary in a peasant being raised to the Papacy or a king being flogged barefoot and bareheaded, through the streets as a penitent.

It was the work of the Catholic Church that abolished slavery. Such an institution was by its very nature, incompatible with the spirit of the doctrine that all men are of equal and infinite value in the eyes of God. It was this teaching too which prepared the way for and made possible the practice of a true democracy.

But this slow maturing of the common mind on the subject, the gradual raising of it to a new conception of the nature of mankind through the pressure of a unified and omnipresent Church India and the East generally have never known.

Slavery was not an Indian institution nor was their at any time equality among Europeans. In *Buddhist India* by Rhys Davids, the writer will find that there were no slaves in India in those days and even wage slavery was looked down upon. Hence the writer's conclusions are ridiculous. The writer indulges in further irrelevancies of the following type.

On several occasions I have asked Indians if they could play the piano, and they have replied in the affirmative. On being asked to perform they have, to my great astonishment, seated themselves solemnly at the piano and proceeded to play a tune *with one finger only*. There was, apparently, not the slightest sense that anything was missing, and the other Indians present applauded these strange recitals as very meritorious performances, which doubtless they were from their point of view.

He *does not* find fault with Indians for their inability to use knives and forks for eating, nor for their lack of Western clothing and indifferent knowledge of the English language! How thankful we should be to him!

—

A Thirteen-Month Year

The Woman Citizen gives the following

A thirteen-month year is being proposed—each month to have twenty-eight days, and a special holiday (Year Day) on the 365th day. The new month would be put in between June and July. Each month would begin on Sunday, so that corresponding days in any month would always fall on the same day of the week. The convenience in accounting and figuring, i.e. a score of daily details is obvious. As January 1 1928 falls on a Sunday, it is suggested this would be a good time to begin. The plan—called the Cotsworth plan—is endorsed by Professor C. Marvin, chief of our Weather Bureau among numerous others.

A League of Nations Committee of Inquiry will soon meet to consider this and other proposals for calender reform.

—

Arabia's New Master

The Literary Digest says

The man to be watched in Arabia, because he is destined to loom large in the history of that country we are told, is Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the Sultan of Nejd. His proclaimation as King in Mekka says the London *Economist* marks an epoch in the history of Arabia and indeed of the Islamic world, which can not be a matter of indifference to the British Empire. Twenty-five years ago this weekly *recalls* the *present conqueror* was an exile in an Arab principality under British influences at the head of the Persian Gulf, while to-day it is noted:

He is master of all Arabia, except Kuwyt, Uman Yaman and Transjordania at the four corners. The union of the major part of the Arabian Peninsula under a single effective sovereignty is a rare and protentous event. When it was achieved by the Prophet Mohammed, and more recently by Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud's great-grand-father Abdullah it was proceeded by a religious revival and followed by a military expansion beyond the bounds of the Peninsula. Up to date, Abdul Aziz has deliberately repeated his great-grand-father's work. He has revived the puritanical Wahabi version of Islam, which inspired the earlier Ibn Saud and his followers, and in the name of this creed he has reconstituted his grandfather's empire in a steady series of success which culminated last year in the capture of Mekka and a few weeks ago in the capitulation of Jiddah—the last foot-hold in the Peninsula which remained to the Hashimite rulers of the Hejaz.

"Under British auspices an agreement regarding jurisdiction over tribes and seasonal tribal movements in search of pasture has been concluded between Ibn Saud of the one part and our two Hashimite proteges, King Faisal of Irak and Amir Abdullah of Transjordania of the other part. Their father, King Hussein of the Hejaz, was never amenable to reason, and in consequence he and his son Ali after him have now lost the throne of the Hejaz to Ibn Saud by force of arms."

GLEANINGS

Realistic Camp-Fire Girl Made of Butter

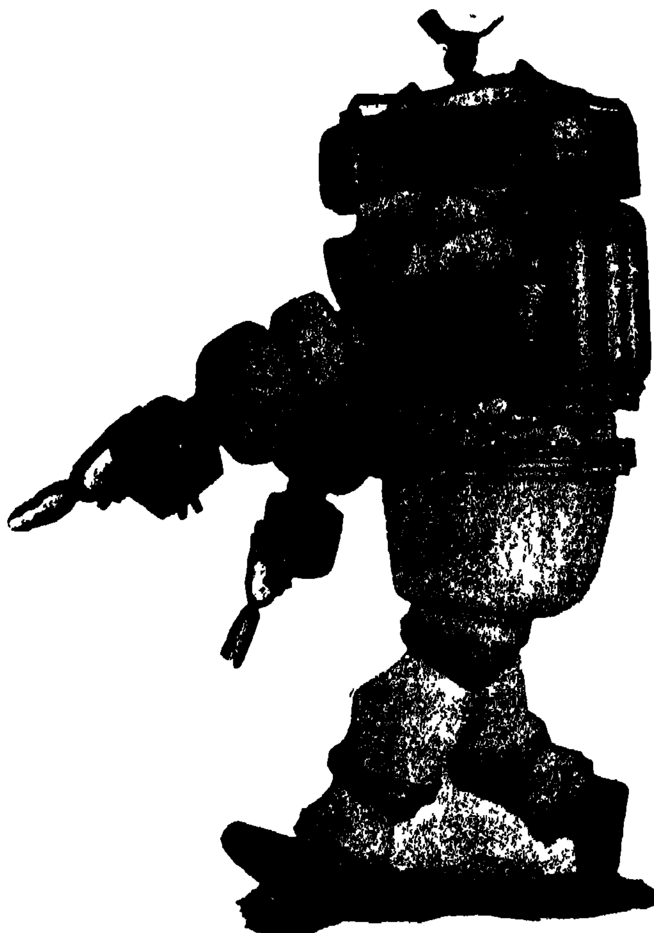
A Camp-Fire girl modeled in butter won first ·ize for artistic and ornamental display of ·amery products at a recent fair in Spokane, ·sh Miss Helen Kane of Spokane, who posed r it, wore the gown, moccasins and honor beads a Torch Bearer, the highest rank in the ·anization.

One-Man Submarine Dives 500 Feet

A diving suit weighing half a ton and equipped with electric lights and a telephone was used recently for the first time in the open sea in efforts to salvage the British submarine, *M-1*, sunk in 240 feet of water in the English Channel. German inventors volunteered the use of the apparatus which, tests showed, could be used in 500-foot depths.



Camp-fire Girl modeled in butter



One-man Submarine

Howard Fisher, of Portland, Ore, made the ·ue, which was declared excellent both in its ·l and in its general artistic effect.

The strange new suit, shown in detail above, is built of aluminium alloy and resembles somewhat a submarine in its interior mechanism. Arms and legs are given flexibility by ball and socket joints. Tanks, filled with water, give the diver the weight to sink into the sea at 250 feet a minute.

No surface air is needed, the suit carrying oxygen enough to last three hours A mask over the mouth absorbs exhaled carbonic acid. Air pressure equal to that at a depth of 30 feet is maintained constantly Without the necessity of adjusting the body to changing pressures, a diver in the apparatus can reach in two minutes three times the depth reached by a diver in an ordinary rubber suit in 45 minutes.

Communication is maintained by means of a steel hoisting cable carrying three independent telephone wires. When this cable is fouled, the diver can detach it and reach the surface by "blowing" the water from his ballast tanks with compressed air, thus lightening his weight.

America's First Scientist

More than 2,500 years ago, there lived on the American continent a great scientist, a genius who



This ancient Mayan calendar, now deciphered, reveals a system of measuring time more accurate than any other the world has known.

made startling discoveries and formulated important principles in mathematics and astronomy that antedated by centuries the first attempts of the fathers of Western modern science to peer beyond the veil that shrouded them from knowledge of their world.

No one knows the name of this wonderful ancient savant. It may remain forever a mystery. His fame, though, is made everlasting by his amazing work, the purport and importance of which were discovered recently by Dr Herbert J. Spinden distinguished archaeologist of Harvard University.

Dr. Spinden, by deciphering the inscriptions on the ruined temples and crumbling stone houses found in Guatemala and Honduras, has proved definitely that the Mayas who built them were a highly cultured, civilized people

That these people inhabited the western hemisphere centuries before Christopher Columbus' time has been known, of course, but it remained for Dr. Spinden to fix definitely the time at which these early Americans reached their highest stage of culture, which was in the seventh century after Christ. And now he has finally succeeded in checking up the Venus calendar of the ancient Mayas with the true astronomical positions of the planet Venus in the sixth century before the Christian era '



The inscription on this richly carved stela at Cotpan, Honduras, marks Mayan culture at the height of its expression.

These latest investigations prove beyond doubt that the mysterious unknown scientist developed by abstruse mathematical calculations and observation of astronomical phenomena, a system for measuring the passage of time that is more accurate than any other method. In fact, this amazing man was the constructor of a machine for time-keeping that worked without error for almost 2,000 years ' This marvelous machine was destroyed by fanatical priests during the terrible Spanish Inquisition. This act of insensate vandalism was directed by Bishop Landa, who was also responsible for the burning of all the native records of the Mayas Afterward, he was recalled to Spain and placed on trial for his cruelties.

Dr. Spinden's recent discovery makes it possible to translate the dates on the ancient inscriptions into the Gregorian calendar we use to-day. All of these records show vaguely yet unmistakably the influence of the great man whom Dr. Spinden calls "a figure grand and mysterious as Zoroaster or Buddha at the beginning of history in Persia and India."

The Mayas at this time lived on plains which

a six-month period of rain every year gave great fertility to the soil, permitting the people to raise two crops a year, if their planting and reaping were properly timed. The necessity for accurate



Dr. Herbert J Spinden of Harvard, who recently revealed the existence of a master scientist on the American continent in 613 B C Dr Spinden is now on his fifteenth expedition to Yucatan, where he is deciphering more of the strange monuments left by the long-vanished race of Mayas. Sighting the sun from one of these markers to another, told the Mayans the time of year.

timing in planting the crops was the incentive which resulted in the marvelously precise time-keeping system.

"Hundreds of native dates found on Mayan monuments and temple walls have been translated into our calendar," says Dr. Spinden, "and evidence of their highly scientific methods and extremely accurate results which they obtained in their calculations increases with further research The Mayas reached practically the same figure for the true length of the year that we have to-day They made calculations over vast stretches time. Their calendar was more accurate than our own, which has an error of one day in 3300 years."

How this great nation fell from the heights of grandeur, archaeologists do not know. Its passing is one of the tragedies of history, for while some 1,000,000 cultured people inhabited Yucatan and Central America in the days of the mysterious great scientist, less than 4,000 ignorant, impoverished Indians now are all that remain of the Mayas.

"One of the Most Human of Men" Thomas A Edison as He is Today

A chunky, middle-height figure, careless of dress who trots about spryly, hatless most of the time. Domelike forehead, now thatched as Pike's Peak in winter, ruddy complexion, gray eyes that often flash and dream. A high-pitched voice that may rise or become a bit nasal Boyish, slangy in mind talk, always unconscious of self. That is the great Edison at 79.

EDISON SAYS—

"There is no limit to the invention of fully automatic machines. Man will work less and less."

"The sun engine will come when the price of combustibles greatly increases."

"It is possible to make a concrete house in a few hours."

"The world doesn't need more inventions just now, until general intelligence has increased so men can be had to operate what we have."

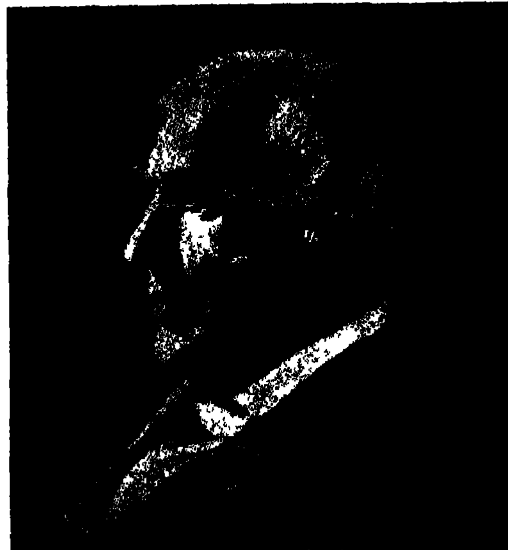
"What new lines of research am I engaged in? Many. Wait until I've caught the fish."

"My favorite inventions—phonograph, moving pictures. I like the phonograph because I love music. The motion pictures are my only theatrical diversion on account of my extreme deafness"

"I now sleep from five to six hours The quality is still perfect."

"I eat very little. The amount of power one can get out of a piece of a toast is marvelous."

"The number of men in every nation, per capita, who are honest, humane, and intelligent is increasing. This number is a measure of our civilization. The Lord appears to be in no hurry."

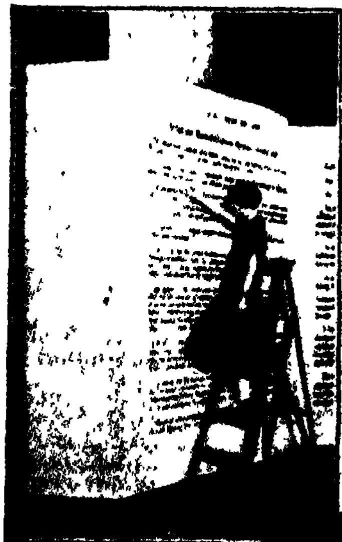


Thomas A. Edison

Have You Seen Them Any Bigger

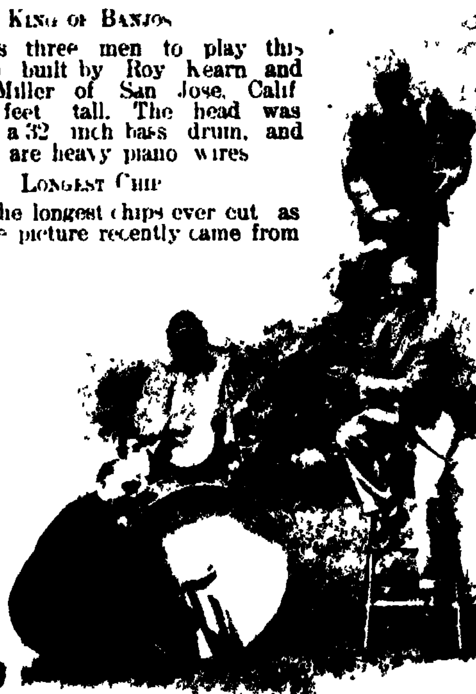
CLIMB AND READ

You need a tall step-ladder and a roving pair of eyes to read the world's largest book, exhibited recently in New York City Here (on the next page) is Bertha Green, of Greenville, S C scanning its pages, which are 10 feet tall and seven feet wide.



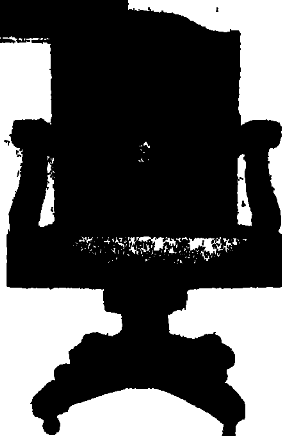
KING OF BANJOS

It takes three men to play this giant banjo built by Roy Kearn and A Caro Miller of San Jose, Calif It is 10 feet tall. The head was made from a 32 inch bass drum, and the strings are heavy piano wires



LONGEST CHIP

One of the longest chips ever cut as shown in the picture recently came from a turbine bucket wheel in the shops of the General Electric Company, Schenectady, N Y The steel chip is 157 feet long and an inch in diameter.



LOST IN A CHAIR

She's a girl of normal size in the world's largest office chair. It took two men to lift her there, for the gigantic chair is nearly 11 feet high and more than six feet wide.

WOULD FILL A HOUSE

Part of the wall of a Chinese rug factory had to be torn down before this immense rug could be removed It was woven for the Cincinnati Business Men's Club, where it covers 920 square feet of floor space Comparison with the men will give an idea of its size







BIG AS A CHIMNEY

Here is the largest pi

an organ so powerful that its music can be heard for five miles. It was completed recently in a park in Los Angeles, Calif This pipe, made of lumber three inches thick, is 32 feet long and three feet square at the large end A 30-horsepower electric motor supplies power for playing

—

From a Weakling to a Hercules

A delicate, curly-haired lad of ten stood with his father before the marble statues of ancient gods and heroes in Rome. Wide-eyed, he marveled at the sculptured ideals of manly power and physical perfection He compared his own pitifully frail body—the frame of a weakling—with the bulging muscles and



Eugene Sandow and his eight ways

youthful symmetry of the heroic figures before him And in his heart he made a silent vow that some day he would be like them—one of the strong and mighty.

That was nearly 50 years ago Just the other day there died in England the amazing fulfilment of that ambition—Eugene Sandow, a man admired and honored by the world as the greatest strong man of modern times

"Often have I heard Sandow say to his admirers: 'You, or any other average man, can become not only an athlete, but you can acquire strength equal to my own if you will pursue the same rigid discipline I have pursued'"

To prove that what he said was so, he offered himself as an exhibit, and he gave to the world the first really scientific system of physical culture, based on the very methods he had used to build his own body.

His eight ways to grow strong are

1. For the sides: Bend the body sideways from each hip, as shown without moving the lower limbs Alternately bring right and left forearm under the upper arm, with wrist rolled beneath arm-pit.

2. For shoulders and chest: Bring arms full to front in line with the mouth, keeping elbows straight and head well back. From this position throw both arms back in line with shoulders, returning them quickly to front again.

3. For biceps. Turn inner sides of arms to the front, and alternately bend each arm at elbow, bringing dumb-bell close to shoulder.

4. For biceps and triceps: With arms in line with shoulders, alternately bend arms up and inward until dumb-bell is over shoulder

5. For chest, back, arms and abdomen Support body on arms and toes, alternately raise and lower body by respectively straightening and bending arms.

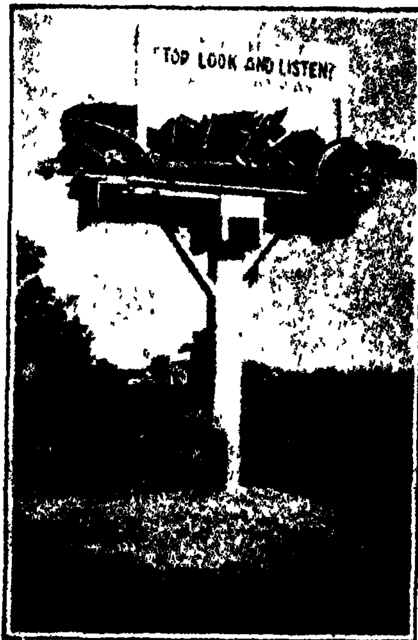
6. For abdomen Lie flat on back, raise both legs simultaneously with knees quite stiff

7 For shoulders: Bend both forearms upward from elbow, alternately extend each arm over head bring the elbow back close to side

8 For forearms and wrists With arms extended horizontally, turn hands quickly on axes of wrists front to back, then back to front

A Lesson to Reckless Drivers

How one American railway displayed a wrecked automobile as an object lesson to make other drivers think twice before trying the trick of beating a train at a crossing



A Lesson to Reckless Drivers

He is a Whole Jazz Band in Himself

Sicily specializes in wandering musicians w play half a dozen instruments at the sa time The picture shows a one-man band Taormina Observe how this itinerant artist u



A One-man Band of Taormina

his whole body A toss of his head starts bell a-tinkling, a stamp of his foot booms a big drum With his mouth he plays pipes his hands pla an accordion and he has drums and a cymbal

NOTES

Cooch Behar Affairs

We should be only too glad, should it found that the information on which the presentations and petitions on Cooch Behar airs to the authorities in British India were sed was incorrect In supporting these itions in our last issue we did not, of course, ean to support or give credence to every statement or prayer contained therein or to the d rumours" therein referred to Briefly l in the main, the prayer which we supported is that it should be ascertained whether person who was appointed on May 24, 23, guardian to the minor Maharaja of ch Behar and his younger brother and Controller of the Household is the me person who was the "native Secretary Mr A" in the notorious Midland Bank ckmailing case in which a Mrs Robinson ned Should it be found on inquiry t he is the same man, we support the ther prayer that he be removed and other person, possessed of sufficient moral l intellectual qualifications, be appointed his place

Our reason for supporting these prayers is t if the guardian to the young princes and the troller of the Cooch Behar royal household really a man of the antecedents referred above, the innocent princes and their ther are likely to suffer and also be preeed in the eyes of the public through no lt of theirs We are anxious that the nces should be brought up under the uence of a guardian of the highest racter available, and that even the most cious persons should not find it easy disseminate unfounded and "bad rumours" rding the parties concerned

When in our last issue we referred to circumstances in which the Government l be justified in intervening to make ngements for the upbringing of minor es independent of the influence of the r and other female relatives, we were the impression that in the present the choice of a guardian had been made r Highness the Maharani and that it been of doubtful wisdom. We should d should our impression be wrong in respects . *i.e.*, we should be glad to be ed that the guardian is not the "native Secretary" to "Mr A", but that it unfortunately he be the same man, we should be glad to be informed that Her Highness did not select him For, it would be difficult for us to hold that the party really responsible for the selection of a person of such antecedents for such an office was possessed of sufficient maturity of judgment and sense of responsibility to be able to exercise the right kind of controlling and guiding influence on the princes to an adequate extent.

In conclusion, we may be permitted to say that we have discussed these matters only because of their public importance

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An Official Letter on Cooch Behar Affairs

An officer of the Cooch Behar State has sent us a copy of the letter which he has addressed to the Editor of "Ananda Bazar Patrika," a Bengali daily which had publisha Bengali translation of a petition "purported to have been submitted to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India" by some subjects of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar and some comments thereupon As we did not publish the whole or any part of this petition, though we referred to it and gave our general support to such petitions, it would not be quite relevant for us to publish in extenso the Cooch Behar officer's letter to the Editor, "Ananda Bazar Patrika." Nor do we quite appreciate this officer's reasons for his desire that his name and designation should not be published but that at the same time "there is no harm in stating that you received the information officially from a certain officer of the State who is able to give you the correct information You can use this as a sort of communique from the State"

This "communique' states that a petition without date was addressed to the Viceroy through the Governor of Bengal

> "The so-called signatures did not appear on the body of the representation but were contained in loose sheets of paper attached to it The Government of Bengal returned the representation to the first signatory with an endorsement that it should be submitted through the Political Agent, Cooch Behar State and authenticated by the signatures of the memorialists on each sheet."

The Cooch Behar officer then states how he found that many of the signatures were forged and how many of those whose alleged signatures are to be found in the sheets attached to the petition have petitioned the Cooch Behar authorities, protesting their innocence and complete ignorance of the petition to the Viceroy and praying "that the culprit may be detected and punished."

The Cooch Behar officer asserts that the petition to the Viceroy is the work of a certain person who "was expelled from the State by the late Maharaja Bhup Bahadur for his misconduct and disloyalty," and "who bears a private grudge against the State and the Raj family and the household"

That a petition of some sort was sent to the Viceroy is clear, but really by whom we are not told On the correctness or otherwise of the various other statements made by the officer we are not in a position to pronounce any opinion Nor does it appear axiomatic to us that a person banished from British India or an Indian State is necessarily guilty Neither is it self-evident that statements made by disgruntled persons are necessarily all without any foundation As persons who are prosperous under a certain state of things are not likely to perceive or give out what is wrong with it, the public and the State have to a great extent to depend for information relating to the other side of the medal on disgruntled individuals By saying this we do not, of course, imply that everything that grievance-mongers say must be swallowed indiscriminately Their statements must be sifted as carefully as those of other people

The Cooch Behar officer says nothing relating to the contents of the petition That is only natural, and we do not blame him for it. Nor does he say anything about the representation and petition of Rai Saheb Panchanan Varma, M. L. C., from which we made extracts in our last issue

—

"A Forgotten Movement"

Under the above caption *The Guardian*, "a Christian weekly journal of public affairs" published by the Rev Principal P. G. Bridge of Calcutta, publishes an editorial article which ought to receive attention at the present moment Its first paragraph runs as follows :—

> We shall attempt the bold task of examining the Hindu-Muslim situation whose shadow lies across the pathway of Indian progress. Unfo nately no political party has ever attempted elucidation of the elementary facts. In the m time hate and prejudice have their sway, mak the way of every patriot more difficult, if impossible. We have no solution to offer, but may be in a position to interpret in some mea the problem, which we shall attempt in historical bearings

The writer then draws attention t Moslem loyalist's attempt to demonst the loyalty of his community at the expen of the Hindus, in the following words ,—

> A prominent though not influential Moslem the course of the debate on the Bill to repeal Regulation III of 1818, made the statement th not one of his co-religionists had been arres under the provisions of the Act in Bengal dur the recent anarchical troubles What the pre object was which led to this statement we are aware, but presumably a demonstration was need to show that the Moslem community was lo thus throwing into relief the disaffection of Hindus of Bengal.

It is added —

> It is singular that through the first seventy- years of the nineteenth century, at least as far Bengal was concerned, the features of unrest w largely Moslem Regulation III was used to pl under restraint Moslem agitators, and the educa Hindu Bengali on the other hand was a power bulwark of British rule The movement wh focussed this Moslem anti-British sentiment w the Wahabi movement, whose name almost been forgotton save for the prominence given to since the War by Ibn-i-Saud, the King of N at present the conqueror and the *de facto* ru of the Hedjaz

The article then gives a short descripti of this movement

> The history of the Wahabis in India wa revealed in the proceedings of five historic tria for sedition, in Amballa (1865), Patna (18 Maldah (1870) and Rajmahal (1870). The last tr in 1871 just before its last stages in the Calc High Court led to the assassination of the C Justice, and four months later the Gover General was mortally wounded by a fanat Moslem convict in the Andamans Surveying th seditious movement, Sir William Hunter in h book *The Indian Mussalmans*, published in 1 so summarises the situation—
>
> "The Bengal Muhammadans are again strange state For years a Rebel Colony has th tened our frontiers, from time to time sen forth fanatic swarms, who have attacked our ca burned our villages, murdered our subjects involved our troops in three costly Wars M by month, this hostile settlement across the has been systematically recruited from the of Bengal. Successive State Trials prove t network of conspiracy has spread itself over provinces, and that the bleak mountains which beyond the Punjab are united by a chain of tr depots with the tropical swamps through the Ganges merges into the sea. They disclo organisation which systematically levies m

and men in the Delta and forwards them by regular stages along our high-roads to the Rebel Camp two thousand miles off. Men of keen intelligence and ample fortune have embarked in the plot, and a skilful system of remittances has reduced one of the most perilous enterprises of treason to a safe operation of banking"

Some of the concluding paragraphs of the article are worth reproducing.

As we look back on the history of the Wahabi movement in Bengal, a brief description of which we have attempted, it is clear that the unrest can be explained by (1) religious, (2) historical, and (3) economic causes

(1) All acts were done in the name of religion The leaders were fanatics—some had their inspiration in pilgrimage. others declared that it was impossible for them in the face of the direct teaching of the scriptures to accept non-Muslim rule in the country From a *Dar-ul-Islam* India had been converted into a *Dar-ul-Harb* Two courses were therefore open to the true believer—Jihad or Holy War, or Hijrat—that is, flight from a country where Islam did not rule,

(2) Islam has had a great history in India. Islam at one time had converted her (at least for a short period) into the most powerful Muslim State in the world Thousands of families all over the country had been brought up in the tradition of a ruling caste, such as the Nawabs of Bengal, or of Oudh,—they and their courtiers and many others had looked to the Emperor of Delhi for employment in the Army, in the Civil Administration, the learned no less had the patronage of the mighty and the doctors of sacred learning had expounded the law in the Courts of Justice All those opportunities were now exhausted and avenues of employment were closed The decay of this ruling class was accelerated by their own conservatism and failure to accommodate themselves to the new situation It was among these, particularly the learned, from whom the leaders for the new movement were discovered

(3) Lastly, the Muslim peasantry in Bengal were swept into the movement They were suffering from a sense of injustice, as their destinies had largely passed into the hands of powerful Hindu landlords Further, all financial transactions of the countryside were controlled by Hindu merchants, to whom the law as now interpreted and enforced by the British Courts of Justice gave the fullest protection. Is it very extraordinary that this new religious movement was accepted with enthusiasm by a suffering Muhammadan peasantry?

In trying to discover the genesis of the present Hindu-Moslem troubles, we must look beyond the immediate causes. Then and then alone can we find out and apply the right remedies. The paragraphs quoted last from *The Guardian* article may be of some help in this direction

—

Dr. Moonje at a Hindu Conference.

It is reported that in the course of his presidential address at the Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference Dr. B S. Moonje advocated the abolition of the practice of child marriages generally, and "urged that all castes of Hindus should have equal rights, equal privileges and equal status in society, and no caste superior or inferior to others."

He was perfectly right in doing so.

He also pleaded, among other things, for the organisation of voluntoers and the establishment of gymnasiums and *Akharas* for training volunteers, particularly in *lathi* and sword play

—

"The Cuckoo of South Africa."

Recently a Mr T G Strachan, the Labour member for Maritzburg North in South Africa, delivered a bitter and uncompromising address in connection with the Asiatic Bill.

"The Indian is the cuckoo of South Africa," emphatically declared Mr Strachan. I do not know much about bird life, but I understand the cuckoo raises its young in the nests of other birds and when the young become sufficiently strong they oust out the original owners and ultimately kill them The Indian is the cuckoo of South Africa and he has got into the wrong nest. Slowly but surely he is killing the original owners of this nest. There can be no question about that."

Were the whites "the original owners of this nest?"

Mr Strachan added —

I want to approach this question from the standpoint of what it means to the future generations of South Africa, what it means to the children coming after us, what it means for the public health of the European, and what it means for European civilisation in South Africa.

"I do not wish to approach it from the ethical standpoint, because I would not have a leg to stand upon, but I do wish to impress upon this or any audience that from the economic standpoint something should be done, in Natal at all events."

It is because he avoided the ethical standpoint that

He declared that if making conditions so unpleasant for the Indians that they would be obliged to leave South Africa meant racialism, then he pleaded guilty to being a racialist. He advocated the policy of reducing the Indian population to the "irreducible minimum," and quoted some striking figures to show the grip Indians had on Natal, and the way they were ousting Europeans from the economic field.

—

Bishop Talbot and Racialism

It would restore, to however small an extent, even a confirmed pessimist's faith in

human nature to find even in South Africa at least one man like Bishop Talbot, who gives expression in the March number of the *Kingdom* to his "dismay at the trend of present South African legislation at the expense of the native" He declares —

"I cannot think that the need to protect the white worker from being swamped by native labour justifies the introduction of the principle of the colour bar into the law of the land The passing of the Bill by the Assembly is an evil omen for the future It is not only a question of its actual provisions nor its administration, but its symbolic character It will symbolise the inherent inferiority of the native and the resolve to use him only as a means to white convenience ...I think it is a blind and essentially tyrannical measure, and if it is finally ratified it will have inevitably disastrous results to the true peace and wealth of South Africa"

"It makes it worse that the bill includes Indians with natives in its scope There are in India, and *there may* well be *in South Africa* Indians who though of dark skin are on a level with the finest flower of European culture That an able and gifted son of India should be debarred on the ground of colour from rising to his fullest development and capacity is a great wrong and it brings out into added relief the injustice done to the Bantu peoples" [Quoted by *The Guardian*]

The Natal Witness has recently declared itself against the Asiatic Bill, and observed —

"If the Indian were not an Indian, there would be no two opinions as to how he should be dealt with His children would be sent to school his housing conditions would be improved Partly by *force, partly by example and encouragement*, the Indian should be raised from his present position But because these men, whose fathers we have invited and enticed to come here are not white we propose to force them down still further

The Cape Times also does not now like the Bill

—

South African Asiatic Bill Delayed

A statement on the position in South Africa has been issued at Simla announcing that the Union Government have accepted the offer of the Government of India for a conference to arrive at an amicable solution of the Indian problem

The Union Government has impressed the view that public opinion there would not view with favour any settlement which does not hold out a reasonable prospect of safeguarding the maintenance of western standard of life by just and legitimate means. The Conference is expected to meet before the end of the year

Its proposals would be subject to confirmation by the two Governments In the meantime the Union Government have decided subject to the approval of Select Committee and Parliament, not to proceed further with the Asiatic Bill until the results of the Conference are available

Subsequent to the publication of this statement a Reuter's message to the following effect was published —

Subsequent to the statement on the international status of South Africa Dr Malan with the special permission of the House moved the adoption of the report of the Select Committee which approves of the agreement reached, recommending that the Bill be postponed until the results of the conference were available and that subsequent legislation to be enacted be retrospective to the date when the Bill would otherwise have come into force

The House adopted the report without further discussion

Whatever the final outcome may be, all parties, the South African Government, the Government of India and the Indian settlers in South Africa, may congratulate themselves on this happy result For this due credit must be given to General Hertzog and Dr Malan, to the Government of India and its Paddison deputation, to Dr Abdur Rahaman's Deputation, and, last but not the least, to Mr C F Andrews. With supreme faith in the righteousness of our cause and faith even in the South African white man's nature, he has worked prayerfully and incessantly for a righteous settlement A growing consciousness of the certainty of India becoming self-governing and strong at no distant date must have also helped the South African authorities to arrive at a correct decision

—

Number of Independent Moslems.

The total number of Moslems in the world is 230 000 000, of whom 190 000,000 are under European rule That leaves forty millions or four crores of Moslems who are independent Nearly five times as many are subjects of European nations, If there be any real statesmen among Indian Moslems they ought to ponder over the causes of the decline and fall of Moslem kingdoms and empires Blaming others will not do Nor will it be of any use to envy the progress made by the Hindus in some directions It should be remembered that the number of independent Hindus is much smaller than that of independent Moslems

—

Wish Father to the Thought?

The following precious bit has been cabled to the dailies in India from London

In the foreword to the "History of British India by an Indian Mohammedan published by Pitman

.. Theodore Morison, dealing with the difficulties .. e transformation of an autocratic Government ndia into a popular Government, says that even ng Europeans, if unpractised in popular rnment, representation plays strange tricks .. records that in the elections to the first ention Vendee returned four representatives, itheists and regicides Yet a few months .. wards the people of Vendee rose to a man to or church and king

.. milar anomalies may exist to-day in Indian .. mblies, and Sir Theodore Morison wonders what unrepresented masses are thinking for ex- .. what the untouchables think of the .. arajists

He says that some day a gust of passion may .. p through the depressed castes and impel .. to some wild jacquerie"

In that wild hour, if it ever comes, India will .. not an elected Assembly but a strong ex- .. ive The important question is not whether .. executive is composed of Englishmen or of .. ians, but whether it is capable of acting prompt- .. nd vigorously, confident of official support "

One would like to be assured that Sir .. odore's foreboding in the last two para .. aphs quoted above is not an unconsciously .. tamorphosed wish

Similar apprehensions (or hopes?) have .. n expressed by other British imperialists .. t what have men of their ilk done .. cially for the depressed classes during 170 .. rs of British rule to avert such a calamity ? .. d why do they not recognise the work .. ne by many high-caste men, often at great .. rifice, for these classes ? Why, again, has .. British Government (*not* the Swarajists) .. t the untouchables unrepresented ?

—

The New Dewan of Mysore

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore .. shown commendable creed-blindness .. appointing Mr Mirza M Ismail, B A, .. E, C I E, Dewan of Mysore In .. gratulating him on his appointment, Mr J .. na Rao wrote partly as follows, on behalf .. the Swarajya party of the Congress .. mittee, Bangalore —

.. o doubt, Mysore had wanted a Diwan born on .. wn soil and his Highness the Maharaja has .. priately selected you for the post

.. u are aware that we in Indian India are .. ally 30 to 40 years behind our brethren in .. n India Every one in this State therefore .. s that you will try to bring about rapid .. ss in our State by giving the people more .. s and bringing our Representative Assembly .. egislative Council to the stage of those in .. h India, if not more."



Mr Mirza M Ismail, B.A., O.B.E., C.I.E., the first Muslim Dewan of Mysore
Photo by R Venkoba Rao, Srirangam

Mr Ismail replied, in part :—

I can only assure you in reply, that I shall be actuated by an earnest desire to do the right and that my sole ambition will be to do some abiding service to a State which we all love so well."

—

U P Provincial Hindu Conference

The Second Provincial Hindu Conference held at Lucknow passed unanimously a resolution moved by a Sanatanist asking for the removal of untouchability and for such measures in pursuance of it as throwing open of public places like Schools and Colleges, Temples and Wells for the use of untouchables In his speech favouring the Shuddhi movement Swami Shraddhananda entered into a historical survey of the ways and means of conversion adopted by the Semitic religions. Supporting himself with facts and figures, Swamiji told the audience that there were one crore Musalmans and thirty-four lakhs Christians who still retained the mode of living that they had before conversion from Hinduism The first need was to bring back these people to the faith they originally belonged to. The Catholic Vaidik Dharma would surely assimilate them.

—

"Support Indian Industries"

It is said that at the suggestion of Mr A. B Datta of Calcutta Sir B N. Mitra, the *member in charge* at Delhi, has asked the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs to use the motto "Support Indian Industries" to obliterate postal stamps A similar slogan, "British Goods are the Best", has long been in use in Great Britain in a similar way for *propaganda work* for advancing the cause of British industries It is only right and proper that the same method should be used in India.

—

Indian Postage and British Penny Postage

We have shown in our last issue that the Japanese, though wealthier than the people of India, pay postage at lower rates than ourselves. But men in power are generally impervious to arguments. At his recent conference with the Indian Merchants Chamber in Bombay,

> Sir B. N Mitra observed on the subject of reduction of postal charges that, as he had already explained fully on several occasions in the Assembly, reduction was not an economic proposition at the present moment The only way in which it could be done, was by means of a substantial subsidy from the general taxpayer's pocket to the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department He could find no justification for this subsidy and he doubted whether the Chamber would seriously support such a subsidy

Assuming the correctness of Sir B N Mitra's conclusion that the Indian postage rates could at present be reduced only by means of a substantial subsidy from the general taxpayer's pocket, we fail to see why such a subsidy would not be justified. From 1850-51 to 1923-4 Indian Railways have involved the Indian Treasury in a net loss of 322.8 crores of rupees and the losses are still growing As it cannot be contended that the Indian Post Office does not benefit all classes of people in India which the Indian Railways do, or that the Indian Railways are an unmixed blessing which the Post Office is not, we do not see why, if the Indian taxpayer's money could be spent to subsidise the Railways, it cannot be spent to subsidise the post offiice, at the rate of, say, not more than a crore per annum for a few years. The fact is, the railways are a means of exploitation of India by the British people and have also an imperialistic strategic value. And so such huge losses, aggregating to 323 crores in 73 years, could be incurred for them, bu[t a] comparatively very much smaller sum ca[n]not be spared for the post office, because the [ex]ploiters are in a position to pay the pre[vailing] high rates.

That a low rate of postage, in additio[n to] being an indirect means of spreading kn[ow]ledge, has an industrial and commercial valu[e] will appear from the renewed attempt be[ing] made in England to secure a return to penny postage.

> At a meeting of the Imperial Communication Committee of the British Empire League at t[he] House of Commons in mail week, over which S[ir] Henry Page Croft, M P, presided, the followi[ng] resolution, proposed by Sir John Cockburn, a[nd] seconded by Sir Harry Britain M P., was una[ni]mously adopted "That in view of the fact t[hat] the Dominion of New Zealand has re-introdu[ced] full penny postage and that a step in this direc[tion] has been recently made by the Union of So[uth] Africa, this committee once more urges upon [His] Majesty's Government the vital importance to t[he] development of British industries and intra-Imperia[l] trade of an early return to penny post througho[ut] the Empire "

The British Empire is far more extensi[ve] than India and Burma combined If it be a business proposition to carry letters and sma[ll] packets over land and seas for thousands of mil[es] for one penny or anna, surely it would not [be] unbusinesslike to carry letters for half th[at] amount and postcards for a quarter of it fr[om] one end of India to the other If we beca[me] masters in our own household as the Brit[ish] people are in theirs, pice post-cards and tw[o-]pice letters would at once become busine[ss] propositions

—

The Late Sir K. G. Gupta

By the death of Sir K G. Gupta at the age of 75, India loses a man of ripe experi[ence] of administrative affairs and a person who was sincerely devoted to the cause [of] religious and social reform and progress He was one of the earliest Indian members of the Indian Civil Service to enter it (in 18[7?]) by the open door of competition. At the competitive examination he stood second in order of merit. He was the first Indian t[o] become a member of the Board of Revenue On account of his seniority and great ability he was entitled to become the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, having already served as Commissioner of the Orissa Division But owing to the crime of not being a European, he was placed, instead, at the head



Sir K G Gupta
Photo by R Venkata Rao, Srirangam

a fisheries department ! Subsequently he
s one of the two Indians to become the
st Indian members of the Council of the
cretary of State for India in London and
on golden opinions of Lord Morley, then
cretary of State, for his great knowledge
d ability After retirement, he was ap-
inted a member of the Esher Committee
Army reform, and wrote an able minute
dissent He was an ardent advocate of
Indianisation of the Army, without which,
thought, Home Rule would be a mere
ne

He was a member of the Brahmo Samaj
l did much, by contributing to its funds
d taking part in its deliberations, to pro-
te the cause of liberal religion and social
gress.

According to *The Inquirer* of London,

> His high intelligence, wise judgment and ener- discharge of business secured his promotion ain to positions of high responsibility,—the Lord Morley holding the highest opinion of ability and sagacity. In a small and frail body manifested great spiritual force, though consistently discreet he was always eager for reforms and the raising of his race,—There can be no doubt that Sir Krishna Gupta's peculiar gifts of mind and temper greatly contributed to the trust which has been increasingly manifested by British statesmen in the self-governing capacity of the race of which he was so noble a member

The Late Rao Bahadur Parasnis

Rao Bahadur Parasnis of Satara, whose death has been recently announced in the papers, cannot be said to have died full of years, though honours he had won in his own line of work, which was historical research He founded the historical museum at Satara, and collaborated with Mr Justice Kinkaid to produce a History of the Marathas. He was a devoted student of Indian history, particularly of the Maratha period He would be remembered for the original research work he did and for his splendid collection of manuscripts at Satara.

The Late Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri

The name of Pandit Ganapati Sastri of Trivandum is known to students of Sanskrit all over the world He served successively as Librarian of the Travancore Palace Library, Principal of the Sanskrit College and Curator of the Department for the publication of Sanskrit works In the last capacity he collected and published many valuable and rare manuscripts, forming part of the 'Trivandrum Sanskrit Series," ninety books of which have been published.

Before the Pandit's discovery and publication of Bhasa's plays, "Mricchakatika' or the Toy Clay-cart, reputed to be by King Sudraka, was considered to be the earliest Sanskrit drama, composed at about 200 B.C. Pandit Ganapati showed that Bhasa's works were of earlier date. His other great work was his edition of Kautilya's Arthasastra, by which he won the Ph D degree of Tubingen University, Germany The Government of India bestowed on him the title of Mahamahopadhyaya in recognition of his scholarship and ardent and unremitting labours in the cause of Sanskrit learning.

"Women and Children in Indian Industries"

The paper on "Women and Children in Indian Industries" which was read before

the Royal Society of Arts in London by Lady Chatterjee, O. B. E., M.A., D.Sc., has been deservedly praised as a very balanced one. It was a comprehensive study of the position in India with regard to women and children in industry such as had really never been quite approached before. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas observed after listening to the paper that it was a matter for congratulation that the case of the women workers of India should have been put forward by a lady so well acquainted with Indian conditions and possessing such wide sympathies with the women of India.



Lady Chatterjee

Lady Chatterjee had a good deal to say about the provision of creches, maternity benefits, and various other branches of welfare work. She declared quite emphatically that many of the problems arising out of the employment of women and children could not be dealt with satisfactorily until women were appointed as Factory Inspectors. A beginning has been made in Bombay, but nothing has been done in this respect elsewhere. There is greater need in India for such inspectors than in more favoured countries. The women of India are largely illiterate and in many cases are living away from their kith and kin. How they secure for themselves the full advantage of the legislation passed in recent years unless there are women inspectors?

Among other reforms Lady Chatterjee advocates the provision of facilities for recreation and education classes for half-timers and adults. The Compulsory Education Acts only apply, except in Madras and the Central Provinces, to children below the age of factory employment. Measures are needed which will secure that children employed in factories shall have facilities to continue or begin their education.

In view of the fact that Indian industries have to compete in a world market it is not to be expected that the earnings of the men alone will keep a family even according to the present low standard of comfort. The general exclusion of women from industrial employment would inevitably lower the standard of life still further. The poverty of India is such that practically all women except those belonging to the higher classes are compelled to work. In the general interests of the community and of the workers themselves, said Lady Chatterjee, it is essential that the conditions of the employment of women and children should be strictly regulated by law and practice and that there should be ample safeguards for the protection of their health and the maintenance of their moral ideals.

Indian women inspectors should certainly be appointed in all provinces where women work in factories.

The North-Western and North-Eastern Frontiers of India

There was a time when the North-Western Frontier was inhabited by the followers of Buddha, as is mostly the North-Eastern Frontier even now. But the residents of the former were converted to Muhammadanism by force. Since their adoption of the creed of the Crescent, those people have lost their meekness. The inhabitants of both Frontiers carry knives, daggers, etc., in their belts. But while the former use them in homicidal frays and raids, the latter use their weapons for the peaceful purposes of lopping branches from trees, cutting orchids and flowers, or peeling fruits. Thus while crimes are of daily occurrence on the North-Western Frontier, where the jails are full of convicts, the North-Eastern Frontier is comparatively free from such crimes, so much so that the Darjeeling jail did not contain, even a few years back, a sufficient number of prisoners to carry on the jail industries. For this purpose, therefore, convicts were transferred to the Darjeeling jail from some of the jails in the plains of Bengal. This is a very good illustration of the influence of religion on the character of a people.

Why Partiality Is Shown to Muhammadans

Some of the Britishers in India are ...al to Muhammadans, for they consider it ...tically expedient to govern India on the ...cy of "Divide and Rule" But it is not ...rely political expediency which makes ...n favour the Muhammadans It proceeds ... from "household" considerations ...e menials of the Britishers in India, such ...butlers, cooks and other household servants ...re mostly Muhammadans X

A Means of Increase of Indian Moslems

The Musalmans in India are in a minority ... increase their population some of them ...ve suggested that as their religion allows ...lygamy and the keeping of concubines as ...ell, their co-religionists should take advantage ...f it, and have as many children as possible ...his method seems to many of them to be ...e royal road to make India a Moslem ...untry How will this appeal to those in ...e West who are advocating birth-control?

Those Musalmans who have suggested the ...crease of their numbers by polygamy and ...ncubinage do not take into consideration ...e economic factor of the case How will ...hey feed the increased number of children ...at they propose to bring into existence in ...ese days when the struggle for existence ... no less acute in India than in other ...rts of the world? The increased number ... Mahomedans for whom proper education and ...lihood may not be provided, are not ...ely to be useful citizens but would most ...obably develop anti-social tendencies against ...operty and persons For this reason thought-...ss multiplication of population is not ...sirable. X.

The Hindu-Muhammadan Problem

The Muhammadans, while in political ...er in India, found that they could not ... without the Hindus Hence their level-...ded sovereigns became tolerant and ...oved those disabilities of the Hindus ...ch some of the fanatic rulers had imposed ...them. The most invidious *jezia* tax was ...lished by Akbar. But Aurangzib reimposed ... tax on the Hindus The verdict of ...ory is that the decline of the Moghul ...pire commenced with Aurangzib Providence, which has always saved Hindus from annihilation, brought into existence the Mahrattas and the Sikhs, who dealt a blow to the powerful Moghuls from which they could not recover The task left unfinished by them was completed by the English The establishment of British rule in India was providential There is providence in history, and thus it was that the fabric of the mighty empire raised by the valour of Babar and the wisdom of Akbar crumbled at the mere touch of the foreign Christians Thus ended the oppressive and intolerant rule of those Moslem rulers who were effeminate and degenerate.

The Christian rule of the English endeared itself to the people of India by its spirit of toleration and by at first not openly trying to proselytize them to the creed of the Cross. The missionaries were not allowed to settle in any part of the then British India or preach the Gospel to the heathens But when the British Government departed from this principle, then took place the mutiny at Vellore and the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which made the British profess strict neutrality in their Government of India So long there was hardly any Hindu-Muhammadan problem in India

The few battles which the Christians fought with the Muhammadans in India were of a few days duration in each case But such was not the case with the Hindus The Maratha wars, the Gurkha wars and the Sikh wars showed that, though nominally India was under the Moghals, the Hindus had not lost their martial spirit or military discipline. Hence the Christian Britishers respected the Hindus and because they preponderated in number, therefore some of the far-seeing British statesmen considered it politically expedient to make friends with them by even humouring their superstitions.

Then the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857 made the Britishers exclaim that "The Muhammadan religion must be suppressed" No stone was left unturned to carry this threat into execution.

But as the Hindus were becoming more educated in Western science and arts, they began to demand their political rights and privileges. This made some of the short-sighted English officers in India excite the jealousy of the Mahomedans and try to pit them against the Hindus. They thought the existence of their rule depended on the the Roman maxim of "Divide et impera".

This seems to have been their policy since the inauguration of the Indian National Congress Lord Dufferin was the Viceroy and Governor-General of India when the Congress held its first session in Bombay in 1885 His Lordship was a shrewd diplomatist and had dismembered a portion of the Turkish empire and brought it under the control of England It was therefore that he loved the Musalmans!

He was not ashamed to play off the Muhammadans of India against their Hindu neighbours by pandering to their vanity by describing them as the descendants of "those who formerly occupied such a commanding position in India," etc, etc

Since then has commenced the Hindu-Muhammadan trouble of modern times Unfortunately the number of turbulent men is so large amongst the Muhammadans that they have taken advantage of the avowed declaration of policy of Lord Dufferin and have commenced the persecution of the Hindus, and by so doing they think they will win the favour of the British officials Efficient steps have also not been taken so far to put a stop to the Hindu-Muhammadan riots which are taking place in different parts of India. X

Wanted a Commission on Hindu-Muhammadan Fracases

A Commission or Committee should be appointed to record the opinions and evidence of persons of both the communities as to the causes which lead to frequent riots The Commission should give a history of all the Muhammadan riots in India since 1871, when there was a riot between the Musalmans and (not the Hindus, but) the Parsis The Commission should also inquire into the measures which Government have taken to put a stop to these riots and whether the steps taken were just and fair and did not show partiality to the followers of one creed at the expense of the other. X

The Khilafat Question

Mahatma M K Gandhi and his followers committed a great mistake in having made the Khilafat question one of the planks of their non-violent non-co-operation movement. It was a tactical blunder to have done so

Half a century ago, when Gladstone was lecturing in England to drive the Turks b and baggage out of Europe, some of the sta at-home Englishmen expressed their alarm his utterances, for they were afraid th these would offend the Indian Muhammada subjects of the Queen and might make the revolt against the British Government India It was with reference to this fear th Professor Freeman, the well-known historia used the expression "Perish India" Th cause of humanity was considered to b of higher value than the possession of Ind But when the Turks were almost driven b and baggage out of Europe, there was r revolt of the Indian Musalmans against th British Government Attempts were made n doubt to inflame the fanaticism of the Musa mans, which made some of them leav India to go and settle in Afghanistan an some other Muhammadan countries, wit results well known to all

No, the destruction of the Khilafat ha made Turkey ring out the old and ring i the new spirit of the age Kamal Pasha revolution is welcome for the cause o humanity, for it will in course of time mak the fanaticism of the Muhammadans a thin of the past and lead them to progress in a directions. X

Mr. and Mrs L. K Elmhirst's Work in England

The following telegraphic message gives th latest information about Mr and Mrs. Elm hirst's work in England —

London,—Mrs Leonard K Elmhirst, formerl Mrs Dorothy Whitney Straight, whose secon marriage took place in April of last year at Old West bury, L I has purchased a tract of 1,000 acr in Devonshire, where she and her English husban intend to establish a large vocational school for th teaching of various trades for boys

Mr Elmhirst of an old Yorkshire family, wa educated at Cambridge and then took a post-gr duate course at the Cornell Agricultural school a went to India to engage in educational work T couple met at Cornell, to whose sociological work Mr Straight, as she then was, gave 1,000,000 dollar On their arrival in England several months after th marriage they bought Dartington Hall, a mile and half from Totnes Devon, with the adjoining la on which their educational work is to carried out

The Hall is the old estate of the Champernov family and is on a high hill overlooking the Riv Dart, surrounded by an Elizabethan garden W it was purchased, however, it was sadly in need repair. Mrs. Elmhirst, who is not very str has been resting on her doctor's orders, b

ciering too heavily into the work for the voca- tional school.

Mr. Elmhirst's excellent pioneering work in connection with the Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction Department of Viswa-Bharati at Sriniketan, Surul, is well-known.

By the by, we were rather surprised and amused not to find in Mr J A Spender's interesting article on Sriniketan any reference to the work done there by Messrs. Elmhirst, Kalimohan Ghosh, Santosh Bihari Basu, etc Who could have been Mr. Spender's informant?

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Italy Pays Homage to Germany's Intellectual Victory

Signor Mussolini has a real vision for a greater Italy whose glory is to surpass the greatness of ancient Rome. He fully realises that his vision can be fulfilled only through the activity of the whole of the Italian people. Italy is poor, and she will have to assert her superiority in the field of industry and commerce as well as in the field of international diplomacy. Italy must learn from all quarters, even from Germany, her former enemy. A Milan dispatch of Feb. 4, 1926, says —

"Eighteen thousand volumes mostly scientific publications recording Germany's achievements in science and industry during the war, have been received by the Italian Government on account of Germany's Reparation bill"

This shows the far-sightedness of the Italian Government, and at the same time it proves, beyond all doubt, the tremendous attainments of the German people in the field of science and industry. During the world war, under the most unfavourable circumstances, Germany with her sixty millions of population, produced 18,000 volumes—mostly scientific publications.

We often hear about India's greatness, but from the above standard she is lagging several leagues behind Germany If India is to hold her own she must have to adopt means to increase the scientific and industrial efficiency of the nation; *and the most important and urgent need is to raise the standard of Indian universities* T. D.

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Meaning of Signor Mussolini's Visit to Tripoli

After the successful settlement of debt negotiations with the United States and Great Britain, Signor Mussolini has taken active steps to consolidate Italy's colonial expansion and has announced his intention of visiting Tripoli. [This intention has since been carried out] The following Rome despatch throws some light on Fascist Italian ambition as an imperial power —

In opening the present session of Parliament, Signor Mussolini spoke of reviving the glorious traditions of the Roman Empire, to make this century an Italian Century The significance of his words is being developed by the events of the last few days. The Fascist idea of re-creating Rome as an Imperial Capital has already reached the stage of action, and schemes for restoring the colonial power of Italy are going on publicly.

The premier has announced that he will go to Tripoli next month in company with the Colonial Minister, and spokesmen for the Duce have made clear his motives General Veino has announced the formation of an inter-Ministerial committee composed of the Ministers of War, Navy, Colonies and Foreign Affairs for the furtherance of colonial development. The idea is elaborated by Signor Cantalupo, Under-secretary for the Colonies

"We seek to strengthen the prestige of Italy wherever possible between the straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal, and from the Canal to the Gulf of Aden," says Signor Cantalupo "The policy of Italy in Africa is dictated by her special situation as a young nation, at present poor in colonies, but destined to a great future. Italy should occupy the same position in Africa as she holds in Europe The great problem of the next few decades will be to assure the transport of white troops to Africa for the inevitable struggle between the powers for the hegemony of communications from the Cape to the Mediterranean"

While European nations are seeking for colonies in Africa, the Indians in Africa are being sought to be driven out by the South African Government. For a Greater India—Indian nationalists should formulate a policy which will entitle Indians to have their own colony in Africa and the equal right to travel and settle wherever they want This may not be accomplished now, but a far-sighted colonial programme for India is needed.

T D.

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Italian Progress in Ship-building

"An important event in the annals of the British Mercantile Marine will take place on February 26, when the first large high-speed, oil-driven ocean liner to sail regularly from a British port will make her maiden voyage. This vessel is the *Royal Mail* Steam Packet Company's Asturias, of 22,500 tons gross. The Asturias is wholly a British production Precisely similar installations will be fitted in her sister ship, the Alcantara, and in the new Union-Castle liner, Carnarvon Castle, recently launched.

Noteworthy as these ships are, however, they will be surpassed, both in dimensions and power, by two Italian liners—the Saturnia and Urania—

building at Trieste, and also intended for the South American trade. They, too, will have double-acting engines, but their gross tonnage is 23, 500, and their horse-power 21,000 An even bigger motor-ship is building in the same country, this being the quadruple screw Augustus, 33,000 tons gross and 31,000 i h p

When a nation can challenge British superiority or even becomes a rival of Great Britain in the field of ship-building and merchant marine, then it cannot be denied that it has made a very marked progress. Italians do not belong to the so-called Nordic group of Europeans, and they are working under the great disadvantage of lack of raw materials and comparative national poverty, yet in every field of human activity, particularly in industry and commerce, they are making such a tremendous progress that they are surpassing their former superiors It is not astonishing that the Italians will excel in ship-building and navigation, when we remember the wonderful feats of navigation and commerce performed by the Italians during the centuries when the so-called Nordics were in a semi-civilized state In the automobile industry, electrical engineering, aeronautics, as well as the textile industry, Italian products are ousting manufactures of other countries from the Near East and South America India like Italy had her wonderful merchant-marine, sea-borne commerce and industries To-day in Italy the Government is led by a great genius, Signor Mussolini, who is aiding Italian national transportation systems and industries to capture the world-market, whereas in India, the British Government does not want to see the rise of an Indian merchant marine and industries which will rival those of Great Britain However, the march of Italy should serve as an inspiration for Indians Indian scholars and industrialists should visit Italy to study her methods. *Indian politicians always talk of Mazzini, but the time has come to study the New Italy under Signor Mussolini.*

TARAKNATH DAS
Rome, Italy, March 1, 1926

Prehistoric Civilisation in Sindh

According to Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India, the remarkable discoveries made at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkana district of Sindh have revealed an entirely unknown civilisation which flourished in the valley of the Indus about 5000 years ago. In his opinion, though it is unlikely that anything would be found [in] Mohenjo-daro as magnificent as the ro[yal] tombs or temples of early Egypt, neit[her] Egypt nor Sumer of the third millen[nium] B C. has yielded anything at all compara[ble] to the average type of citizen's house n[ow] being unearthed in Sindh.



Conventional Pipal tree with antelope heads on a seal from Mohenjo-daro

The drainage system in particular, is extra-ordinarily well-developed Every street and alley way and passage seems to have had its own c[o]vered conduits of finely chiselled brick, laid with a precision which could hardly be improved o[n] The use of lime mortar appears to have been u[n]known at this period in India, and in any ca[se] there is no lime-stone in the neighbourhood [of] Mohenjo-daro from which lime could be burn[t] nor is there in Sind any bitumen such as [was] used as a cementing agent in Mesopotamia [It] was for this reason that the joints of the bri[ck]work laid in the water channels had to be so fin[ely] worked



Figures of Bulls on two seals from Mohenjo-da[ro]

In Sir John's opinion,

..... this Indus civilisation must have develo[ped] and flourished in Western India for untold centu[ries] It extended over an immense area including S[ind] much of the Punjab, Baluchistan, and prob[ably] Rajputana and countries even further to [the] east The term Indo-Sumerian let it be s[aid] has been provisionally adopted merely as indi[cat]ing the close cultural connection between [the] prehistoric civilisation of the Indus and tha[t of] Sumer, not as implying that the people [of] these two regions were of the same stock [or] spoke the same language.

About the finds in Mohenjo-daro Sir John Marshall writes :—

"What is particularly striking and not a little ...ulous about these finds is the great dis... in the quality of their technique. Rough ... of chert, for example, which served as ... and scrapers, have been found



A well and paved bath-room in an Indo-Sumerian house at Mohenjo-daro

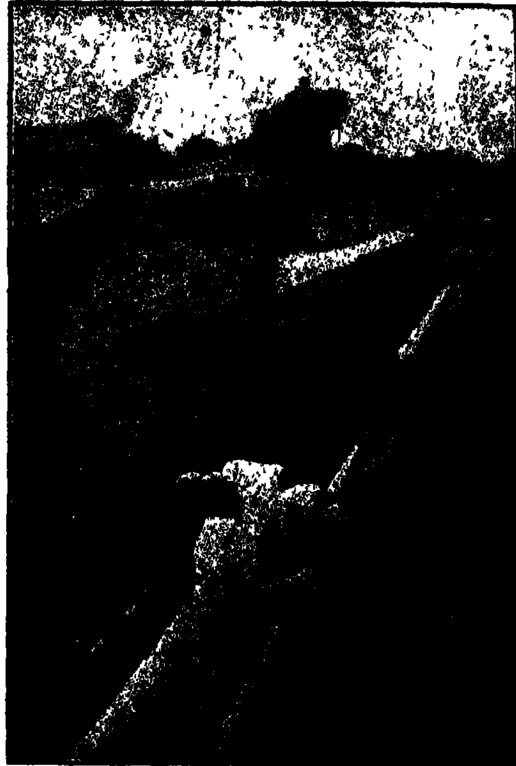
hundreds all over the site and these ...nsils are as crude as such object could well ... be But mingled with them, and contrasting ...ngely with their primitive appearance, are ...ely made objects of gold and blue faience and ...uisitely engraved seals, such as could only ... been turned out by people possessed of marked ...istic ability as well as great technical skill ...ile the construction of the buildings themselves ... far superior to anything of the kind in later India

The dwelling-houses have a "modern" character.

Most of the buildings are divided into goodsized ...oms furnished with their own wells and bath-...oms, floored over with brick, and provided with ...ed drains connecting with larger drains in the ...de streets. The existence of these roomy and well-...ilt houses, and the relatively high degree of ...ury denoted seem to betoken a social condition ... people much in advance of what was then ...uling in Mesopotamia or Egypt."

"The gold ornaments are so well finished ... so highly polished that they might ... come out of a Bond Street jeweller's ...o-day than from a prehistoric house of 5000 ... ago".

The seals, of which photographs of three ... reproduced, show the high artistic skill ... these ancient people Most of the seals ... which we have seen reproductions bear ...ures of the bull. One has the figure of an ...phant One, which we reproduce, has a ...ventional picture of the sacred pipal tree ... two antelopes' heads springing from its

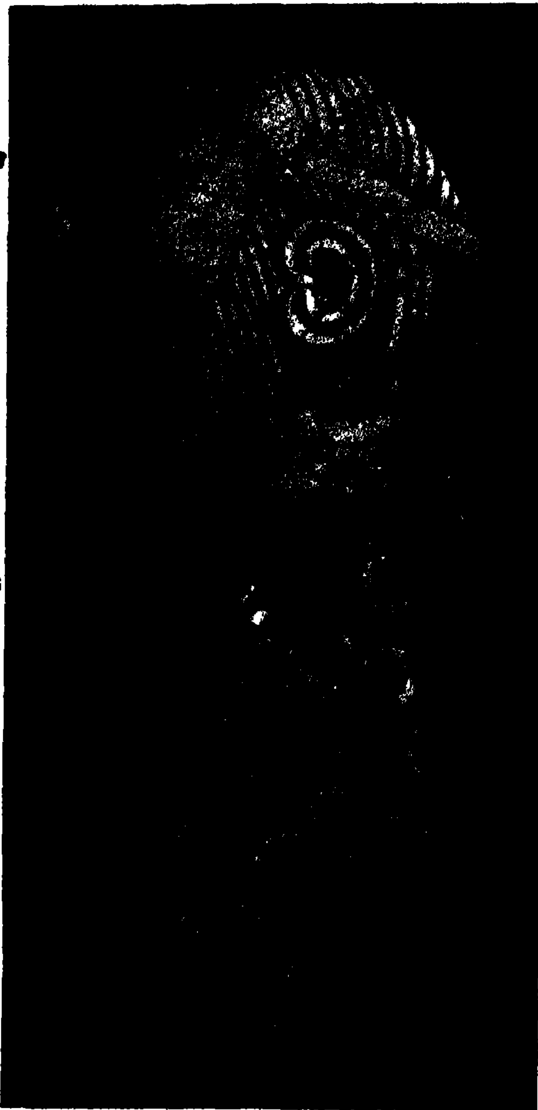


Remarkable Indo-Sumerian drainage 5000 years ago at Mohenjo-daro

stem. Whether it was a symbolic picture, and, if so, what the symbolism meant, have not yet been even conjectured For, the pictographic inscriptions on the seals have not yet been deciphered. As probably many, if not most, kinds of alphabet originated from some kind of picture writing, epigraphists would probably find it interesting to establish, if possible, some kind of connection between the oldest Indian scripts and the Mohenjo-daro pictographs.

Two statues have been found hitherto, one being of alabaster and the other, which we reproduce, of limestone finished with a veneer of fine white plaster. It shows the statue of a bearded man, with the upper lip shaved, eyes inlaid with shell and the patterning on its robe picked out in red ochre According to Sir John Marshall,

"Both of these statues portray a type of man unlike the modern Sindhi—a type with low receding forehead, prominent nose, thick lips and narrow oblique eyes. But whether these features were generally characteristic of the citizens of



An Indo-Sumerian Statue from Mohenjo-daro.

Mohenjo-daro, sufficient materials are not yet available for us to determine"

We do not know what type Sir John means by the modern Sindhi—there are many types in Sindh, but our impression is that we have seen similar types of men in Upper India and the Bara Bazar quarters of Calcutta.

Says Sir John Marshal :—

That this great civilization which is now being revealed was *no mere provincial off-shoot of Mesopotamian culture*, but was developed for countless generations on the banks of the Indus itself and its tributaries, is becoming more and more manifest as our excavations advance. Who the people were, who evolved it, is still an open question but the most reasonable view seems to be that they were the pre-Aryan (probably Dravidian) people of India known in the Vedas as the Dasyus or Asuras whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millenium B. C. by the invading Aryans from the north just as the older Aegean culture *of the Mediterramean (which in some respects* bears a striking resemblance to this culture of the Indus) was largely overwhelmed by the invading Achaeans.

The illustrations to this Note are reproduced from the *Illustrated London News*, to which our acknowledgements are due

Fascism in India

If you have not got real sensational news, invent them That seems to be the motto of jealous imperialistic scaremongers. Witness the following clipping from an American paper, heading and all ,—

"INDIAN FASCISTS WORRY BRITAIN

(Tribune Press Services)

LONDON, Mar 27—The India Office has been ordered to report on the activity of Fascists in India, particularly among the Indian princes and aristocracy Official Britain is much worried by reports of the activities of Italian agents in India and by visits of Italian professors and others to Indian princes.

A large number of Fascist clubs are said to have been started in Bombay and Calcutta and among the landholders of Bengal and united provinces. Efforts have been made to start similar organizations among the Zamindars of Bengal and the Taluqdars of Oudh"

We are not aware of any activity of Fascists in India,—perhaps because we are neither Indian princes nor Indian aristocrats.

We know of the visits of only two Italian professors to India, *viz.*, Prof. Formichi and Prof. Tucci The former has left India after lecturing on subjects relating to ancient Indian scholarship, philosophy and religion, mostly at Santiniketan, and also at the Dacca, Benares and Calcutta Universities. *En route* to Italy, he spoke at Bombay also Wherever he spoke he spoke on subjects in which only Indologists and educationists are interested. It was no part of his business, public or private, to see Indian princes.

Prof. Tucci is still at Santiniketan. He is an Indologist and Sinologist combined and is doing professorial work. He also

neither the leisure nor the inclination to go about seeing princes.

Those who are envious and jealous and are themselves adepts in the arts of intrigue we or conjure up bogeys where none exists.

Some time ago an Italian gentleman delivered a lecture in Bombay on some non-political subject. We do not know whether he is a professor anywhere.

So far as Calcutta and Bengal are concerned, we do not know of "a large number of Fascist clubs"; infact, we do not know even of one. We hope our readers in Bombay and the United Provinces will very kindly tell us whether these terrific things have sprung up there.

We were at first credited with having Bolshevist agents in our midst, we have now some (invisible) Fascist agents. We want more variety. Who are scheduled to come next?

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The Bengal Muslim Party

Sir Abdur Rahim and his followers have formed themselves into the Bengal Muslim Party. For any Muhammadan, and particularly for Sir Abdur Rahim, to form such a party cannot surprise anybody. But what is amusing is that he has felt it necessary to camouflage it as something other than what it is. For the party speaks in the opening paragraph of its manifesto in the most liberal and nonsectarian tones.—

> The working of the Government of India Act, states the manifesto, which is a first step towards the establishment of responsible Government in the country has made it abundantly clear that there is imperative need for the formation of a political party which will think in detail for all sections and classes of the people—Muslims and Hindus, Anglo-Indians and Christians, the ryots and labourers, the depressed classes and untouchables—with a view so to improve the economic and intellectual condition of all, and to secure such a distribution of political power among the general population that domination by a class of monopolists and intelligentsia may become ultimately impossible.

There is no question that such a political party is or would be the ideal one. But will Sir Abdur Rahim and his colleagues state their qualifications, credentials, antecedents and past achievements to convince people that they sincerely desire and would be able to "think in detail for all sections and classes of the people" mentioned in their manifesto? Have these Moslem leaders ever helped even the Moslem ryots and labourers of Bengal when in distress owing to famine, flood, earthquake, tornado, etc.,—not to speak of other ryots and labourers? Have these Moslem leaders any non-official educational organisations even for Moslems alone like the organisations conducted mainly or solely by non-Moslems for the benefit of Moslems as well as non-Moslems?

We should be glad indeed to believe that Sir Abdur Rahim has undergone a "sea-change" after his celebrated Aligarh speech and become a broadminded nationalist. But supposing he had changed, would it not have been better for him to give some concrete proof of the fact before making lofty professions of the most liberal and advanced political principles?

He speaks of domination by a class of monopolists and intelligentsia. The word 'monopolist' can really apply with greatest appropriateness to the Britishers and Anglo-Indians. But the Midnapore knight is not the man to tackle or offend them. And he speaks of 'a class', not 'classes'. Therefore, he means that the intelligentsia are the monopolists, both form one and the same class, and they are the educated Hindus. But he will find that in some provinces the educated Hindus occupy a far smaller number of Government posts than their education and number would entitle them to; *e. g*, in the U. P., where Moslems form only 14 percent of the population, but hold a much larger number of posts in the provincial and lower executive and police services than the Hindus. Perhaps, therefore, the knight is thinking of Bengal. But here, too, the public services are not a Hindu monopoly. But we shall deal with this point later on.

Sir Abdur Rahim wants to put an end to domination by the intelligentsia. Does he then want to establish the rule of the *un*-intelligentsia? That would certainly be a new thing in politics and constitution-making. For even in Soviet Russia, which is said to be and have been under protetarian dictatorship, Lenin, Trotsky and others, who were the real leaders and rulers, were members of the intelligentsia. Even his best friends cannot claim for Sir Abdur Rahim the great virtue of being illiterate or unintelligent. So in the new order of things heralded by his manifesto, he must, by a self-denying ordinance, retire from public life, and leave the Rahimian constitution to be run by the *un*-intelligentsia.

For it is not probable that he would stoop to retain power by pretending to be a dunce.

The second gem which we are privileged to cull from the manifesto is worded thus.—

For this purpose it is necessary to adjust all political and administrative measures to the varying circumstances and differing aptitude and outlook on life of the various elements of the population as moulded by their respective religions, culture, history, traditions and customs. It is by this means alone that in the existing conditions in India, will it be possible to evolve a strong, self-reliant and prosperous Indian nation.

Strictly and logically interpreted, the first part of this paragraph ought to mean that political and administrative measures should not conform to any approved modern ideals or principles of political science, but ought to suit the differing idiosyncrasies, traditions, tastes, prejudices, superstitions, etc, of the various elements constituting the population of a country. Obviously then, the same kind of government or administration would not be to the liking of different classes, creeds, sections, races, etc What, then, are government and administration to be like in India ? Should it be autocratic, despotic, bureaucratic, aristocratic, theocratic, oligarchic, democratic, republican, mobocratic, matriarchal, patriarchal, etc., at one and the same time ? Will Sir Abdur Rahim kindly vouchsafe a little more light ? Most probably, of course, his verbiage means that in Bengal Moslems must have the lion's share of political power, of posts in the public services, of scholarships in educational institutions, of accommodation in the same, etc, merely because of their numerical preponderance, with the result that the Hindus, Christians and others are to be deprived of what their superior education and ability entitle them to.

The second sentence tells us that Sir Abdur Rahim's way is the way to evolving a strong, self-reliant and prosperous Indian nation. That is entirely and absolutely false Communalism is the greatest obstacle in the way of nation-building.

The Bengal Muslim Party wants a Federated India consisting of autonomous provinces. We would not object to autonomous provinces with joint electorates electing candidates according to their political principles and ability, not according to their religious beliefs. We want communal representation to be knocked on the head once for all.

—

Progressive Tendencies and Bye-path Ancient or Mediaeval Obscurantis

The Bengal Muslim Party's man says :—

We affirm our firm belief in the neces Indians keeping abreast of European nations and Sciences, and we are opposed to isolatin from the progressive tendencies of the tim shunting her into the bye-paths of anci mediaeval obscurantism.

So do we.

But the Party forgets that commun creedal representation in elective b division of public appointments on the ba the numerical strength of religious com ties, separate creedal universities, et themselves the antipodes of all progr tendencies and must have the effect of ting India into the bye-paths of old- obscurantism Sir Abdur Rahim should discover a modern progressive country these creedal and communal things before he talks of progress.

As for keeping abreast of Eur nations in Arts and Sciences, he will e us for saying that such talk does not with good grace from the lips of those fight shy of competing even with their Moslem countrymen in the intellectual but want the largest share of political and official loaves and fishes merely becaus one in the majority. Will Sir Abdur t what incentive there can be for M youth to keep abreast of European n in Arts and Sciences when an ord Moslem B A. or even a Moslem Matric would, under the system of division appointments according to the num strength of communities, secure Govern posts which would be denied to brilliant D Sc.'s and Ph. D's of the best Univer in the world ?

—

"Government of the People, by the People, for the People."

The manifesto goes on to observe :—

To achieve the above end we as represent of the Muslim community which comprises in province a population of 26 millions, have tuted ourselves the Bengal Muslim Party. We been led to form this party not in any spir of barrow communalism or religious exclusiv but because, as inheritors of a great demo social system, with our outlook unembarrass the limitations of caste and untainted by unto bility we feel that special responsibility rests to contribute our best to the realisation of the

ideal of government of the people, by the people for the people.

The Party is self-deceived. It *has been* formed in a spirit of narrow communalism and religious exclusiveness. Islam certainly has a democratic social system, but its feeling of social equality, such as it is, is not co-extensive with all mankind or even with the entire population of this country, but is confined to the Muslim community Moreover, there *is*, in practice, caste among Indian Moslems, and in many places they have, on many occasions, combined to keep members of the Hindu depressed or untouchable classes deprived of the use of public wells, etc. Even apart from that, the division of men into Muslim and *Kafir* is in spirit similar to the division into the groups of touchables and untouchables

Sir Abdur Rahim says, he is out for government of the people by the people for the people. We say, he is out for Muslim ascendancy. To decide whether we are wrong, we propose a simple test Let the principle of communal proportionate representation be logically and strictly applied in all provinces and in the central legislatures. That is to say, whether the Moslems be in a majority or in a minority in any province, they are to have representation exactly in proportion to their numbers, neither more nor less. Would Sir Abdur Rahim agree? We trow not. The principle he stands for is, "Heads I win, tails you lose." Where his community forms a majority, he wants proportionate representation, where it is a minority, he wants effective or adequate or proper, that is, excessive representation. Pray, why are Hindu, Christian, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist and other minorities not to have effective, *i e*, excessive representation? And if all minorities are to have more than their proportionate share of representation, how are majorities to have their just share of it?

No; communal representation cannot be worked out in all its details with any regard for justice, consistency and logic. It is a mischievous idea and must be given up.

The causes which retard the political and economic development of the Muslim community of Bengal and seriously affect their general welfare ought certainly to be removed. But there is no short cut to such development and general welfare. The Muslim community must work as hard as other communities. They should take advantage of the educational facilities which exist for all, and create others for themselves as the Christians and Hindus have done

Acceptable Items in Sir A. Rahim's Manifesto

We accord whole-hearted support to the following items in the Bengal Muslim Party's manifesto —

To strive for the revision of the Meston Award in order to obtain for Bengal an equitable financial arrangement with the Central Government so that the Province may have for its needs adequate sources of revenue capable of expansion and development.

To promote measures for improving the economic condition of the people and the sanitation and health of Bengal, special attention being directed to the needs of villages.

To promote measures for the industrial and agricultural development of the Province.

To promote measures for redressing the just grievances of the *ryots* and secure to them stability and security of tenure, and to improve their conditions of living

To improve the condition of the labouring classes and with that view to promote sound factory and trade union legislation and other necessary measures.

Unacceptable Items in Muslim Manifesto

We certainly want that steps should be taken "to bring about an early revision of the Government of India Act with a view to place the Indian constitution on such a basis as is best calculated to lead to the establishment of full responsible Government with dominion status in the British Empire." But we are entirely against the separate representation of religious communities, either by joint or by separate electorates Communal representation, instead of easing the tension of feeling between different religious communities, has been an added cause of communal quarrels, fracases and riots.

Whatever the creed of the minorities in any province or in the country as a whole, they can best secure their own welfare and progress by joining in the march of progress of the people as a whole, not by harbouring the false notion that they are separate classes with separate interests.

Representation Proportionate to Numerical Strength

Even if the advisability of separate communal representation were admitted, the

number of representatives of each *community should* be proportionate, not to its total numerical strength, but to the total number of voters it has Therefore, the separatists should state how many voters they have and how many voters the non-Moslems have, and then work out the proportions. *If they* want representation exactly in proportion to the number of persons of their community of both sexes and all ages, they should first get a law passed giving the vote to human beings of both sexes and all ages, from infants upwards, the parents exercising the franchise as proxies for their babies But as such an extension of the franchise would not be attainable in this unpoetic age, the next best thing to strive for would be adult universal suffrage, without any literacy or property qualification. Before that is done, all talk of separate representation propostionate to the numerical strength of the communities is unreasonable

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Distribution of Government Jobs According to Numerical Strength

The Bengal Muslim Party want the number of Muslim employees under the Government and other public authorities to be proportionate to the total numerical strength of the community of both sexes and all ages.

There is no doubt that if the Government and other public authorities had the power and the desire to give jobs to all inhabitants in Bengal irrespective of age and sex, then Moslems would get 2,54,86,124 posts and Hindus 2,08,09,148 posts That would satisfy the Muslim demand. But Government and other public authorities have not got so many jobs at their disposal, and it would be rather too romantic and Utopian for this matter-of-fact world to make even babies in arms public officers. The next best thing which might be attempted would be to provide jobs for all literate persons of any age and sex; because, unfortunately for the Muslim Party, literacy is being more and more insisted upon even for police constableships. Now, there are in Bengal 29,16,996 literate Hindus and 12,99,548 literate Muslims of all ages. Therefore, if all literates got jobs, they would be distributed between Hindus and Muslims in the ratio of 29 to 13.

As, however, minors are not generally employed in public service and there is only a very small number of posts for wom[en] it may be roughly correct to say that pub[lic] jobs are given to literate males of the a[ge] of 20 and upwards The following ta[ble] shows the number of Hindus in Bengal [of] these ages who are literate in th[e] vernaculars and in English :—

	Literate	Literate in Engli[sh]
Hindus	1855576	377856
Musalmans	917630	81803

Therefore, of posts for which mere litera[cy] is required, Bengali Moslems would be entitl[ed] to half of what the Hindus would be entitled and for those for which literacy in Engli[sh] is required Moslems would be entitled to a litt[le] more than one-fifth of what the Hindus wou[ld] be entitled to.

But every one knows *that for the* publ[ic] services, even for junior clerkships [and] copyistships, more than mere literacy [in] English is required. For such posts graduat[es] can be had in plenty. The greater t[he] unemployment among such men, caus[ed] by preference for less qualified Muslin[s] the greater would be the danger to the Stat[e]

For these reasons, the claim to posts [in] proportion to their numerical strength p[ut] forward by the Muslims is quite mischievou[s] absurd and unjustifiable. But any absurdi[ty] and injustice is possible under "divi[de] et impera" rule.

What would be best for the people as [a] whole and for Moslems also is the employ[-]ment of the fittest, irrespective of race, cre[ed] and caste Let the physical, moral a[nd] intellectual tests, required for offic[e] be laid down openly, and Bengali Hind[us] and Christians would be ready to abi[de] by the results of competition in th[e] country with Britishers and others accordin[g] to these tests. Moslems would do well [to] accept such tests. No community can becom[e] advanced by securing undeserved jobs b[y] favour or on the strength of a resolutio[n] carried by a snatch vote in an unrepresen[t]ative assembly.

Merely because public service is publ[ic] service, there ought not to be distributio[n] of public jobs according to creed an[d] and unmerical strength, irrespective [of] comparative merit.

Let us take the position occupied b[y] Moslems in the independent professions, whe[re] there can be no charge of favoritism o[r] Hindu nepotism and intrigue. According t[o] the census of 1921, in Bengal 177369 person

workers and dependents) depend on the medical profession, western and indigenous. Of these 141325 are Hindus and 31718 Moslems. Law maintains 50,731 Hindus and 5602 Moslems. Even the profession of religion maintains 275604 Hindus and only 38,093 Moslems.

So, in fields where education is required and there is "open door to talent," every one being free to capture as much "custom" as he can by his ability, Moslems have not been able to win even a quarter of the work. This will show how unjust it is for them to claim a large fixed proportion of public jobs on the strength of mere numbers. Let them by all means get even all the jobs by merit; the objectors, if any, would then deserve to be condemned as wicked and envious fools.

The Bengal Muslim Party will admit that the principle which applies to the whole should apply to its parts So, as Muslims claim a preponderant share of public jobs on the ground of their numerical superiority alone, the illiterate section of that community, which forms its vast majority, should have the largest number of the Government posts claimed for that community, the next largest being given to mere literates, and so on That is to say, the largest number of clerkships and other Government posts reserved for Moslems should be given to illiterate Moslems, the next largest to those who are merely literate and the smallest number to Muhammadan "M A., B. L.'s", "M. A.'s" "B. L.'s" and "B. A.'s" The Bengal Muslim Party should not complain of such an arrangement, as with them number is the most important factor, not quality, and as all the posts reserved for them would, under the arrangement suggested above, go to Muhammadans.

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The High Court and Judicial Appointments

The Bengal Muslim Party want that the High Court should be relieved of administrative and executive duties with reference to the Judicial Services. This implies among other things that the High Court Judges are not competent to choose the best men for the judicial services. Who are fitter, pray? Suppose it were ruled that the education department should not appoint teachers and professors, the medical department should not appoint physicians and surgeons, and so on, but that the Inspector General of Police should make all such appointments, and the Excise Department should appoint Judges and Munsifs, and the Veterinary Department should appoint Engineers and High Court Judges!

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A Muslim University for Bengal

We are not in favour of a Muslim University for Bengal—we have never advocated denominational Universities of any sort. But if brought into existence, they have, of course, to be tolerated. As grown-up persons of all creeds have to live and work as neighbors and fellow-citizens, they should be educated together in their early years and form friendships, know each other's good points, rub off each other's angularities, and grow into liberal, tolerant, and broad-minded cultured persons by mutual emulation and imitation Narrow-minded religious extremists are not wanted.

Muslim students should, *if necessary*, be helped liberally with freestudentships and scholarships.

There is also pecuniary waste in having separate educational establishments for different creeds, as arrangements, equipments and staff have to be unnecessarily reduplicated.

The Muslim community should certainly have a voice on the administrative bodies directing and controlling different grades and kinds of education Their membership on these bodies, to be won by merit, should bear the same ratio to the total number of members as the number of their educated men bears to the total number of educated Bengalis

The Muslim Party want "that Muslim students derive benefit in proportion to the population of the community." We are not aware that in Government and State-aided institutions Muslim students do not enjoy the same facilities for admission as other students. They are as free to join them as others But perhaps Muslims want that a fixed large proportion of seats should be reserved for them in these institutions Such an arrangement may be given a temporary *trial* as a special concession and encouragement to them, provided that if by a certain date before the commencement of the session all the seats be not taken up by them, students of other creeds would be allowed to occupy the seats remaining vacant.

We understand that there is a desire among some Moslems that 54 per cent. of the total educational grant from the public purse should be spent for the education of Muslims. We do not understand how Musalman education is proposed to be separated from non-Muslim education from the primary to the University stage. Of course, even if practicable, which we doubt, such separation would be highly undesirable and injurious. It would, moreover, be very wasteful.

While on this point, we should like to ask a question If public revenues are to be apportioned between different classes and communities for their educational or other benefit, it would be only just and proper that each community should have a share proportionate to the amount which it contributes to the revenues of the Government. That being the case, the question arises, what is the amount paid to the Government by the Muslim community? Can it be ascertained? If so, would it be 54 percent of the total revenues? If not, if Muslims do not pay 54 per cent of the total revenues, how can they justly claim a 54 per cent share of any allotment, educational, or medical, or sanitary, or agricultural, or any other?

The public are entitled to have an answer to these just questions from Sir Abdur Rahim, the ex-Chief Justice of Madras

The private colleges and schools of Bengal founded and run by non-Moslems, and they form the vast majority, could not be bound by any arrangements made with regard to Government and aided institutions Nor could the University endowments made by non-Moslems be compelled to *reserve* proportionate facilities for Muslims. They must create their own separate similar facilities.

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The Official Version of "Cooch Behar Affairs"

The authorities of the Cooch Behar State have placed us in possession of the facts contained in the following letter

"I write to you with reference to an article in the April issue of your magazine, The Modern Review, headed "Cooch Behar affairs" which has come to the notice of the Council of Regency of the Cooch Behar State.

"The article in question is calculated to mislead readers of your magazine as to the facts of the situation. It makes reference, inter alia, to two petitions said to have be[en] submitted to Government, the one [b]y Rai Saheb Panchanan Barman and the oth[er] by a number of Cooch Behar subjects, a[nd] it gives extracts from the first-named petitio[n]. It appears to be necessary to explain he[re] that the State is being administered duri[ng] the minority of H. H. the Maharaja Bh[up] Bahadur, by a Council of Regency und[er] the general control of Government and th[e] Government keeps in close touch with th[e] administration of the State and is well awa[re] how the administration is being carried o[n]. As regards the petition said to have bee[n] submitted by Rai Saheb Panchanan Barma[n] to Government, that petition was not submi[t]ted through the Regency Council and as i[t] was apparently submitted so far back as i[n] June 1925 and as no reference regardi[ng] the subject-matter of the petition has bee[n] made to the Council of Regency by Government it would appear that Government has ignore[d] the petition, if actually submitted, as no[t] meriting serious consideration. As regard[s] the other petition, viz, the one said to have been submitted to Government by a number of Cooch Behar State subjects, I would inform you that careful enquiries have elicited the fact that practically all the signatures were forged and that the petition was in fact a bogus petition and was not submitted by a large number of State subjects, as your article would lead readers to believe. Further the enquiries indicate that the bogus petition was engineered by one individual out of malicious motives and it is significant that that individual did not himself sign the petition.

"As regards the employment in the State of Nawab Khosru Jang and Nawabjada Abdul Karim Khan, it may be pointed out that these two gentlemen, who both belong t[o] Indian States and are highly connected, were given appointments by the late Maharaja Bhup Bahadur before the Council of Regency came into existence and that the subsequent appointment of Nawab Khosru Jang a[s] Tutor to his Highness the Maharaja Bhu[p] Bahadur was sanctioned by the Govt. o[f] India. The continued employment of Nawab jada Abdul Karim Khan, who was secretary to his late Highness and a member of the State Council during His late Highness's life time, did not require the sanction of the Govt. of India Your article is calculated t[o] lead readers of it to think that the two gentlemen in question were given appointments in the State for the first time by the

egency Council after the death of the late Maharaja and it gives no indication that the appointment of Nawab Khosru Jang as Tutor to H. H. the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur was made with the cognizance and approval of the Government of India."

We print the facts stated in the letter exactly as sent to us, without any comments. The reader will be able to arrive at his own conclusions by a perusal of this letter and of the notes on this subject already printed earlier in this issue and in the last issue.

"The Indian National Party."

The first week of April saw the formation in Bombay of a coalition named "The Indian National Party." Its members consist of Liberals, Independents, Responsive Co-operationists, Nationalists and Conventionists. The resolution by which it was formed runs as follows —

I (a) This Conference resolves that the party to be known as the Indian National Party be and is hereby formed.

(b) The object of the Party is to prepare for, and accelerate, the establishment of Swaraj or Full Responsible Self-Government in India, such as obtains in the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire with due provisions for protection of the rights and interests of the minorities and the backward and the depressed classes.

(c) The Party will employ all peaceful and legitimate means, not including mass civil disobedience or general non-payment of taxes.

(d) Amongst other parliamentary methods open to it, the National Party will inside the legislatures resort to Responsive Co-operation or opposition or co-operation as and when necessary and it will carry on intensive propaganda work in the country in furtherance of its objects. The National party may promote, as occasion may demand, movements of individual or group resistance to authority, for definite objects, on particular occasions, in particular localities.

(e) In pursuit of its objects, the Indian National Party will work in co-operation with any other party or political group which has the same object in view, and whose methods are consistent with the policy of this party.

(f) While the party is of opinion that the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919 is inadequate and unsatisfactory, it will utilise it to the fullest extent it can (including acceptance of offices) both to accelerate the revision of the Constitution, as well as to ameliorate the condition of the people and to advance their interests in every possible way.

(g) The Party will, to the best of its opportunities, strive for the political and economic uplift of all classes, castes and communities, alike in the rural and urban areas, and will, in particular, work for the removal of untouchability and the amelioration of the condition of the backward and depressed classes.

(h) The Party will seek, by every means in its power, to promote unity among the different communities.

(i) Every person who has attained the age of 21 and signifies in writing the approval of the policy of the Party, will be eligible to be a member of the Party.

The National Federation.

It appears that the first week of April saw the birth of another political group or party to be known as "The National Federation." Most of its members were also members of the newly formed Indian National Party. The constitution of the Federation is briefly explained as follows :—

The members remain in their respective political organisations, but unite in a common effort to obtain Indian freedom.

The Federation defines Swaraj as full Dominion status as claimed by the resolution of the National Congress of 1921. It accepts Responsive Co-operation, wherever useful, for advancing the interest of the country and all forms of constitutional agitation against proposals inimical to these.

It supports the Commonwealth of India Bill now on the official list of the Labour Party in the British Parliament, and recommends that any amendments thought desirable by the Council of the Federation should be sent to the Amendment Committee of the Labour Party and to be moved when the Bill is in the Committee of the House.

It would seem from the above that the new Federation differs from the new National Party mainly or only in according support to the Commonwealth of India Bill and has been formed for bringing about its passage through the British Parliament.

Swarajist-Responsivist Agreement.

When the Liberals, Independents, Conventionists, Responsivists, and old Nationalists were deliberating in Bombay to form the "Indian National Party" with a view to united action among them, efforts were also being made to bring about a reunion of Swarajists and Responsivists. Those efforts culminated more than a fortnight later in a conference of the leaders of the two parties at Sabarmati, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mrs Sarojini Naidu being also present. The conference adopted the following as embodying its decision on the points specially discussed.

"It is hereby agreed between the undersigned subject to the confirmation of the All-India Congress Committee that the response made by the Government shall for the purposes of clause (A)

nd (B) of resolution 2 B (4) of the all-India ongress Committee, dated 6th and 7th March, 926, be considered satisfactory in the provinces f power, responsibility and initiative necessary for he effective discharge of their duties are secured o the Ministers and the sufficiency of such power, esponsibility and initiative in each province shall e decided in the first instance by the Congress nembers of the Legislative Council of that proince subject to confirmation by a Committee onsisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr M R ayakar It is further agreed that the said Committee will decide all disputes about the selection f candidates in the Congress Provinces of Bombay, laharashtra, Berar and the Marathi C. P.

"This agreement has been subscribed to by the ndersigned in their individual capacities and it ill be submitted for ratification to the executive f the Swaraj and Responsive Co-operation parties t will be placed for ratification before the All-ndia Congress Committee which is being convened n the 5th and 6th May next at Sabarmati Ahmedabad)"

This statement is signed by Mrs Sarojini Naidu, andit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr M R ayakar, Mr. N C. Kelkar, Dr B S Moonje, Mr S Aney, Mr D. V. Gokhale and Mr Agale — ree Press.

DELHI RESOLUTION

Note —Clauses (a) and (b) of the Delhi resolution eferred to above were as follows —That Congressen in the Legislatures shall (a) refuse to accept ffices in the gift of the Government until, in the pinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response made by the Government, and (b) refuse supplies nd throw out the Budgets until such response made by the Government unless otherwise istructed by the Congress Working Committee.

We doubt if under the Government of ndia Act, as it is at present more power, esponsibility and initiative necessary for he effective discharge of their duties can e secured to the Ministers than they have had lready In any case, it seems to us that he all-India Congress Committee meant more y "satisfactory response" than what it would ereafter be interpreted to mean according to the greement To that extent the agreement is a riumph for the Responsivists and a climbown for the Swarajists But this fact need ot elate the former, nor should it deject the atter if by a combination of their forces he two parties can bring about a reform of he "Reforms" before 1929

This reunion of the two parties definitely etaches the Responsivists from the new ndian National Party and to that extent eakens it.

When Civil Disobedience Is Not Civil Disobedience.

Civil disobedience is undoubtedly one of e methods of constitutional struggle for civic and political advancement. British history proves it. Lord Hardinge presumably knew the meaning of the expression when he declared the Indian civil disobedience movement in South Africa constitutional. Opinions will, of course, differ as to when and under what circumstances civil disobedience may be resorted to.

By sanctioning movements of individual or group resistance to authority for definite objects on particular occasions in particular localities, the new National Party supports the principle of civil disobedience, though it has declared itself against mass civil disobedience or general non-payment of taxes If the groups of civil resisters be large and many, and if the localities where they dwell be also large in number, what would be the difference between such a state of things and mass civil disobedience ? The line will have to be drawn somewhere How many groups of what numerical strength each in how many localities at a time will *not* constitute mass civil disobedience according to the lawgivers of the National Party? Of course, if they mean that *all* inhabitants of British India must not simultaneously have recourse to passive resistance, they need not have laid down the law at all For such a thing is improbable, though not impossible. So far as our knowledge of history goes, mass civil disobedience of this universal character never took place in any country.

Running of Candidates by Hindu Mahasabha

We are opposed to the running of candidates for election to the legislative or other elective bodies by the Hindu Mahasabha Hindus who hold various kinds of political opinions and are members of different political parties, are members of the Hindu Mahasabha It cannot, therefore, favour any candidate holding one kind of political opinion to the disadvantage of another candidate of different views, both being its members. If it does so, its membership and importance are likely to decrease

The proper sphere of work of such associations is social, religious, and, if need be, economic and educational. No doubt, on the rare occasions when some social or socio-religious bill is on the legislative anvil, the Sabha should try to make its influence felt. That it should do by representations, agitation, and conference with the Hindu members of council.

Hindu and Christian politicians have all along rightly opposed communal representation If the Hindu Mahasabha now runs candidates of its own, it would be practically going in for communal representation That would be an evil, and if the Mahasabha's efforts succeeded, there would be very few members of legislative bodies left to work for the welfare of the people as a whole and build up the nation No doubt the Hindu Mahasabha's nominees would profess (and they may do so sincerely) that they would think and work for the good of all communities, but in practice their interest and activities are bound to be circumscribed The Bengal Muslim Party's manifesto also begins with a declaration of very liberal principles, but the details mentioned later on reveal what its real aim is We do not want a similar Hindu party in India or in any province Our councils and politics should not be dominated by religious or theological extremists of any creed

---

Our Frontispiece

During the ninth month of the Muhammadan year Muslims fast in all daylight hours The period of fasting ends when the new moon is first seen. In our frontispiece to this issue a Muslim lady is represented as *looking for the new moon on the last day of* the month of Ramadan. The festival of *Id* follows the next day

---

Difficulties in Publishing the May Number

Owing to our offices, press and residence being situated within the area badly affected by the Calcutta riots—they being in fact within the danger zone, and owing to all our employees being residents of the affected area, we have had great difficulty in bringing out the present number of the Modern Review. We do not wish to give any harrowing details. It will suffice to say that shootings and deaths have taken place more than once within some yards of our offices and press as well as our residence All our friends will, therefore, kindly excuse our shortcomings of any description relating to this issue.

The Calcutta Riots

The Calcutta riots originated in what may be called "religious" dissensions. But at its later stages no religious question was at issue. Fanaticism has, no doubt, been in evidence throughout But if the hooligan element had not taken advantage of fanatical outbursts, the riots and cowardly assassinations would not have lasted so long and been so widespread

Communal hatred has had certainly much to do with these most lamentable happenings. But that is not the only cause Expectation of loot is an important cause on all such occasions This is clear from the hooligan element repeatedly making the wealthy Barabazar business quarters their centres of attack. The inoffensiveness and unpreparedness for defence of the Marwari and other traders make them the chief victims.

The unprovoked murders of innocent Hindus and Muslims, old and young, male and female, are most cowardly and diabolical, the knife and dagger wounds being mostly on the backs of the victims.

The destruction and desecration of temples and mosques cannot but be condemned by all right-thinking men. The destruction of mosques is a new feature of such riots In the matter of the destruction of places of worship of other religious communities, the record of the Hindus has *hitherto* been clean It is much to be regretted that it has now been tarnished Mosques have no doubt been destroyed or desecrated from a feeling of revenge and in retaliation for the destruction of temples. But no Hindu, not even a Hindu goonda, ought to have given way to such feelings of revenge and retaliation. The destruction of temples by Muslims also calls for condemnation, but not for fresh condemnation, as with a section of them it has been a centuries old practice We do not know what the feelings of this section of Muslims have been at finding that a similar section of Hindus has paid them the sincerest tribute of admiration by imitating them. But our opinion is that both Hindus and Moslems ought to be ashamed of the destruction of places of worship

It is with far different feelings that one records that in some localities Hindus and Moslems combined to defend both temples and mosques The reports in the papers of the protection and rescue of Muslim in-

dividuals and families by Hindus and of Hindu individuals and families by Muslims are equally welcome It is also encouraging to find that in the very few localities where mosques were threatened, Muslims succeeded in baffling the wicked attempt

The attacks on temples were more numerous and determined They were repulsed in most cases. Bengali young men—students and others, distinguished themselves greatly in repelling these wicked attacks In fact, it was their courage and united front which emboldened the up-country Hindus in many localities. Similarly, in defending many quarters Bengali young men took the leading part. Some times they had to patrol the streets at night and on the danger signal being given, charge the aggressive mobs Firing has sometimes had to be resorted to, that is to be regretted Owing to the breakdown of municipal conservancy arrangements, Bengali young men and boys have also swept and watered streets, flushed drains and disposed of refuse

The English-owned and English-edited papers have tried as much as possible to ignore or minimise the successful efforts made by the people themselves to defend their hearths and homes and temples. These papers would have liked very much to see the people merely crying abjectly for help without being able to do anything themselves Of course, the people want the help of those who are entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order--they have a right to such help. For whatever help has been given by the police and the military, they are entitled to due praise. On the whole, they have been latterly helpful But that is no reason why the spirit of self-help manifested in deeds by a practically unarmed, if not disarmed, people should not be duly recognised.

It has been found that of those engaged in frays, the Muslims were more often armed with knives, daggers, swords, and other edge weapons, and the Hindus with cudgels, pieces of bamboo, old iron rods, etc. This is perhaps due to two reasons Hindus have in the past been subjected to house searches by the police more often than Muslims, and have in the past, therefore, not procured or kept edge weapons In the second place, Muslims being given more to meat-eating and consequently slaughtering animals, edge weapons are more often kept and used by them. A few well-to-do Hindus keep guns according to the Arms Act Unlicensed revolvers have been found in the possession of some members of Muslim mobs with which they have killed and wounded even some policemen

—

Probable Causes of Renewal of Riots.

Some points in connection with the riots have been brought out by a third party, namely, the editor of the Christian weekly, *The Guardian*, in the following sentences —

However, looking back over the events of the week, it is possible to make certain comments on the position of affairs In the first place, it is remarkable how quickly the two communities organised themselves to protect their sacred edifices - the more responsible elements of each took their share in this defensive work In the second place, the assaults which resulted in serious loss of life and limb were the work of hooligans, Hindu and Moslem, of which Calcutta contains a very large number The operation of the Goondas Act itself is an indication of the widespread nature of this evil The Hindus, it is curious to note, used sticks or iron rods as instruments of offence, the Mussalman roughs on the other hand used knives very largely In the third place, the aggressive Hindus were almost entirely non-Bengalis—usually upcountrymen, whereas the Bengali Mahomedan was involved In this connection it is interesting to record that the young Bengalee of the student class not infrequently shewed great gallantry in rescuing an unfortunate person from the assaults of hooligans, and his chivalry was extended to both communities In the fourth place, the Mahomedan has had a nasty surprise He has despised the Hindu for his supposed lack of courage, but disillusionment very quickly followed after the very first hour of rioting We have great sympathy with the Muhammadans as a backward community Throughout India they are in the economic grip of Hindu merchants, from the commercial magnate on the one hand, to the village money-lender They are outclassed in every walk of life—save as tenant farmers and labourers. The leaders of the community are painfully conscious of the handicap from which it suffers, and the present Government has allied itself with them in their demands The bogey of Muslim unrest and turbulence, and the possibility of the alliance of Indian Muhammadans with their Asiatic co-religionists has been conjured up, with the result that during the last decade the Muslim had only to threaten and the Hindu capitulated. The later history of communal rioting, be it in Delhi, Nagpur and now in Calcutta, demonstrates that the Hindu can hold his own when it comes to the test of brute force.

The mention by the Christian editor of *The Guardian*, of the "nasty surprise" and "disillusionment" of the Mahomedans,

with whom he has great sympathy, leads one to conjecture that the "nasty surprise" and "disillusionment" of the latter may have had something to do with the recrudescence of the riots and the acts of murderous assault on individuals by individuals, after things had quieted down. Had the rowdy section of the Moslems been able to carry everything before them, as had hitherto been the case on most similar occasions, had only temples been damaged or destroyed but not mosques also, and had only many Hindu shops, firms and houses alone been looted but not a small number of Muhammadan shops also, the feeling of revenge and retaliation would not have smouldered and blazed forth again But it is only a conjecture It also seems to us that the inflammatory writings of three vernacular Moslem newspapers of Calcutta which excel in purveying false news and the sensation-mongering of one Hindu newspaper were responsible for the recrudescence and continuance of communal disturbances The Government and the police authorities cannot have been unaware of this fact But we are not aware that the papers in question have even been warned The practical degradtion of Rai Bahadur P C Lahiri, the able Deputy Commissioner of Police of North Calcutta, who dealt with the first series of outbreaks energetically, as far as he was allowed to do so, and quelled them, had, we presume, also something to do with the second series of outbursts of violence the more so, as it is rumoured it that was done at the instance of a well-known Muslim leader Mr. Lahiri's humiliation must have acted as a damper on many Indian police officers and encouraged a section of the rowdy element The fact that some Hindu religious or festive processions were either prohibited or stopped, but Kabuli and Peshwari Moslems were allowed to take a musical procession along the streets with impunity in spite of official orders to the contrary, must have emboldened some of the hooligans.

—

Attitude of the Government

When the riots first broke out, the police showed masterly inactivity for the first two days. Even after that period, some looting of houses and murderous assaults took place within the cognizance of the police and the military without their doing anything to stop them Nothing was done to raid and close some eating-houses and other dens whence, the police were definitely informed, hooligans came out to attack unwary passers-by, to hide themselves there again after doing their nefarious work. Latterly, of course, the police and the military have shown more promptness and rendered good service.

So far as the Government of Bengal are concerned, it does not seem to have taken the situation at all seriously Sir Hugh Stephenson came down from the cool heights of Darjeeling for a day or two, went up to them again, and condescended to revisit Calcutta for a brief period. His Excellency the Governor did not show even as much concern or activity He might as well have remained in England and received hourly news of arson, rioting, plunder and bloodshed by wireless Even the English-owned and English-edited papers of Calcutta have had to point out that he ought to have been in Calcutta throughout. The Europeans in Calcutta began to bestir themselves only when beef and mutton became scarce, and their business began to suffer appreciably Before that it seemed as if they had been witnessing the strengthening of the foundations of British rule and exploitation.

—

Riots of No Use To Any Community

The unspirituality, immorality and wickedness of those communal riots may not be realised by all. But it may be understood by all that from the worldly point of view, neither the Hindu community nor the Muslim community, as a whole, derive any advantage from riots and bloodshed If they were a fight for supremacy, the prize being the establishment of Hindu Raj or Moslem Raj, the motive, though condemnable, could be understood. But they are nothing of the kind. They serve only to rivet the chains of slavery round our necks more firmly And politics apart, both Hindus and Moslems of all classes are involved by them in great pecuniary loss, and have to suffer in life and limb and in other ways. It is only some hooligans of both communities, if they do not get killed or maimed, who are gainers to some extent.

—

Accidental Timeliness of the Riots

The present year's April disturbances in Calcutta happened in the nick of time, as if scheduled to do so, to enable British imperialists and exploiters to impress on the mind of the new Viceroy at the very beginning of his rule the cogency of the argument that communal riots prove our unfitness for self-rule But these riots take place not under *our* rule but under *British* rule. Therefore what they prove is the futility and failure of British rule, not our unfitness for self-rule.

—

Funny and Tragic Division of Labour

It is a very funny and tragic division of labour and of functions that the British people have great power to create conditions *favorable or unfavorable to communal harmony* and also have the power and the weapons to maintain law and order; but that we alone are held responsible for communal riots and our inability to maintain or restore law and order! A great parade is made of the fact of European soldiery quelling riots after the failure of other measures But it is *forgotten* that Indians possessed of similar arms and powers could do the work as well or better and more quickly

—

"Is There a Hidden Hand?

Dr. Mrs Besant's *New India* asks, and adds:—

The resumption of rioting in Calcutta, while it is most deplorable, seems to argue the presence of a mischief-making agency secretly at work. Communal riots usually flare up very quickly, like the fire of stubble, giving vent to easily aroused passions, and die down equally rapidly. The resumption of rioting, after 12 days' respite, before the memories of the ill deeds recently perpetrated have scarcely begun to fade from men's minds, when, indeed, they would be expected to be full of grief and contrition and plans for the prevention of any repetition of the incidents at a later date, is as unexpected as it is unprecedented in recent times. It looks more like a deliberate, cold-blooded campaign, interrupted for tactical reasons. The Calcutta events convey one moral: British power, held to be indispensable for India's protection, is unable to guarantee the safety of life and property of peaceful law-abiding citizens in normal circumstances. Sir Abdur Rahim and his Muslim co-adjutors cannot entirely escape responsibility for the untoward happennings in Calcutta, as their inflammatory communal propaganda must have contributed to the production of an atmosphere favorable for such outbursts.

A strong rumour is current in Calcutta that in the course of a search the police have found inflammatory leaflets in the house of a leader If the rumour be true, it may give a clue to the indentity of the hidden hand, if any; if not true the Government should contradict the rumour.

—

Communal Tension and the Duty of Hindus

Hindus should cease to think of and treat Musalmans as *mlechchhas* They should not try to interfere in any way with the sacrifice of cows in mosques and private Muhammadan houses, even if visible from roads and other public places. The sacrifice of goats and buffaloes is repugnant to Vaishnavas, Jainas, etc, nevertheless meat-eating Hindus sacrifice them openly

—

Extent of Communal Riots in India

The prevalence of communal riots in India will be understood from the fact that in British India there are 500042 towns and villages, in not even a hundred of which do such riots occur in the course of any year We should not have exaggerated notions about their frequency and prevalence.

—

ERRATA.

April Number —

The frontispiece should be named—A View *from* Kurseong

In Mr. G. S Sardesai's review of "Begum Sumroo" for "*pack* of artillery" read "park of artillery".

May Number .—

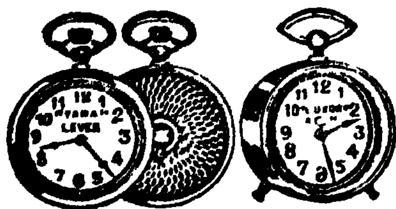
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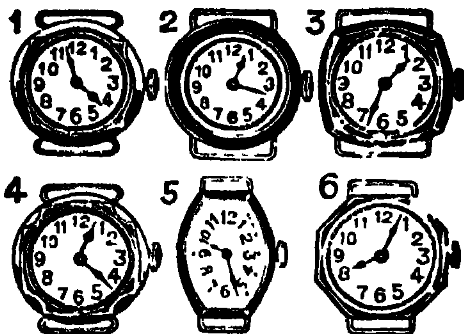
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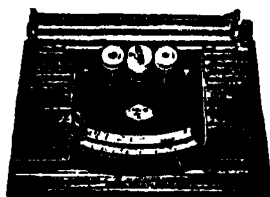
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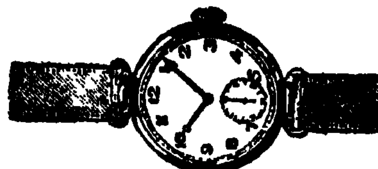
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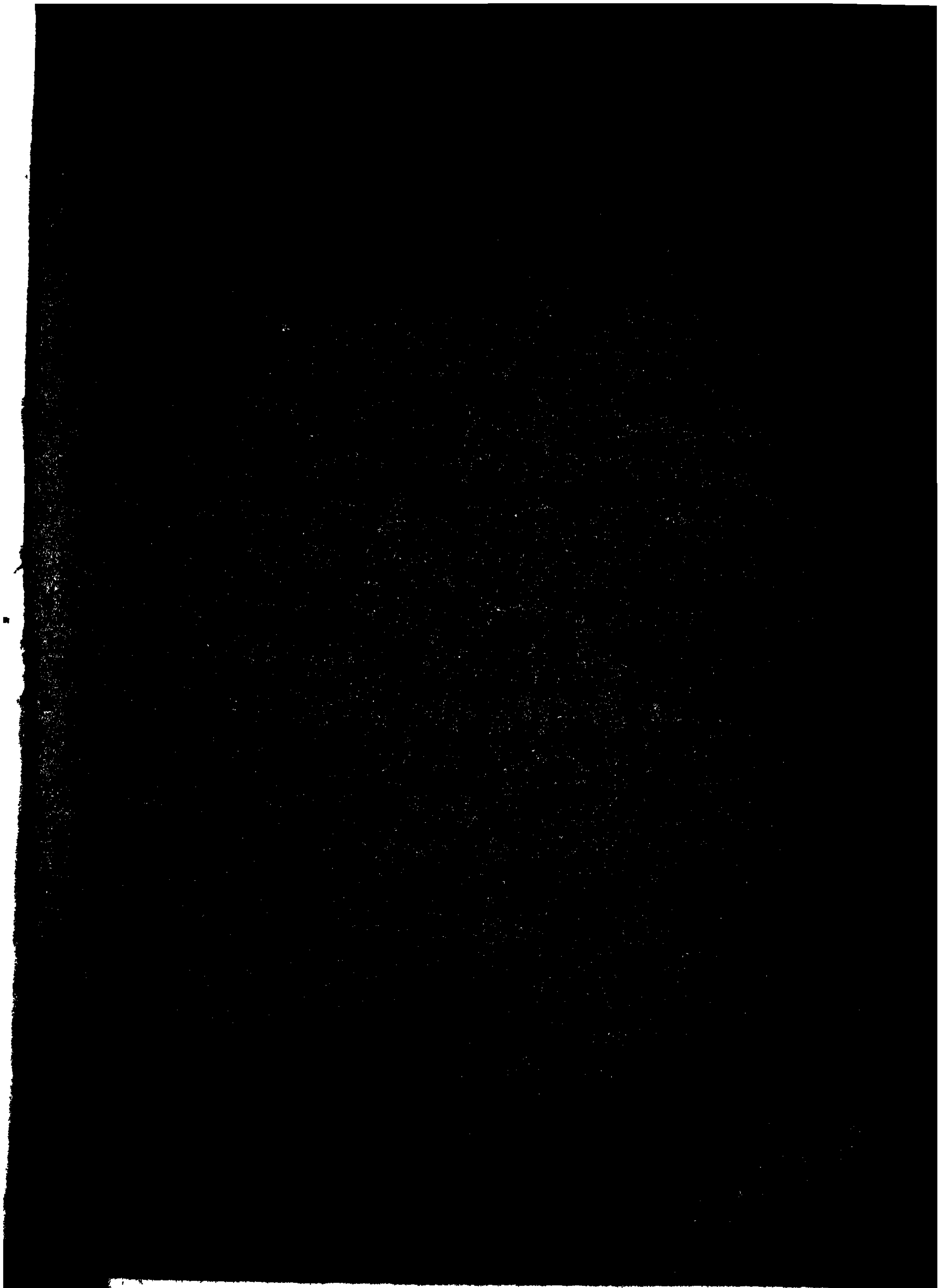
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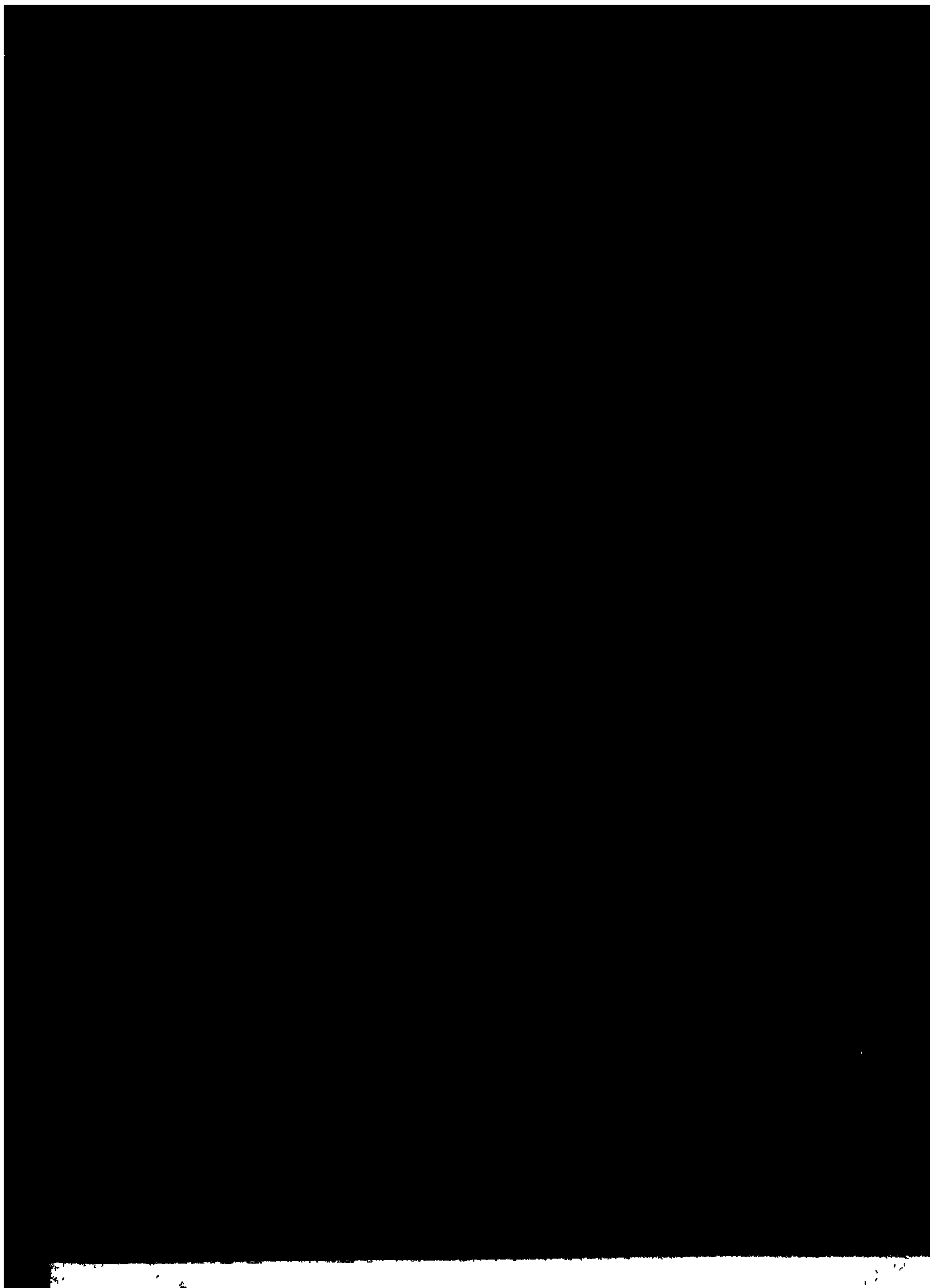
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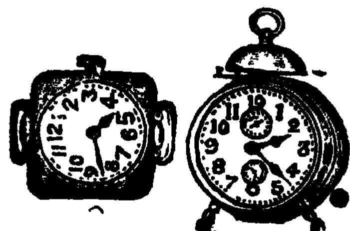
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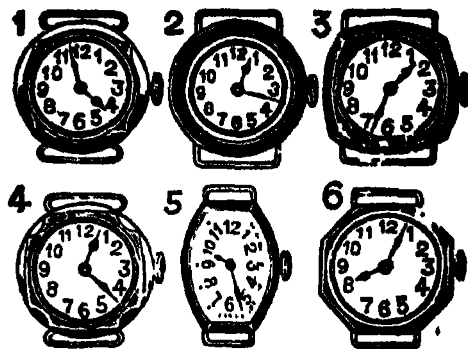
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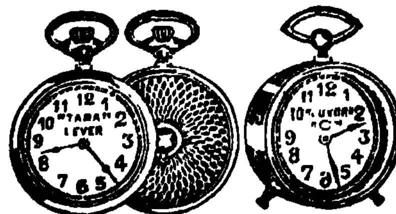
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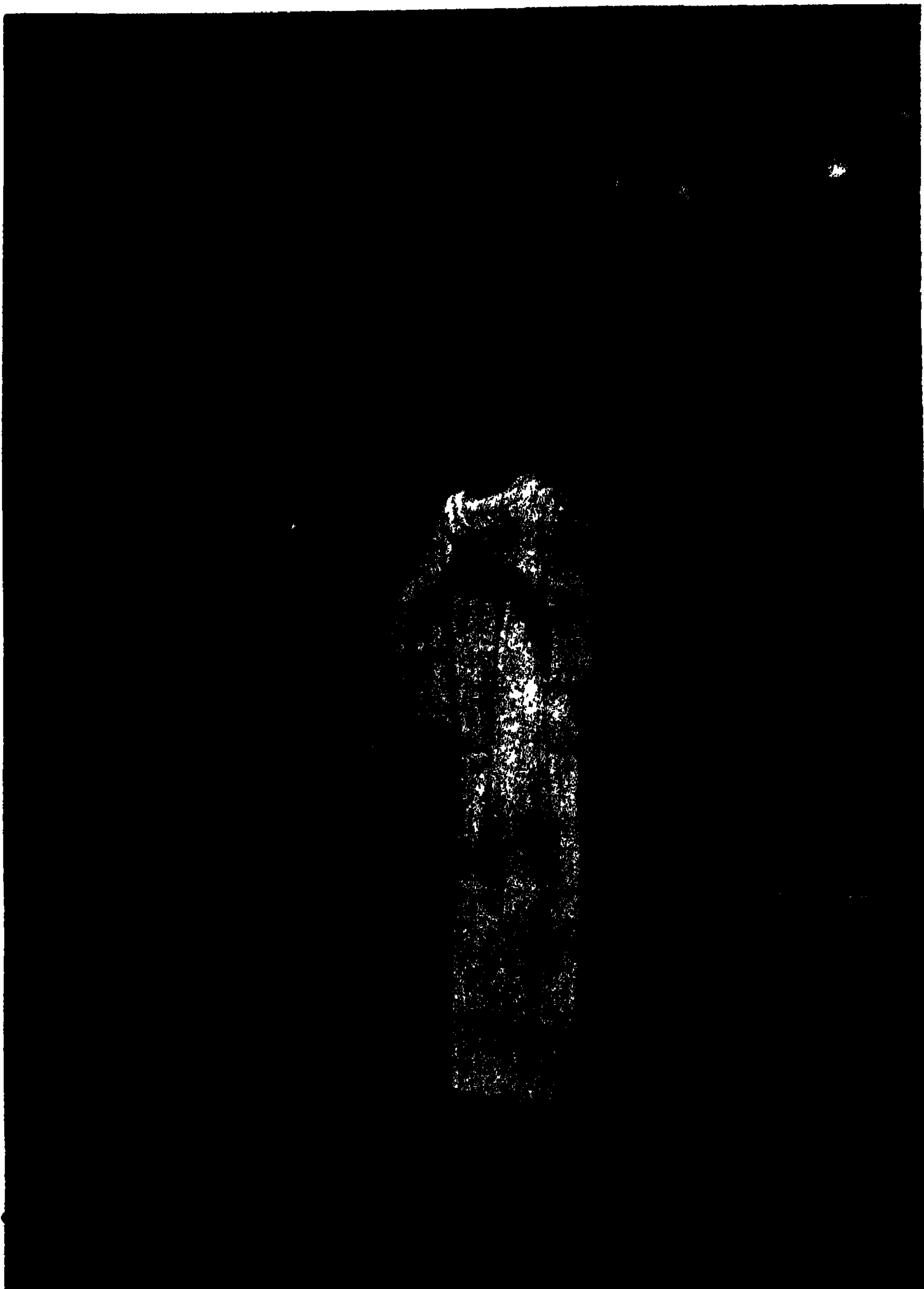
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By Manindrabhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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WAR AND PEACE

A Conversation

(Rev.) WENDELL M. THOMAS, Jr., (B.S., M.A., S. T. M.)

Time: Any time since the latest war.
Place: Any place in the U. S. A.

Conservative You fellows seem to think [illegible] favor war. Far from it. War is hell. [Be]lieve me, I've seen enough of it to know [th]at! But the way to stop war is to prepare [aga]inst it by building up an adequate defence.

Radical. But man, weren't the big [po]wers all armed to the teeth when the [W]orld War broke out?

Con. No. Germany alone was prepared. [He]r first easy victories make that perfectly [pla]in. If the Allies had been prepared, Ger[m]any wouldn't have dared to stir.

Philosopher. What do we mean by ["p]reparedness?" It seems silly to say that [Br]itain with her invincible navy and France [w]ith her magnificent army were not prepared. [Bu]t indeed they were not as prepared as [Ge]rmany. Preparedness, you see, is wholly [rel]ative. No matter how all the peoples of the earth sweat blood to increase the [eff]iciency of their war machines, one parti[cu]lar nation or group, according to the law [of] distribution, is bound to be the best pre[pa]red. This one, like Germany, will be [cal]led "prepared" all the rest, like the Allies [rela]tively unfit to fight, will be called "un[pre]pared." As long as militarism lasts, then, [all n]ations or groups but one must be in[evita]bly unprepared; hence, according to [yo]ur own theory, the world will always be [illegible] war.

[illegible] You can't meddle with [illegible] the world ablaze. [illegible] war, prepare for peace, [illegible] world [illegible] people prepare *for*, when they want to prep[are] *against*. The way to stop war is for eve[ry]one to refuse to fight under any circumstanc[es].

Con. Oh, you're talking about Heav[en]. I'am talking about this old earth. As lo[ng] as human nature remains what it is, natio[ns] will go to war. It s a necessary evil. O[ur] business is simply to keep so strong that [no] nation will want to go to war with *us*.

Liberal. You're assuming that hum[an] nature is something fixed, and fixed pre[tty] bad, at that. As a matter of fact, hum[an] nature is a bundle of possibilities. Wit[hin] limits, society can call forth what it will. Y[ou] and a savage headhunter are both human; [but] social environment has made the big differen[ce]. By deliberately cultivating peaceful soc[ial] attitudes, society may give peaceful inste[ad] of warlike expression to our natural impuls[es]. But it's a big educational task. I don't ag[ree] with our radical friend that war can [be] abolished by conscientious objectors.

Rad. Don't misunderstand me! Not o[nly] must the individual disarm his heart [and] his mind by refusing to fight, but society [also] must disarm by getting rid of its [illegible] competition in economic imperialism ba[sed] on selfish capitalistic exploitation.

Lib. May be so. But mere wholes[ale] condemnation won't build up a solid pe[ace]. Stopping war is a job, that's all. And we['ve] all got to tackle it. It will take time, mo[ney], effort, organization. We must utilize [the] League, the World Court, the Churches [illegible] unifying agency we can lay our hands [on]. work for a revision of history text[books], responsible press, cooperation in [illegible]

amelioration of race contacts, the liberation of art, a substitute for war, the economic boycott of international outlaws, and all the rest.

RAD. That's all very well. But while you are slowly building up your peace machine, another war will come and smash it to bits, and civilization likewise! You can't sail north by south! There is little use in working for peace with one hand, while you hold on to war with the other.

LIB. Who's holding on to war?

RAD. You are! If war should come now would you fight or not?

CON. I don't know about our liberal friend, but I can tell you what I'd do. If the old flag were fired on, I'd be the first to enlist!

RAD. Wow, listen to the eagle scream! "My country, right or wrong!"

CON. Don't try to be funny. Some people still love their country, and I'm one. You, no doubt, are all-wise, and know when the country is right or wrong. I don't. But I do know what's right for me, and that's my patriotic duty. And when the enemy appears I'm willing to do my bit for God and Country.

PHIL. If patriotism is the supreme motive why "lug in" God?

CON. You border on blasphemy! What do you mean?

PHIL. Please excuse my "shop talk." I mean, are God and country the same?

CON. What a question! Of course not. God is a Spirit. The country is land, people, government, business,—you know what the country is.

PHIL. I mean while obeying the government, is it possible to disobey God?

CON. It's possible, I suppose, but in our country we don't have to worry about that. The flag and the cross are intertwined. God has always been on our side.

LIB. So we fondly believe! The trouble is every nation cries, "God is on our side!" In truth, however, God is supreme above all nations and any action that is really right must express the will of the universal loving God, not the mandate of some particular competitive government.

RAD. Sounds good. But again I ask you if war should come now, would you fight or not?

LIB. Well, I frankly place loyalty to religious conviction above loyalty to country. I earnestly hope that the time may never come when we shall have to use force against any other nation. But I believe we must still by a policy of moderate preparedness hold ourselves in readiness to take up arms, if despite our best endeavors to avoid it, this is nevertheless necessary. Yes, some special occasion may possibly arise when I would feel it my Christian duty to fight.

RAD. Ha! Just as I said! Holding on to war with one hand. "Best of both worlds," eh? A radical in talk, a conservative in action. Christian duty! What did Christ say? "Turn the other cheek, love thy enemies."

CON. Don't be a literalist. I am a great admirer of Jesus, but these commands are to be taken as ideals, not as strict rules for real life. If we tried to follow them now, people would take it as a joke,—think we were fools.

LIB. The teaching of Jesus is neither rigid rule, nor yet mere impractical ideal, but penetrating insight into good living, prophetic intuition of God's will for men, a neat grasp of a whole practical system of action. "Turn the other cheek," for instance, is the poet's vivid way of saying, "in all aspects of life, overcome evil with good, even tho it involves sacrifice."

RAD. Thank you for expressing so finely my own deepest sentiments. When our conservative friend called me a literalist he uttered a vile slander. "The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." No one authority do I blindly follow, but freely seek truth from all of God's prophets, sages and seers. As a matter of fact, they all agree that evil can be overcome only by good. But how can you express the same sentiment, and still hold on to war?

LIB. Now who's slandering? Don't keep telling me I "hold on to war!" I simply recognize that on occasion, the organized force of a nation truly in the right may be an instrument in the hand of the universal God of love, an instrument for overcoming evil with good.

RAD. But man, how can force be an instrument for good, when it is, by its very nature, evil? God is love. Force is the opposite of love. Love is the free expression of personality. Force is the cramping suppression of personality. As long as force is used, love has no chance.

CON. Do you mean to tell me that it is wrong for a policeman to beat up a thug?

RAD. Yes. I admit the way of love will involve agonizing sacrifices at first, but when it finally wins out we'll have a new and better world.

PHIL. Imagine a family in a canoe in the middle of a lake. One of the boys starts rocking the canoe He refuses to heed words of warning. Is the father wrong in forcing him to stop ?

RAD. No. Of course not. Here force is simply love in action, seeking the common good.

PHIL. Then why is'nt the force used by the policeman simply society's love in action, seeking the common good ?

RAD. Well,—I guess you're right. I'll grant that when all other methods have failed, force may be used in love as the servant of the common good.

PHIL. But, as long as force serves the common good, isn't it in that special capacity *always* justified ? What is all progress in industry, science, and government by the mechanism of force used by humane intelligence, or love, in the service of the common good ? Force is not essentially destructive, not the opposite of love. True, its most spectacular human manifestations have been destructive wars. And reacting in disgust from such a display, you have naturally condemned force wholesale But force itself is simply an instrument, a means to an end If the end is wholesome and harmonious, its force is good ; if the end is selfish and disruptive, its force is evil

CON. It's easy enough to talk about the common good and harmonious ends when only a family or a city is concerned But in the complicated life of nations, who knows what is the common good ? All we can do is to play fair, and fight only when attacked

LIB. But, precisely because the life of nations *is* so complicated, it is silly to say "play fair, and fight only when attacked," as tho a nation were a street urchin. To be sure, nations no less than persons should be held morally responsible for their acts. But we must recognize that for most purposes it is viciously misleading to treat a nation as a person. It is not a separate body, but a complex section of a complex civilization. Its government is not the sole controlling force, but merely one of a vast number of interacting forces, commercial, industrial, educational, and all the rest. Moreover, in modern warfare, an effective defence involves attack.

RAD. Will you yourself then kindly give us an instance of when it is right to fight ?

LIB. A nation may justly fight to uphold the mandates of the League, or the rulings of the World Court.

RAD. I'm not talking about the future. In time, the League may become democratic and potent, and the World Court more than an ideal. What to do now ?

LIB. Just as a policemen may fight to uphold the law of the land, so also the armed force of any nation may fight to uphold international law

RAD. International law ! Mostly a farce ! But even suppose it be taken seriously,—it won't cover every situation. What then ?

LIB In that case well, frankly, I don't know

PHIL. Well, let's see. We have all agreed, I believe, that force is good only as a means to harmony and peace. The only question is when does force lead to war, and when does it lead to peace ? Most of us would agree that a *police* force leads to peace.

LIB. Yes.

CON Of course

RAD. Provided the police force is unarmed.

CON An unarmed police force ? What nonsense !

RAD My dear fellow, are you ignorant of the fact that the splendid London police carry no guns ?

CON What do they carry ?

RAD No weapons at all. Oh, I guess they do carry clubs

CON Aha !

PHIL Well, perhaps we could all agree that a police force using a studied minimum of violence is a sure means to peace.

RAD. Proceed

PHIL. Our aim, then, is to establish an international police force.

RAD. Not so fast ! A civil police force, I admit, makes for peace,—at least roughly. But a world force of conscripted humanity with its airplanes, gas bombs and battleships under the control of a League of Powers would prove a monstrous and tempting weapon. No ! If all the governments and peoples spent a tenth as much time, effort and money on promoting peace as they do preparing for war, we shouldn't need an international police force.

PHIL. Shouldn't we ? Why not ? A police force is essentially not a source of violent compulsion, but *an organization of intelligence for peaceful regulation.* You yourself just now declared that the London police were unarmed. I agree that we should leave no field unexplored in seeking to promote peace. But an international force is not

so much a substitute for a peace drive as its practical result. I admit it may be poorly organized and unnecessarily violent at first but it will be far superior to the present method of settling disputes.

RAD. Perhaps. But at present we have no such force.

PHIL. True. If we are to find a guide for the *present* we must go deeper. On what does police force rest?

LIB. Law.

CON. You mean law rests on police force!

PHIL. You're both right. Law and police force support one another But both rest on the life of the actual community, on the "common good." Not clubs or statute books, but *satisfaction in the community and dread of social ostracism* is the basic peacemaker that controls the actions of particular individuals or groups Accordingly, if force is to be used in the service of peace, it must be based on *a community of interest*. War is essentially wrong not because it employs force or causes suffering, but because it is a ridiculously ineffective instrument It doesn't accomplish its purpose. In claiming to be a method of settling disputes, of *settling* them, mind you, it claims to be an instrument for peace. Its actual effect, however, is to hold off peace Dividing society into separate groups, it destroys the community, and thus deprives itself of the basis for peaceful settlemnent or reconciliation. The end of war is not a settlement but an agitated exhaustion On the other hand, *any force that ends in reconciliation is good*.

RAD. But how can we be sure that the force we use will indeed end in reconciliation? Force is a terrible and dangerous instrument, and its actual results may be far different from our peaceful aim "The end does not justify the means."

PHIL. Exactly Our means are justified not by well meaning ideal ends, aims, or "good intentions," but by their *actual ends, results or social consequences* spreading on and on in all directions.

CON. But we can never know these results beforehand. We can only do our duty. What else is there to guide us?

PHIL. In dealing with nature, we can, to a large extent, foretell results. This achievement is the fruit of science. In dealing with society, it is, of course, neither possible nor desirable to foretell exactly every minute event. But it is indeed possible and supremely desirable to foretell the main trends of crucial choices; and this I grant we are unable to do with sufficient accuracy to insure successful living. This failure is due to the lack of social science, with its store of facts and precise methods. Yet even now, we can, to some extent, foretell trends We are not wholly without a guide. And our duty is not to follow blindly a traditional system of passion and prejudice, but to use that guide

CON. What guide?

PHIL. The little social science that we do possess; our present grasp of the law of cause and effect in human activity. We know at least that a social event does not drop down from the sky, but is the inevitable end or consequence of the materials, aims and means employed.

LIB The material, of course, is human nature

PHIL. Yes And our aims and means must be such as to call forth from this human nature peaceful results. First, as to *aims* Since real peace, as we have seen, is based solely on community of interest, *our deliberate aim in any particular situation must be the common good.* If it be "to uphold national honour," "to defend our boundaries," "to protect our citizens" resident in a foreign land, "to safeguard our economic interests," "to punish an arrogant government," "to enforce international law," "to make the world safe for democracy," or any aim whatever short of the common good, we may feel perfectly sure that the actual ends or consequences of the force we use will be a crop of moral diseases, instead of the healing adjustment of peace Of course, we must use subordinate aims, but we must know from experience that they are consistent with the common good

LIB But how can we discover the common good?

PHIL. It is not a thing or an idea that someone can discover, not some distant goal that we can see and work for, but *the harmonious present living of everybody concerned*, a general working satisfaction roughly expressed in a favourable "public opinion." Mark well, the common good is *present* living and it requires the cooperation and sympathy of everybody.

CON. You speak of "general satisfaction." Now, if the U. S. troops should force a big

band of Mexican brigands to stop their plundering or if the Powers should force the Turks to stop the periodic habit of massacring the Armenians, I should strongly approve. But it is rather humorous to say that this use of force would "satisfy" the Mexicans or the Turks.

PHIL. It wouldn't. Only if such brute force were fulfilled by a humane education that would transform the offenders into orderly and sociable members of the civilized community, and thus *satisfy the problem in general*, they would themselves be satisfied.

RAD. Then why use brute force at all? Why not use this socializing education in the first place?

PHIL. Good. This brings us to the question of *means*. Indeed, we should use education from first to last. Since an end is not some distant goal, but the continuous, growing and inseparable consequence of the means employed, it is ridiculous to expect a humane end to result from brutish means. *Co-operative education, or in other words, a liberal and practical religion, is the great humanizer and peacemaker. Brute force is of service only as a bodyguard to protect the work of friendly education from the degraded assaults of those impervious to its immediate influence.*

CON. But suppose Japan should grab the Philippines, or swoop down on the west coast of the U. S. A. Wouldn't the latter be justified in offering armed resistance?

PHIL. No. The Japanese are neither a primitive tribe nor a band of outlaws. Such an action would be the result of an accummulation of mutual misunderstanding. The proper course would be not to intensify the ill feeling by bitter resistance, but to eliminate it by scientifically overcoming the difficulties that caused it.

RAD. Yes. The Japanese forces might seize a few public buildings, but unless the U. S. resisted, there would be no bloodshed. Besides, upon feeling the whole world's disapproval of her arbitrary and unavenged aggression, Japan would withdraw if for no other reason than to avoid a general suspicion and boycott.

CON. Before we finish our discussion, let me say that I still believe in preparedness. For safety's sake we should keep an army and navy. But I see now how they might be turned chiefly to peaceful uses, employing force only for protection.

LIB. Yes. But our main job is to work for international understanding and co-operation. If the forces of each nation were gradually merged in an international police force, this organization could progressively dispense with weapons as it progressively took up such work as public order, relief, reclamation, sanitation, and elementary mass education.

RAD. The tap root of war is large-scale economic exploitation for profit. Heroic appeals to defend the country are mere camouflage. We must smash organized industrial selfishness. In the meantime we should openly continue to encourage the attitude of non-participation in war under any circumstances. *War is always wrong* —not because force is wrong; I see that fallacy now—but because *in war force cannot possibly be used in the service of the common good*. This is the ideal to strengthen and guide us in our work of remaking the actual world.

AMERICA JOINS THE WORLD COURT

BY SUDHINDRA BOSE, PH.D.

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa

THE United States Senate has recently voted to put America into the international court system. The Senate has stipulated that all the forty-eight members of the League of Nations must indicate that they accept the conditions of the American joining. And if they do, America will be an adherent of the Geneva tribunal on America's own terms.

It is to be noted, however, that the Senate resolution which offers to join specifically

provides that America may withdraw. In fact a lusty campaign has already been started on the World Court with a view to prepare public opinion for a withdrawal. Although it is too early yet to say with any certainty if the Senate will rescind its action, it is apparent that the popular opposition against the World Court is growing. And it is within the bounds of possibility that if there are enough no-courters in the next Congress it will reverse and nullify its action on the Court. The pro-court forces, it is calculated will then return to the obscurity from which they came and return to stay Who knows?

The last votes for the World Court in the Senate do not seem to represent the conviction of the American citizens Twice they have rejected the League of Nations and everything connected with it In the election of 1920 and again in the election of 1924, they gloriously buried the Leage of Nations and everything related to it under a crushing avalanche of ballots. The fantastic international program of Dr Woodrow Wilson, who was intoxicated by the servile adulation of Europe, was twice repudiated by the American people.

The Senate has now set aside this solemn referendum, pushed the United States into the World Court and along the road of the Leage of Nations Some of the Senators suspected that there had been improper use of money to influence Congress. A millionaire publicist was alleged to have "founded and supported with his cash 281 organizations to din in the congressional and administrative ears." The promotion of the World Court thus furnished with secret funds, has been declared to be "one of the most thoroughgoing befuddlings of sanity that the country has ever seen." In listening to the promiscuous speeches of some of the professional advocates of the World Court prophesying millenium, I could not help feeling that they were carrying on a propaganda of lies. But lies did not make me marvel. I know politicians male and female, English and American What fetched me was not all the gaudy lies, but the apparent ease with which a few alien-minded politicians forced the United States Senate to repudiate its lifelong policies and traditions, and drag the country into the League Court.



They are gifted fellows, these pro-courters They fail to see, or else decide to ignore patent facts. A sober inquiry into the origin and nature of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which enjoys the ingratiating name of the World Court, will uncover that it is not really what it purports to be One would infer from its alluring name that it is nothing but an altruistic, idealistic, broad-visioned institution whose sole purpose is to deliver from its serene height, impartial, pacific judgments upon all mankind. Is that so? But that is also claimed, or used to be, on behalf of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. In what respect is the new court better than the old one at the Hague?

The *Christian Century* of Chicago has repeatedly asked.

"What dispute of ours is there, actual or potential, which we would not wish to take to the old Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague but which we would be willing to take to the new permanent Court of International justice at the Hague?"

There has been no honest answer to the

uestion. Why ? Here are a few facts which will bear thinking about.



Burrs under the Saddle

COURT TO AID SPOILS

The convention of the Hague in 1899 established a Court of Arbitration, of which America was a member The second Hague convention (1907) established the permanent Court of Arbitration, of which this country was and is still a member. Then came the little European unpleasantness of 1914 Following the Armistice, Woodrow Wilson took to Paris a plan for a League of Nations That plan had no reference to a League Court. The English government insisted that the League have a Court, and one was provided. Article 14 of the Covenant of the League says in part.

"The Council of the League shall formulate plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International justice."

The United States Senate rejected in 1920 membership in the League and the Court to be created by it. The Senate verdict was fully confirmed by the people in two presidential elections. The League issue was completely snowed under. Instead of ratifying any portion of the iniquitous treaty of Versailles, a separate peace was concluded with the nations with which America was at war.

The great mass of the American people has no faith in the League of Nations, the protector of the booty gained in the late war for democracy. The League, from the American viewpoint, is an effort on the part of a few imperialistic countries to maintain a strangle-hold upon the rest of the world. And the so-called World Court is a creature, a direct agent, of the League.

"According to the theory of International Law."

Said Senator Shipstead

"Property belongs to whatever nation can take it

This is the law of the wolf-pack As a result of the last war, certain nations obtained a vast amount of loot, acquired under the terms of treaties signed at the point of the bayonet by conquered nations A part of the business of the world court will be to hold that, property thus acquired was legally acquired But such a decision cannot be based upon justice. Therefore, the court is misnamed when it is called a court of 'international justice' The law of conquest is a part of international law. This is the law this court is to sanctify with its benign decisions by deciding that to the scheming, swift and cunning belongs everything they have the power to take A court based upon such a law cannot be either a court of justice or a tribunal for peace"



They're hoping it will end in Marriage

The World Court is not an independent free judicial organization. Its main jurisdiction is absolutely controlled by the League of Nations: it is under the dominion and political control of the League. The League

selects the judges, it pays the judges, it fixes the salaries of the judges, and it awards the pensions of the judges. They are elected for nine years and are eligible for re-election. The League may call upon this Court at any time for advise upon any question or dispute which the Council of the League sees fit to submit to it. That makes the Court the consulting legal adviser of the League, which only the League controls

The Court is a subsidiary of the League. Note that every judge in the Court can be removed at the end of nine years by electing some one else. Note also that the Court can be recast, if its decisions fail to meet the approval of the League. And the *Official Journal* of the League declares that the Court is "a most essential part of the organization of the League of Nations" Under the circumstances it will be to the interest of the judges, if they are human enough to desire their nine fat-salaried jobs, not to run counter to the wishes of the League—their master. The alleged World Court is, first and last, only the League's court The Court is the League, and the League is the Court The two are one. Can such an outfit be called a benign independent tribunal of international justice?



How the World would be run by Mussolini

The Permanent Court of International Justice has eleven judges and four deputy judges sitting at the Hague. It is a court with no law to govern it, except that made by itself. Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate, Foreign Relations Committee, remarked



Fireworks in the Pipe of Peace

"It is a court without any body of law, and a court to which no nation can take a wrong-doing nation without the wrong doing nation's consent Suppose some powerful nation sees fit to violate right as against a small nation—to take its territory, for example—the small nation cannot appeal without the consent of the wrong-doer"

In other words, the League Court is a lawless court playing a game that has no rules.

The old permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague is an international court. It has a permanent panel of one hundred and thirty international jurists. The United States, like any other sovereign nation, can submit a question to this court for decision From the large panel of judges, America may select two, its antagonist select two, and the four together choose the fifth to make up the Court. In this way the impartiality of the court is safeguarded: the majority of the court is neutral to the dispute.

The Hague Arbitration Court, unlike the World Court, does not decide a case upon whatever principles happen to strike the judges' momentary fancy. The Arbitration Court tries to settle a dispute according to well established principles of International

Law. The judges of this court have to their credit fourteen successful settlement of cases between 1902 and 1912. Why is not the Hague Arbitration Court enough? The main purpose of the League leaders, the loudest



Wonder if the Judge is Biased?

champions of the World Court, is not too subtle to discover they have it in the back of their heads that the adherence of America to the Court would bring this country closer to the door of the League The Courters are the Leaguists Their great expectation is that once in the Court, America will be pushed into the League foot by foot, inch by inch. The Court is but the back door to the League. That is what the Courters have in their hope chest.

Court A War-trap

The hyper-sentimentalists claim that the sole object of the World Court is to prevent war, and to advance peace. They say that the Court, the international Holy of Holies, will make "the hand of justice stay the sword of the mighty". This is a lovely lyric A realistic study of the covenant of the League of Nations leaves, however, little room for doubt that it has given to the world not a court of justice, but a court of arms. The fact is that the World Court, the child of the League of Injustice, legalizes war and deliberately contemplates the creating of war in given contingencies. In discussing the specific features of the League, which carries the implication of war and not of peace, Senator Knox once remarked: "In this alleged instrument of peace, war is legalized in seven cases and made compulsory in three"

Let us take a closer look at the pacific architecture of the altrustic organization at Geneva To carry out the provisions of the Versailles treaty, the League of Nations has a carefully planned program for making wars. Paragraph 1, Article 12, of the covenant of the League of Nations reads·

"The members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case *to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.*" (Italics mine).

The war is here legalized with the only reservation that there should be no act of hostility until three months after the decision of the Court, or report of the Council.

Paragraph 1, Article 13, of the covenant of the League of Nations states



They've decided on the Oarsman, but there seems to be some question about who is going to steer

"The members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily

settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration."

Article 16 of the covenant of the League provides :

"Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, 13, or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League.

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what *effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League*" (Italics mine)

Here we have sanctions for war over disputes among the member nations of the League. This is not all. War is also provided for non-member nations who refuse to use the machinery of the League and bow to its will. Article 17 of the covenant declares :

"In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted the provisions of Articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

"If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the state taking such action."

This is to say, the big powers, who are the big bosses of this idealistic society, may high hat the little ones And the little ones must not squeal.

The World Court is the tool of the League of Nations, and

"The League of Nations is the enforcer of the Court's decision and of its own decisions by force of starvation, by force of blood, by sanctions, by might of an attempted universl Tower of Babel concealing but aiding and abetting the rise of a new and greater force-ridden, force-bearing Europe."

Such is the contribution of the Court and the League to the peace of our planet. The charm of high politics is indeed the charm of fraud.

WHY HOBBLE MILLENNIUM ?

The United States Senate, in voting for the World Court, was not wholly unmindful of the lurking dangers inherent in the Geneva international system. It carefully provided for several reservations, which stipulated among others that America does not in any way adhere to the League of Nations, that it is not bound by advisory opinions of the Court if it has not asked for them, that it denies the jurisdiction of the Court over many cases, especially those related to the Munroe Doctrine, and that it has the right to withdraw at any time it pleases

To millions of Americans these reservations seem quite sensible ; but they are also quick enough to perceive that the reservations display half-heartedness, suspicion, and distrust. "If this court is all that is claimed for it, why reservations ?" asked Honorable James Reed, "Why don't we go into the Court entirely without reservations ? Why put hobbles on the millennium ? Why must we crawl half way through the transom of this sanctuary of virtue and happiness ? No, we don't want to be sanctified." Americans have seen enough specimens of European idealism in the past seven years to be "overly" enthusiastic about them.

The League of Nations, viewed from this side of the Atlantic, is only a holdback and a check to true ideals of justice and peace. Think what it has done for Morocco, Egypt. Syria, and Mosul. Consider how the Indian opium problem has been handled. Look also at China

"Every nation which is engaged in transgressing upon the rights of China, every nation which is engaged, in exploiting the natural resources of China, every nation which is engaged in exploiting human life in China, is a member of the World Court"

China is not allowed to hail any one of *the transgressors before the Court and get* the decision of the Court upon any question with reference to its rights The League of Nations is a League of Nuisances and the International Court of Justice—alias World Court—is a sham on peace.

The "high moral purpose" of the League and the Court is to legalize international banditry and to maintain white supremacy. The big imperialists have made the League to stand guard over the swag. Theirs is the program to advance white aggression, and to keep down the struggling black and brown and yellow races. Why should a nation with a soul to save join such a League of Injustice ?

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SOME PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC REORGANISATION

By NARESH CHANDRA SENGUPTA M.A., D.L.

THE appointment of a Royal Commission for investigation of agricultural problems in India would have roused greater interest in Bengal if the terms of reference to the Commission were wider and embraced an exhaustive enquiry into all economic problems connected with agriculture. An honest student of problems of agricultural improvement in Bengal must admit that the fundamental fact of the agricultural condition of Bengal is its land system. So long as the present land system continues, all talk of any massive improvement in agriculture must be utterly futile Yet this is a problem which is outside the proper scope of the Royal Commission.

I shall try to examine some of the outstanding agricultural problems in Bengal at the present day and show how the whole thing hinges on the land system

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

There can be no doubt that improvement of agriculture can only be achieved by a well-organised system of agricultural research. The phenomenal advance in agriculture in America has been very largely the result of such research

Our Universities have totally neglected this department of study, but for years past the Department of Agriculture in Bengal has turned its attention to research work of a fairly high order. With the exception of the introduction of one or two improved varieties of seeds, however, all this research has led to no results. It would be worth while to enquire into the reasons why.

First of all, the researches of the Agricultural Department have turned out to be more or less of an academic character and entirely out of touch with the actual everyday problems of agriculture in Bengal. In America the farmer comes to the scientist in the Agricultural Department or the laboratory with his problems and the scientist sets to work on the practical problem so presented The Bengal Department is seldom favoured with such enquiries. Its experts find out problems for themselves and it is not surprising that they sometimes evolve solutions which have no earthly use for the agriculturist in Bengal. I can cite an instance. Mr. Finlow, then fibre expert in Bengal, set to himself a problem of evolving a better process of jute extraction After years of effort he evolved elaborate machinery for which the agriculturist had no use, and which no mill-owner cared for. The problem did not touch the felt needs of the country and the solution therefore proved barren of results. The experiments with water-hyacinth for the production of phosphate manures also led to a similar debacle.

I do not say that this is typical of agricultural research in Bengal. But a great many researches have been carried on which are of this character, and the reason for all this waste of resources is the total want of rapport between the Department and the agriculturist.

With the peasantry in their present condition such rapport must ever be out of question The poor down-trodden ignorant agriculturist is not likely to approach the Department with his problems. He hardly knows how to formulate them. He is so much taken up with finding means to make both ends meet to worry about much thinking about abstruse questions as to the causes of his troubles.

One of the first requisites of success of a scientific agricultural department is a body of responsive husbandmen who would be not only intelligent and literate, but also fairly well-off. Such a class does not exist and is not likely to come into existence in the near future under existing conditions

So much for this aspect. But all research and knowledge of the Department is not equally academic. They know some practical problems and have something to tell cultivators about how to plough lands to better purpose or use superior manures or follow other improved methods. But the agriculturists do not show much signs of profiting by this knowledge. It is not because they are hide-bound by prejudice and are slow to

adopt proved improvements. On the contrary they are eager to adopt them. But the Department can teach little to the agriculturist which he can turn to use with his small fragmentary holdings and a smaller working capital. The Department can tell them a lot of excellent things which would be of great benefit to them if they had much larger holdings and a great deal more of capital. In the absence of that, there is nothing that the Department can tell them which would be of the slightest use to them. I have it on the authority of one of the most capable heads of the Department in the past that, given the present small holdings and the negation of working capital, the Bengal agriculturist knows all that the Department could tell them about agriculture under these conditions, perhaps a great deal more.

The landowner as a connecting link

One might suppose that the landowners whose properties comprise fairly big tracts of land could form a connecting link between the Department and the peasant. He might be expected to get some practical knowledge of agricultural problems and formulate them to the Department and carry the information about improvements to the agriculturist But such land-owners have to be sought not only with a lantern, but a microscope to boot, and where they exist, they are very largely powerless.

The reason is not far to seek The owners of land recognised by law as proprietors are the zemindars and talukdars whose interests have in many cases filtered down to middlemen of various grades They have little interest in and less knowledge of agriculture and it is not for sheer perversity that the zemindar is so ignorant. Even if he wanted to do much he could do little, for he is not really the owner of the land of which he is the proprietor. He cannot touch it so long as it is held by a raiyat The raiyat has the exclusive right of possesion and cultivation and so long as things go smoothly the zemindar or middleman has no right to anything but the rent, which again depends very little upon the outturn. It is not surprising therefore that these rent-receivers, miscalled proprietors, specialise not in knowledge of agriculture, but in a proficiency in the thousand devises by which the rent could be eked out by all sorts of collateral demands on tenants in the shape of *nazars*, *abwabs*, &c And any one who knows the tenure-holder and the proprietor in Bengal knows how great adepts they are in that art.

The result is that the elements of ownership of land in Bengal are divided in the most uneconomic way between the actual cultivator and the rent-receiving middlemen. The raiyat has not the means to improve, the rent-receiver has no inducement. The latter finds it more profitable to study the intricacies of the tenancy laws relating to the enhancement of rent and to be on the look-out to increase his receipts. He has capital, but it is not worth his while to invest it on improvements. And, to be just to him, he has not always the liberty to invest it on improvement of agriculture if he wanted to, unless the raiyats all agreed to to his doing so.

Divided ownership

This divided ownership of land is one of the causes which lie at the root of the agricultural backwardness of Bengal

The Permanent Settlement of 1793 recognised the zemindars and independent talukdars as the actual proprietors of land This in itself did not mean the abrogation of the existing customary rights of the raiyats of the village in their holdings But a great cloud was thrown on their title in the absence of any legal security against invasion of their rights. And the evil assumed such proportions that in 1859 an act was passed giving a small recognition to the rights of settled raiyats. The development of this process led to the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. The principle of these enactments was to secure the actual cultivators of land against unlimited exactions of zemindars and to give them reasonable security of tenure. This result has been largely, but not wholly secured by this piece of legislation

One, probably unexpected, result of this piece of legislation was to give the security of tenure, not to the actual cultivator but to persons, who can only be styled middlemen. Raiyat's holdings passed into the hands of persons who did not mean to cultivate and were not capable of cultivating them. The profits of cultivation were growing first most notably as a result of the introduction of jute. An inevitable result of this was that the raiyat might make some substantial profit by subletting his holding instead of cultivating it himself. Under-raiyats who held a subtenancy

under the raiyat came into existence and grew in number. Another institution which has come to be more largely favoured is the burgadar or the bhag-chashi, who cultivates the land on condition of giving a share of produce to the raiyat whose holding he cultivates

In this way a large quantity of land is now being cultivated by men who have no right to the raiyati The tenure on which these actual cultivators hold the land is of a more or less precarious character The under-raiyat, in the absence of a custom, which is difficult of proof, has nothing like a permanent interest in land. The burgadar or bhag-chasi has still less The result of a series of decisions of the Calcutta High Court is that a burgadar may or may not be a tenant If he is a tenant, he is an under-raiyat, except when he holds under a proprietor If he is not a tenant, he is merely a servant, remunerated by a share of the produce. In this case, he is less than a tenant at will. So that in these cases, the protection which the Bengal Tenancy Act sought to give to the actual cultivator, is now being enjoyed by virtual middlemen, while actual cultivators continue in a most precarious state

The effect of the tenancy laws was to create a dual ownership in land Some elements of ownership belonged to the Zemindar and talukdar, but others belonged, permanently and independently of the zemindar, to the raiyat Then again, while the raiyat's rights were divided between the raiyats and under-raiyats and burgadars, the proprietor's interest was similarly subdivided between the proprietors and tenure-holders of various grades.

Since the Permanent Settlement, the rights of the rent-receiver had considerably increased in value When the Decennial Settlement was made, the share of the zemindar was roughly fixed at 10 per cent of the rental. At present those receipts amount to a great deal more. Taking the lands of Bengal as a whole the rental per acre is about Rs 3, while the Government revenue paid per acre is only 10 annas or about 20 per cent of the rental. The proportion of the rental now retained by the zemindar and the middlemen is therefore more than 80 per cent. In fact, it is even more. For out of the total land on the basis of which this average is worked out, a large quantity is Government land on which the Government collects a much higher percentage of revenue. Roughly speaking, therefore, the zemindars and middlemen are now retaining about 90 per cent of the rental.

What would be natural under these circumstances followed. The zemindar found that the surplus of his income was large enough to enable him to sublet his rights to other persons. Thus subordinate taluks were created, most of them at a permanent rental. These again, when they became more profitable, were again sublet and so on till in some districts there are as many as a dozen intermediate interests between the zemindar and the actual cultivator.

Results Of The Present System

The result of this process has reacted in a very unwholesome manner on agriculture The result has been, on the one hand, to split up tenant's holdings to uneconomic fractions and on the other hand, over large areas of land to divide the zemindar's interests amongst a vast number of tenure-holders, each of whom often holds a very considerable area of land through tenants.

One result of this is that though as much as thirteen and a half crores of rupees out of the total rental is retained by middlemen, very little of it is available for agricultural improvement The bulk of this vast sum is consumed in maintaining the army of middlemen and their families The surplus income available is divided in such minute fractions over a vast population that no amount of organising effort will ever get together enough to spend on ambitious agricultural schemes

Another result of this is that no one has a real effective interest in the improvement of land or the capacity to attempt it. The occupancy raiyat, who is himself a cultivator, has an enduring interest, but he lacks resources and knowledge Besides, if he did improve, the landlord would be entitled to a share of the proceeds—to how much of it, is a matter which can only be settled by expensive litigation The zemindar, who is too far off, has a very remote interest and if he had the desire, he could seldom effectuate it because the cultivating raiyat and, in many cases, scores of middlemen have rights which cannot be interfered with.

Consolidation Of Holdings Impracticable

Let us take a simple instance. Consolidation of holdings is a simple measure which would improve agriculture But suppose the zemindar wanted to consolidate the

holdings of his raiyats by redistributing the lands. He cannot do it unless all the raiyats concerned consent. On the other hand, raiyats cannot do it, even if they could arrange a scheme by mutual exchange, because that would mean a transfer of holdings, which could not be done without the consent of the landlord.

This would be so in the simplest case. But the facts are seldom so simple. It is a comparatively rare thing that large compact areas of land are held by the same proprietor. Even in those cases in which the areas are compact, the owner is often not one person but a large number of joint proprietors. A single one of these by standing out might frustrate the whole scheme. Besides, at the present moment, in most districts of Eastern Bengal the lands of each village are distributed between a number of different estates bearing different towzi numbers. It is not as if each of these estates has a compact plot of land to itself. The lands of each estate lie scattered about and run into one another. In such cases no consolidation of holdings is possible unless all these various estates can be taken into the scheme and all their lands are redistributed. This means the consent of a very large number of owners of the different estates, some of them again held by tenure-holders of various grades.

Then again there is the question of redistribution of lands between the different revenue-paying estates. Unless this is done there is bound to be confusion. Each landlord is liable to pay revenue for his own lands and the lands may be sold for arrears of revenue. So that unless the readjusted holdings are redistributed between the several estates in compact blocks, there will always be a confusion in that each man would be paying revenue for some lands not in his possession, and such lands would be liable to be sold for his arrears. But there is no legal procedure by which a readjustment of the lands as between the various estates can be made so as to bind the public exchequer.

A Block to Progress

This is only one small illustration of the way in which the complexity of land tenure and the divided ownership of land tends to block agricultural improvement. No scheme of agricultural improvement, however promising on paper, can yield large results until this is got rid of. The only sensible way of doing it, and the only one which would make land improvement schemes possible would be to make the actual cultivator the undivided proprietor of the land he cultivates. This would mean the buying off of present owners and middlemen. Or the result may be achieved in a less perfect manner by reducing the present rights of these men to an incorporeal right to the rent without ownership of land.

Indebtedness and Poverty of Cultivators

A really searching examination of the question of the poverty and indebtedness of the peasantry in Bengal would lead us to schemes regarding a lasting remedy which also lead us back to this same conclusion that the proprietory right in the land must be vested in the peasantry as the first step.

The question of the poverty and indebtedness of peasants has never been approached in a broad and comprehensive spirit. On superficial examination it is easy to attribute it to the improvidence of the peasantry. I do not for one moment deny that they do not spend their income in a truly husband-like manner and that on some occasions they become very extravagant. But I have no doubt that the extravagance of the tenant has been outrageously exaggerated. The extent of their expenditure on anything but bare subsistence cannot assumedly be very great and on the other hand, in comments on their extravagance it is often forgotten that while some money is spent on preventible items these poor people deny themselves the most elementary creature comforts. Often they live in wretched hovels, their clothing is abbreviated, sometimes below the limits of barest decency, and their food, where they have a belly-full is always the lowest and the coarsest and the poorest stuff. The Bengal peasant is remarkably sober ; he seldom drinks. He spends next to nothing on luxury. Even if we leave out of account the fact that some expenditure beyond the barest necessities is a condition of comfortable existence, if we set off the amount which they misspend against the self-denials which they impose on themselves in the matter of bare necessities we should perhaps find that even if the peasant saved all that he spends on ceremonials he would hardly have enough to keep himself on a very modest standard of comfort.

That indebtedness of the agriculturist is due to improvidence is therefore a grotesque exaggeration of facts. The real reason must

be sought deeper down. The fact is that at the present moment the agriculturist has not enough out of the profits of cultivation left to him to leave him a surplus for use in hard times. What remains to him after paying the debts at ruinous rates of interest to the *mahajan* and the rent of the landlord hardly suffices to maintain his family through the whole year, far less pay for the expenses of the next year's cultivation. So that in most cases he has to run to the *mahajan* every year and in the vast majority of cases he is seldom able to pay out his creditors.

Uneconomic holdings

This position follows from several circumstances, first among which I shall refer to the fact that so many of the cultivators are tied to uneconomic holdings By a progressive subdivision of holdings tenants have been reduced to the cultivation of very small holdings, the earnings from which cannot enable him to pay his way. The deficit he makes up by being himself out as a labourer when work is available by such other shifts and in most cases by borrowing The debt incurred under such circumstances could not possibly be repaid and unless he is lucky enough to find a very lucrative employment otherwise, he is sold out

Supplementary Occupation

The only way in which cultivators of such holdings can save themselves is by some other occupation In past times such work in various shapes was available The labour force of each village who were, almost all of them, cultivators, were also called upon to render all other services to the villagers and to supply them with all their necessities in the shape of clothes, utensils, ornaments, houses, playthings, &c This provided ample occupation for all The facilities of communication which have placed foreign manufactures within easy reach have deprived the village labourer of most of his cottage industries, which they had worked in many cases, to a high degree of perfection The villager now gets most of his articles of daily use from outside and mostly from foreign countries.

On the other hand, notably in the jute-producing districts, there has been a remarkable rise in wages of the agricultural labourer. That implies that there is plenty of work for him and a comparative scarcity of men. This may be regarded as some compensation. But, it is to be feared that the net gain to the agriculturist in this way is illusory. The demand for labour is in part quite normal, but a great deal of it is due to the fact that a great deal of land has passed out of the hands of the agriculturist into the hands of those who do not work themselves It is these men who are the largest employers of agricultural labour and whose demands have swelled the wages of the cultivator. A great deal of this rise therefore represents so much expropriation of the actual cultivator.

The Vicious Circle

Even where a tenant is cultivating a holding which is not uneconomic, he sometimes finds himself in the inexorable clutches of the money-lenders This is the result of past debts and the burden of bloodsucking rates of interest If in a bad year or for urgent necessity a cultivator borrows some money from the *mahajan*, he is lost. The capital of the debt with interest eats up his surplus and makes inroads upon his resources for maintaining his family So then he has to borrow again or leave the debt growing at a tremendous pace By the magic of compound interest with frequent rests, ten rupees rapidly mounts to a hundred, and it seldom goes down

There are at the present moment thousands of tenants cultivating profitable holdings, who are nevertheless hopelessly in debt, for no other reason than that they have past debts After payment of these they have not the means to carry on and must borrow. The result of this vicious circle is that they sink deeper and deeper in the mire. Given just a breathing space—a few years' release from the old debts, they could pay off and be on the way to prosperity. But the past debt sits on them like the Old Man of the Sea and slowly but surely strangles them to death.

The Remedies

These facts are well-known and efforts have been made in the past to remedy the evils. I do not doubt the honesty of these efforts, but I cannot admire their statesmanship. What is wanted is a bold imagination, boundless courage and a ruthless pursuit of programmes generously conceived. The efforts hitherto made have not made the slightest attempt to strike at the root of the evil.

They have only touched the outermost surface of the malady.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Among these efforts the most successful has been the establishment of Co-operative Credit Societies. By providing cheap credit these societies have helped to save a great many agriculturists from absolute ruin. But they have not removed indebtedness. The village societies are still predominantly debtors. And the capital is still mostly lent by non-agriculturists, the deposits from agriculturists being wholly negligible

Debt is still there, as well as the conditions which make it inevitable The societies by themselves cannot create conditions which will prevent indebtedness

Besides, the only persons whom these societies can help are those who are not hopelessly within the clutches of money-lenders. The men who are badly in debt and who have not enough surplus of assets left to them to create a sinking fund cannot be touched by these societies—no society will be registered where the statement of property and debts does not disclose a a sufficient surplus of the former The cultivator whose holding is an uneconomic asset, but who nevertheless could manage to get on minus his debt will never be touched by these societies.

The societies hitherto formed have been exclusively confined to perfectly solvent parties to whom it has given great relief. So long there has been progress, because there has been a large number of such men who have not yet been exhausted. When these have been exhausted the further increase of these societies must stop

The extent of the problem and the limitations of Co-operative Societies can be gauged by reference to some figures No reliable data are available for the total agricultural debt of Bengal The figures which are available for different districts are for different years. But in Faridpore, Major Jack found the total agricultural debt in 1916 to be 160 lakhs. After about ten years, the total loan capital of all co-operative societies in Bengal in 1925 is only about 170 lakhs, which is approximately the amount of the debt in a comparatively small district in the province.

But, it has been said, the societies are making some headway and as against the pessimism of Major Jack, Mr. Ascoli and Sir Daniel Hamilton, it has been pointed out that there was rapid expansion of these societies before the war, though, since the war, the progress has not been so rapid. At this rate, it is suggested, these societies could cover the whole of the debt in say twenty-five years.

But they won't. The reason is that soon these societies will reach a stratum of cultivators whom it cannot help, because they have not enough assets to balance the debts That will be the bedrock. Below that the co-operative movement on its present lines can never expand That large residuum of incurable indebtedness will always remain unless something drastic is done Co-operative credit, therefore, is only a palliative of indebtedness It is no cure

INTEREST ACT

Another remedy of which much fuss has been made has been the attempt at a reduction of the rate of interest by legislation culminating in the Interest Act. Assuming that economic laws were so easily susceptible of deviation by legislation, and that the rate of interest was actually reduced by legislation it would yet be only a palliative.

But even this is not possible Those who pin *their faith in drastic legislation* limiting the rate of interest forget that at least such legislation can only affect a very small quantity of the total debt—the very small percentage of it which has to be realised through courts The bulk of the debt of our people is paid out of court. Even the law of limitation is seldom a bar to the realisation of such debts. The Interest Act or any other law of the like nature will not give relief to the hundreds of thousands of poor debtors who never go to court and are too honest to refuse the payment promised.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

A far more profitable scheme is to develop cottage industries to utilise the surplus labour of the agriculturist. Apart from the question of agricultural indebtedness, the development of cottage industries is a question of very great importance by itself And a really earnest and determined effort to promote these industries on a large scale would be welcome. But though much has

been said about the development of cottage industries, little has been done and the great efforts for the spread of charka and khaddar stands out as the only programme of any extensive character yet followed I am a great believer in cottage industries, but personally I have grave doubts whether the present extension of the *charka* has any chance of being a permanent asset

As I have said, the development of cottage industries is a great desideratum And there is no doubt that if by this means the surplus labour of agriculturists could be utilised it would add to their health and reduce their indebtedness But that is no reason why agriculture by itself should not be a self-supporting industry To say that we must look to cottage industries to remove the indebtedness of cultivators, is to admit that agriculture must be a losing concern to the cultivator. I should most strongly insist on the contrary, that the economic organisation for agriculture must be such as would make it possible for agriculture to be carried on at a profit Let cottage industries add to that profit, but it would be a suicidal policy for the nation to let agriculture be a drudgery for the cultivator—an employment without adequate remuneration.

THE REAL REMEDY

Palliatives are good enough in their own way. Patch-work has its uses as temporary shifts. But if agriculture is to be placed on a really sound footing we must make up our mind to attack this problem of indebtedness at its root—reorganise agriculture on a system which would make indebtedness anything but inevitable for the cultivators, but would, on the contrary, leave enough working capital in their hands.

READJUST THE HOLDINGS

For this purpose we have to eliminate the uneconomic holding in the first place. This can only be done by a complete readjustment of holdings in each village as a whole. The effect of this readjustment should be that each tenant should have all his lands in one block. Holdings which are too small for profitable cultivation should be enlarged by clippings from very large holdings or by a consolidation of two or more uneconomic holdings into one.

This could be effected to some extent by mutual exchange. But there must be some amount of cruelty or compensation to be paid to the cultivator whose holding is reduced. As far as possible this readjustment will proceed on the basis of existing possession. But, where necessary, possession will be disturbed and some men having small holdings will probably have to be bought off.

There must be legal authority provided for compulsory readjustment and, where a readjustment of holdings has been made on this basis, there should be a law providing for a minimum area for a holding below which subdivision will not be permissible. The law of inheritance will have to be modified to this extent.

A less simple scheme, but one which has the merit of following the line of least resistance and has also great collateral advantages, would be to make the same redistribution by organising the whole body of cultivators of a village into a co-operative society which will redistribute the land among the members This will be a slow process and people will take a lot of teaching before they agree to it. But if this could possibly be done, the result would be a great advance, for it would make cooperative agriculture possible

But either of these schemes of readjustment presupposes the elimination of the zemindar and the middleman So long as they exist and have a finger in the pie, a scheme of readjustment is as little possible as a scheme for consolidation of holdings.

MORATORIUM FOR EXISTING DEBTS

Apart from uneconomic holdings, the problem of indebtedness still exists, as we have seen before. Unless you lift the present burden of debt upon the tenants you cannot put them on the way to better days. For the only way to improve their condition is to husband the small surpluses of agriculture through cooperative banks so as to build up a working capital for agriculture So long as the present debts exist they will suck in all that there is in the nature of surplus.

I do not plead for a measure on the lines of the ancient Romans for the abolition of all debts. but I think it a practical proposition to suggest that there should be a moratorium in respect of such debts for so long as is necessary to enable the agricultural capital to recoup itself. So long as creditors are given ample security for their debts and are also allowed reasonable interest during the

moratorium, say at the court rate of 6 per cent, such a proposal can by no means be characterised as spoliation.

I propose that the advantage of the moratorium should be given only to such debtors as form a cooperative society and the society should be given the power of controlling the produce of the members so that there might be a sinking fund gradually built up. If sufficient time is given, I think it will be possible for these societies in this way to pay off all old debts in time with interest, as well as to build up a substantial working capital of its own.

Simple and easy of execution as this scheme would be, if we were dealing with cultivators on the one hand, and creditors on the other, the presence of the zemindar and the middleman who have large rights of control over tenants disposing of land in any manner, makes it complex and difficult of execution. To enable this scheme to be carried out with the least possible difficulty, therefore, the landlord will first have to be eliminated

Eliminate the Landlord

I am aware that the suggestion would be considered revolutionary in Bengal and altogether outside the range of practical politics. But if, as I hope I have been able to establish, the agricultural prosperity of the country is impossible so long as the fractional ownership of the landlord weighs upon the land, I think that supreme national interest requires the elimination of the landlord as such

What I should suggest, however, would be no scheme of spoliation or expropriation of the present landlords and middlemen without compensation. The landlord would not really suffer in his pocket from accepting the scheme.

My suggestion is *firstly*, that the claim of the landlord for rent should be *declared to be fixed in perpetuity* I am even prepared to concede that in consideration of this perpetual fixity of rent the landlord should have an enhancement of rent to the extent of four annas in the rupee, spread over, say, ten years.

Secondly, subject to the payment of this rent the *raiyat should be declared to be the proprietor* of the land, the landlord's (and middlemen's) rights being reduced to an incorporeal right—a rent-charge which shall be the first charge upon the land in respect of which it is due.

Thirdly, there should be a provision by which *the rent-charge may be compounded for* by paying a capitalised sum not exceeding fifteen years' purchase of the rent. Option should be left to the raiyat only thus to purchase the rent. I expect that with the organisation of co-operative societies the purchase will proceed rapidly.

The capitalised rental should be apportioned between the various grades of middlemen and the zemindar in proportion to their interest, subject to a *reduction of the capitalised value of the Government revenue*, which will be paid to the Government, so that when there has been a liquidation of the rent-charge, the lands will be held by the raiyats free of rent as well as of Government revenue

Side by side with this process there should be a programme for consolidation and readjustment of holdings on the lines indicated before It would also be necessary to pass appropriate laws against alienation of lands to non-agriculturists and fixing the minimum size of holdings An effective anti-alienation law would be to lay down that when land is purchased by a person which he does not cultivate himself or by hired labourers, the person actually cultivating the land should be deemed to be the actual proprietor subject to a rent-charge

The Prospect

The result of the entire process would be to divide the whole land of the province among real peasant proprietors, mostly organised into co-operative societies, each owning an economic holding and having sufficient capital and credit to cultivate the lands properly The cultivators will then cease to be a body of dumb-driven cattle but be sturdy and vigorous yeomen, not exploited by every man with a little capital, but capable of dealing with the world at arms' length. They would give an amount of strength and prosperity to national life which nothing else will achieve.

It will, moreover, withdraw from the soil the burden of an enormous population of idle people who live on the labours of others. The present-day zemindars and middlemen, who should have had liquid capital in their hands instead of land, will perforce seek other means of investing their capital and thus add to the wealth of the country in industries and commerce.

At the present moment, land is the great

sink into which all the capital of the country, no matter how acquired, is inevitably drawn. Everybody who acquires wealth by trade, industry or a profession invests it in land in some form And, in three to four generations, the investment is wasted away—the landed property is sold and purchased by another, who has acquired his purchase money in some other way. In other words, the whole of the capital invested by a predecessor is eaten up unproductively by three or four generations of successors This huge waste of the country's resources is the inevitable result of landlordism and it is a story which you find repeated everywhere.

This will have to be stopped The propagation of a race of idle drones living on other peoples' labours has to be put an end to and they have to be turned into useful citizens giving valuable service to society. Their gradual expropriation, as suggested above, seems to me to be the only way to achieve this end.

BRITISH EXPANSION IN TIBET

Chapter IV

Motives for British Expansion In Tibet

By TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D

We have already noted that British expansion in Tibet was actuated with the political motive of keeping Russia away from there and at the same time strengthening her position on the northern border of India * Annexation of Bhutan, Sikim and Burma and partition of Siam, has had the same

* Mr Colquhoun writes of the British fear of Russia and India —"The year of 1902 or 1903 at the latest, will see European Russia connected by the iron road with Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and the New Siberia, which he held to include Manchuria, will have fully entered on its great career as the coming country of the twentieth century. Russia will be enabled to prosecute her plan. Corea and northern China will be acquired and gradually step by step, by means of railways (favored always by France in the South, and probably covertly, if not openly, by Germany in the North), she will extend her influence southward until the Yangtsze is reached, and there a connection made with the sphere of French influence.

"Russia, whose strength has hitherto been entirely on land, now aspires to be a Sea Power. And in Manchuria she has a coast, coal and a maritime population,—excellent material for making sailors and her presence on the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese Sea must give a great impetus to the aspiration for a navy. It may be taken for granted that having so much, she will want more ports in other quarters, and in many quarters of the globe.

"Russia, once on the upper Yangtsze, would involve a second and eastern Indian frontier problem for Britain of an infinitely more serious character than the western, for the utilization of the greater part of the resources of China would mean Russia hanging over India on the northeast, as she is now on the northwest by sheer weight able to shake to its foundations British rule in India And in the Far-East she would be supported by European Allies."

'And what will be the effect if this process be continued until one day Russia is mistress of China, as well as paramount in Afghanistan and Persia? On the north-eastern frontier the British can only defend India by introducing a counterbalance in China itself by developing the Yangtsze basin, which contains the greater part of the resources of the empire and half of its population, and by controlling south-west China, where lies the access to Burma, and through Burma to India. This would afford Britain a proper base and line of defense on the upper Yangtsze, which combined with her sea power and control of the great Chinese railway, would enable her to hold her own.

"How to oppose by means of diplomacy, and if necessary, by force of arms, the policy of Russia and France, not improbably supported covertly by Germany—that is the problem that faces Britain and must be of immense consequence to the United States. There is no disguising the fact that a period of intense energy is about to begin and must be met by preparedness It is time, therefore, that Britain and the United States should interest themselves and decide on some common plan."—Colquhoun, Archibald, Overland To China (New York Harper and Brothers) 1900, page 457-459.

motive of keeping France away from the south-eastern border of India. British expansion in Tibet in an opportune moment was nothing less than and expression of British imperialism.*

It was England's policy that Tibet, Russia and China must not form a combination For by securing control over Tibet the influence of the Buddhist world could be used through the Dalai Lama in favor of Great Britain against Russia and China †

The expansion of British power in Tibet, became a significant part of British diplomacy in the Orient not only to check the Russian advance towards India, but also to control the Yangtsze Valley completely, to counteract Russian and French designs in China and "for the stability of the Indian Empire."

Sir Claude McDonald, the British Minister at Peking, took definite steps for this purpose, on February 9th, 1898,* by an exchange of notes with the Tsung-Li-Yamen. In the note he says —

"...I shall be glad to be in a position to communicate to Her Majesty's Government a definite assurance that China will never alienate any territory in the provinces adjoining the Yangtsze to any other power, whether under lease, mortgage, or any other designation Such an assurance is in full harmony with the observations made to me by Your Highness and Your Excellencies." *

This assurance was provided for on the 11th of February by the Chinese Government But further demands came from the British Government in the form of extension of her Hongkong territory, and also the extension of the lease for 99 years An understanding was reached by the Convention between Great Britain and China on June 9th,1898, the terms of which, in part, are —

"Whereas it has for many years past been recognised that an extension of Hongkong territory is necessary for the proper defense and protection of the colony, it has been now agreed between the Governments of Great Britain and China that the limits of British territory shall be enlarged under lease to the extent indicated generally on the annexed map The exact boundaries shall be hereafter fixed when proper surveys have been made by officials appointed by the two Governments The term of this lease shall be (99) ninty-nine years "

It was the time when struggles among Powers for establishing spheres of influence in China were in full swing. The theory of special spheres of influence in Asian countries, particularly in China, by the dominant countries, in violation of the sovereign rights of the nation was accepted by many scholars in the West as inevitable. The real meaning of the establishment of spheres of influence in China was nothing less than the partition of China in course of time As an eminent American historian puts it —

"Great Britain would take the broad valley of

* (a) "It is to be hoped that Lord Curzon will not be contented as his predecessors were, with half-way measures Unless Tibet be placed in the same relation to the Indian Government as is Sikim, the whole question is certain to crop up again in a more threatening way for a less opportune moment, and the men and money to be sacrificed now or next spring will have been thrown away to no purpose" Mission to Tibet by E. J. Dillon, *Contemporary Review*, January 1904—pages 123-142

(b) "We cannot leave Tibet as it stands. We must be in a position to make arrangements with its rulers and to compel them to abide by such arrangements A frontier state with which we have many relations, which is the Holy Land to many of our Indian subjects, and which is the buffer between us and the great power of Russia, must be brought within our policy And at the same time there must not be any conquest, nothing which could be interpreted as interfering with that delicate and evasive thing, the integrity of China. Our rights are so clear that there can be no shrinking from their enforcement" *The Spectator* February 13th 1904—page 247

(c) "Perhaps the best hope of peace is that exaggerated report of Russian defeats will float up to Lhassa and will influence the governing Council to promise that in the future they will keep the treaties" *Ibid*—page 138

(d) "The internal politics of Tibet have for us only an intellectual interest but if Russia began exercising influence as she seems to have admitted to Lord Lansdowne that she was doing—we should instantly know the facts and should be in a position, whenever necessary, to strike hard at Lhassa. The situation, it must be remembered, is not exactly what it was when the expedition was first organised. Russia will not be very active at Lhassa for the next ten years. She is a long way off even if she keeps Manchuria. Her only object in going there must be to menace India, and we have many means of striking back without entering upon an unknown world. The two things indispensable are that we should know, and know accurately, all that occurs at Lhasa, and should convey to St. Petersburg a clear assurance that we regard the seclusion and independence of Tibet as indispensable to the safety of the Indian Empire."

(e) "...The situation is a most embarrassing one. All the more because the immediate course to be pursued is so peremptory. We must go to Lhassa whatever may be the consequences." *The Spectator*, June 18th 1904.—page 946.

† It is an imperative necessity to consolidate the success obtained in Tibet, and to make strenuous efforts in order to prevent in the Far-East, another successful coalition of the three oppressive Powers—the Tsar, the Dalai Lama and at their command, the Son of Heaven"—The policy of the Dalai Lama, by Alexander Ular. *The Contemporary Review*, January 1905.—pages 39-50.

* Herstlet's China Treaties, Vol. 1, pages 119-20.

the Yangtsze-Kiang for British Capitalists to develop: France would take Kwangtung: Germany part of Shantong: Russia and Japan would divide the north between them. Within its own "sphere of influence" each nation would maintain order and protect and encourage its industrial capitalists in operating railways, mines and mills Perhaps the powers would one day politically annex their spheres of influence." *

We find some of Great Britain's statesmen advocating the policy of reducing the Yangtsze Valley to the position of the Nile Valley. To Mr Colquhoun

"it seems clear, in view of Russian advance southward, that, if British influence is to be asserted in the Yangtsze region, the connection of the Upper Yangtsze by rail with Burma must be undertaken and carried through without delay And the assertion of British influence in the Upper Yangtsze is a vital necessity for the preservation of India To allow Russian influence to grow up in the Upper Yangtsze would add another and infinitely more serious frontier and endanger the stability of the Indian Empire"

He further adds,

"There is no more reason why she (Great Britain) should be afraid of dealing with the Yangtsze basin than the Nile basin"†

The actual step taken by Great Britain during and since the opium war seems to indicate the correctness of Mr Colquhoun's statement The westward march from the side of Hongkong, the northward march from the side of Upper Burma, and southern and westward economic penetration from the side of Shanghai and the control of means of transportation of the Yangtsze region by way of river communications and railroads were progressing; and also we see in the British march towards Tibet a step to realize the same objective The expansion of British power in Tibet is then a necessary consequence towards the control of India and a march towards south-western China.

Though political motives dominated the British expansion towards Tibet, economic motives were no mean factor Such authorities as Rockhill, Waddell and O'Connor all agree as to the immense riches of Tibet She is rich in gold deposits.

"For thousands of years, gold has been washed out of her surface soil by the crudest processes From every river which has its source in the Tibetan Plateau, gold is washed Every traveller refers to the vast extent of the abandoned mines ..... from which probably not even one half of the gold upturned has ever been extracted."*

* Hayes. Carlton. J. H· A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. II (New York, 1917) page 572

† Colquhoun, Archibald: Overland to China (New York, Harper and Brothers) 1900, page 415, 341.

There is an abundance of pine, silver fir and other valuable timber in the Chumbi Valley. The lakes and rivers of Tibet contain plenty of fish which are caught with line and net The Tsanpo is full of fish, and the existence of the fishing villages on the shores of Yamdonk lake seems to imply a regular industry The fish are preserved by being split, cleaned, and then dried in the sun.

"The Chumbi Valley, for instance, "says Mr. Fraser," possesses a warm, dry climate and produces barley, corn, apricots, and apples in abundance. At an elevation of 15,000 feet above the sea level round about the Lake Dangra there are well built villages and richly cultivated barley fields The fauna, too, is varied and abundant, but the mineral wealth of the country is said to be literally inexhaustible Gold, which will attract work-men and traces men to the North or South Pole, abounds in such quantities and so widely distributed as to attract a large population as soon as it can be worked Among other minerals found in Tibet are, iron, borax, salt, quick-silver, and lapis lazuli"†

* Holdrich, Tibet the Mysterious, p. 329.

† Fraser, David· Marches of Hindustan. London 1907 p 75

The real motive of the Tibet Expedition according to Mr Barkatulla is as follows; "The real reason for England's advance on Tibet is the influence of high finance on the colonial policy of Great Britain Travellers and explorers, in spite of strict vigilance on the part of the Tibetan authorities have succeeded during the last decade in discovering the mineral wealth on the roof of the world" Sathol and Thok-Jalung in South-Western Tibet possess rich gold deposits in considerable quantities These places lie, roughly speaking, some three hundred miles east of Simla in British India The yellow metal is found in the hill ranges lying between the thirty-second degree of east longitude. Thok-Jalung is only some sixty-three feet above sea level, and not far from the source of the river Indus, which cleaves the Himalayas in its course through Ladakh and Kashmere into the plains of Western India.

"Some two hundred miles to the eastward of Thok-Jalung, in the lake-region in the chain of hills just north of the thirty-second parallel, there are also several gold fields. These are the Thok Amar, Thok Marshara, and Thok Daurakpa deposits About a hundred miles still farther to the eastward are the Sarka Shyar gold fields, lying right across an explored tract from the north-west that joins a route running nearly due south from Lobnor to Lhassa across ranges of mountains, a pass over one of which is 19,600 feet above the sea-level. Again, to the north of this region, among the northern spurs of the Kuen-Lun range, which forms the dividing line between Tibet proper and Chinese Turkestan, there are several important gold fields Chief among these are those of Akka Togh, at the head of the Ginkerma river, one of the tributaries of the Cherchen that flows into Lobnor; the Papa gold

Such a country as Tibet, which is politically so important and economically so lucrative, and herself too weak to maintain her sovereign rights, according to the present practices of international morality, must fall under the domination of a strong Power England was most favorably situated to grasp the problem and act on it. For

"a Tibet which is closed to England and open to Russia, which is a vassal state of China whenever our (English) people chance to have concessions to demand or rights to enforce, but is quite free and independent when it is dealing with Muscovy, cannot be tolerated so long as politics is not conducted on the principles of The Sermon on the Mount.." *

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fields, between the Mist and Moldja rivers, which lose themselves in the Tarim basin, and the Sorgak mines on the Nia river, which also ends in the Tarim basin The last two of these lie in the neighborhood of the route from Kaskar, near the Russian frontier, through the Yarkand and Khotan to Lobnor, at an average altitude of less than five thousand feet, where it meets the route south to Lhassa and others in western China.

"When expedition after expedition, which had explored some region of the Hermit Kingdom, returned to India with exciting stories of fresh discoveries of gold-fields, the imagination of men of high finance—the natural colaborators of the British Foreign Office, was wrought to the highest pitch There was, therefore, at the return of every exploring expeditionar outburst of agitation, "On to Lhasa" in the Anglo-Indian press In order to justify the British forward policy in the eyes of the civilized world, there were invented, and widely circulated, wild stories of broken treaties, of Tibetan incursions and outrages on British subjects captured and tortured, of Nepalese Yaks carried off, of studied insults devised by Russian emissaries in Lhassa And directed at the Indian Government through the witless person of the Dalai Lama etc In 1898 the agitation for the conquest of Tibet had already attained sufficient importance, but the British Government was at that time occupied in the conquest of the Egyptian Soudan, and consequently, could not well take up a fresh enterprise Nor did the agitation of 1900) lead to any practical results, owing to the South African War.

"In 1903, however, the long sought opportunity arrived Russia, the only Power in Asia whose diplomatic protest in reference to the integrity of the Chinese Empire could be effective, was herself embroiled in a war with Japan over the question of Corea and Manchuria. And China, whose territory, both in the East and in the West, was the object to two great European Powers, was powerless

"The treaty (the Anglo-Tibetan Agreement) which is invalid in the eyes of international law fully discloses by its terms the real motives which were at the bottom of the British invasion of Tibet The mineral wealth of the forbidden land, just like that of the Transvaal, has been the dominant factor, as pointed out before, in all the dealings of Great Britain with Tibet What wonder is it, then that no fewer than nine mining companies were formed in London to work and exploit the gold-fields of the north-western Tibet, even before the British army made its entry into the Lama capital ?"

The British Invasion of Tibet—by Mohammad Barkatulla *The Forum* (N Y) July—September 1905, pages 128-140

* The Mission to Tibet by E J Dillon *The Contemporary Review*, January, 1904 pages 123-1...

BRITAIN'S OBSOLETE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

By MAJOR D GRAHAM POLE

(Hon Secy, British Committee on Indian Affairs)

WE are apt, in this country, to pride ourselves on our wonderful constitution and our Mother of Parliaments, which we think should be a model for the whole world to copy Lord Birkenhead, speaking as Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords last year, told India that we thought we knew something about framing constitutions and indicated that India should be grateful to us for the wonderful constitution we had given her—a constitution, by the way, that would not be tolerated in this country for a single session. And yet, in spite of all that our constitution and Parliamentary procedure leave much to be desired Go, almost any day, to any Committee Room of the House of Commons and you will find large maps almost covering the expansive walls. These have been specially drawn on a large scale to show how it is proposed to link up some villages in Wales or Scotland with tramway

lines, or gas, or something that they are likely to know much more about locally than any committee of the House of Commons is likely to know even with the assistance of all the eminent Counsel and experts who have to be engaged at great expense to the local authorities and industries to argue both for and against the scheme proposed These Committees, and their name is legion, clog the wheels of Parliamentary procedure and prevent time being given to the thousand and one considerations that ought to occupy the attention of a real Imperial Parliament.

The recent all-night sittings of the House also draw attention to another and out-of-date custom of the House of Commons. Formerly the House was filled, to a great extent, with practising barristers Politics offered such a good road to the plums of the profession that all lawyers were anxious to become M P s But they did not want to give up their lucrative practices So it was arranged that questions should be taken from 2 45 till 3 45 and that the real business of the House should not be started before 4 o clock in the afternoon. That suited the lawyers, who could be in the Courts from 10 o'clock until 4, and then come on to the House of Commons

There are fewer lawyers now The electors are rather chary of them as a rule, but the hours remain sacred as the laws of the Medes and Persians. The Law Courts have long vacations, and Parliament rises for even longer periods. The result is that only a fraction of the subjects that ought to be discussed, can be discussed, and, as has happened lately, the House has sat continuously for 34 hours out of 48. There are no intervals for meals. Consequently Members go out when they wish and most members are conspicuous for their absence from the debating chamber, although they roll up from the smoking room, the library or the dining room when the Division bell rings. They then go into the Division Lobby pointed out to them by their party Whips without, very often as I have occasion to know, being able to say what the vote was or how they have voted. All this requires complete over-hauling No private bussiness or public company could possibly be conducted on the lines of His Majesty's Government without finding itself very quickly in the Bankruptcy Court.

No man can be expected to sit from 3 o'clock in the afternoon till 7, 9 or 11 o'clock on the following day and still be able intelligently to follow or take part in the discussion, especially when all-night sittings are apt to take place on consecutive evenings and in consecutive weeks

The House should sit at 10 o'clock in the morning, rise for lunch for an hour, and adjourn at 5 or 6 o'clock That would be how it would be arranged if we were sitting down to establish it now. But we love precedents, and the best reason that we can usually give for doing anything is that our fathers have done it before us. We lack imagination, and we are so conservative as a nation that we dread changes. But changes must come in this matter or otherwise the clogging of the machine will cause it to break down altogether.

ENGLAND AND THE WORLD*

THESE twelve essays are the outcome of the International Moral Educational Conference of 1922 where a desire was expressed that the history taught to all the nations of the world should have regard to the position of each nation in the international order, what each nation has gained from, and given to the others in the course of its evolution.

The first two essays deal with the earliest civilization of England and the Roman conquest, and the third is an extremely brief and totally inadequate survey of the middle ages The next two papers treat of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second of these papers ends thus

"It is curious to see how slowly and with what difficulty the States of Europe came to accept liberty either in its political or in its intellectual aspects ...... as a result of hard experience they had to recognise that enforced religious unity raised more difficulties than it solved, and that the partnership

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* *England and the World: Essays arranged and edited by F.S. Marvin, London, Oxford University Press, 1925. 10s. 6d.*

of the people in power, though it seemed to threaten the solidity of the State, was in fact a source of strength and a security of stability and order. That must be reckoned among the greatest discoveries of the human mind..... For we have now discovered that freedom of thought, freedom of worship, freedom of criticism, the participation of the people in the work of the government, instead of leading to anarchy, the ruin of law, constant change and fluctuation in government, is really the sole basis upon which an ordered and stable state can be built. The appearance of permanence and of order which despotism gives has been proved by history to be wholly fallacious; it is liberty that is the real antiseptic of corruption, and the recognition of that has been one of the great achievments of the last century."

With the death of Queen Anne, says Dr Gooch in the chapter on the eighteenth century, "the throne lost every scrap of mystical conservation, and the divine right of kings was buried in her grave." Hindus and Moslems in India, and particularly *communal fanatics*, should ponder the following passage and try to realise its significance in the upbuilding of the India of the future.

"In the process of empire building the dominant principle is the struggle for existence in the life of the mind it is mutual aid. The cultural record of a great community calls up the vision of a cistern fed by pipes running in from different corners, while others carry off the fertilising stream to every point of the compass. It is a story of giving and getting, of rising and falling, of continuous renewal, of creation and imitation ... The unity of Catholic Christendom was broken by the Reformation, and for five or six generations religion was an apple of discord, not a bond of union. With the cooling of the theological temperature at the end of the seventeenth century it became possible gradually to restore the cultural contacts of the past and the eighteenth century registers an enormous advance. Countries were more ready to learn from their neighbours, and national cultures were enriched by grafting and cross-fertilization. The ennobling conception of European civilization as a cooperative achievement, a joint heritage, a common responsibility dawned on thoughtful minds like Lessing and Herder, Hume and Voltaire, Turgot and Condorcet. The distinction was no longer between orthodox and heretic, but between the civilized man and the barbarian ..."

The same writer contributes the chapter on the nineteenth century and proceeds to note that the enfranchisement of the urban worker in 1867, of the agricultural labourer in 1884, and of women in 1918, completed the machinery of political self-government and that England's greatest gift to the world was the spectacle of the successful operation of free institutions. Democracy had been strengthened in various directions. "The Crown has gradually lost every vestige of political power, the House of Lords has subsided into a debating society, the press is cheap and free, religious equality is complete, Trade Unions have been legalised, elementary education is universal and free, and finally, as Dicey used to remind us, we are governed by the Rule of Law ..."

Of the British Empire, that is, the self-governing Dominions, Dr. Gooch says as follows:

"The British Empire is anchored in an ever-increasing degree to the same principle of government by consent on which our domestic liberties are based. The Durham Report forms a landmark in history, and the affectionate loyalty of the Dominions to the mother-country is a tribute to its far-sighted wisdom. The liberal tradition at home and abroad postulates a certain confidence in the sanity of human nature, at which cynics and pessimists may mock but which has justified itself at home and abroad. The most striking act of faith in the annals of our Colonial Empire is to be found in Campbell-Bannerman's grant of self-government to the newly conquered Dutch Republics of South Africa, and never was a statesman more richly rewarded than when Botha and Smuts held the subcontinent firm during the hurricane of the Great War. It was the crowning glory of Gladstone's career that he devoted his last efforts to the task of reconciling Ireland and if Home Rule had been granted, as he wished to grant it, freely instead of grudgingly, before instead of after the rising of Seinn Fein, the results would have been more satisfactory. *If free institutions are to produce their full healing effect, they must be given in the right spirit and at the right time.*" (Italics ours.)

Dr Gooch closes his instructive survey with the following words:

"The eighteenth century was the age of cosmopolitanism the nineteenth of nationalism. The task of the twentieth is to find a synthesis which combines what is best in the onesided ideals of its predecessors, and allows every branch of the human family to find security and self-realization in the larger life of mankind."

The most unsatisfactory chapters of the book so far as constructive thinking is concerned, are those which treat of the British Commonwealth and of England's dealings with the backward races. The right solution is evaded, and there is a palpable disposition to avoid a clear issue on the most vulnerable points, and the repetition of the commonplaces of the imperialistic press takes the place of vigorous thinking. The Backward Races "will be found chiefly in Africa, where our responsibilities have been largely increased since the war by the transfer of vast territories" to England as the mandatory Power. This makes it necessary for the writer to expatiate on the doctrine of trusteeship first enunciated by Burke and taken up by politicians who want to continue the old exploitation under a new name more in accordance with the ideas prevailing at Geneva. It is a pity that the editor, who is a writer possessing the gift of fruitful generalisation, should have nothing more fruitful to suggest than the sickening hypocritical platitude that "the responsibility which trusteeship involves lies on the shoulders of every man and woman of European race in Africa." These words have a familiar ring in our ears, and we know to our cost that what is everybody's business is nobody's business and this diluted responsibility amounts in practice to nothing, and as Mr. Marvin elsewhere says, the ideal actually attempted to be pursued in relation to the backward races is "to dispossess them completely and exploit their land, using them merely as the human instruments," and to treat "the coloured or backward man merely as a tool."

Colonial expansion is sought to be justified by saying that "it is not for the general good of the world [as if that is, or ever was, the object of the exploiting nations] that vast tracts should be left

to the unimpeded occupation of a few scattered tribes." But if that be so, how can the 'white Australia policy, with only a narrow strip of the continent occupied by whites, be defended? Here Mr. Marvin falls back on the theory that the white races bring the blessings of civilization with them. "Science and the power of applying it collectively to the improvement of our life and conditions are the simplest measure of the advance or backwardness of a civilization.' The growth of systematic knowledge (Science) and the mental and moral energy necessary to apply it distinguish the white races "Science and energy, through the agency of Western man, have increased the productivity of the soil, improved the conditions of life, and promoted intercourse and order, wherever advanced and backward people have shared possession or cooperated in work." But admittedly "Japan has gone ahead by admitting this leaven from the West". Why then is also she excluded? And does not the root cause of India's exclusion from South Africa lie in the fact that the Indian settlers were "cooperating in work" with the white colonials only too well, ousting them, in fair competition, from trades which they formerly monopolised?

Mr Marvin reminds his readers that "every man should be treated as an end in himself" and that the savage, though backward relatively to other races, is himself full grown, with mature, deepest instincts and passions, and his own way of treating his own juniors and inferiors Hence, though racially immature and needing education like a child, he is, as an individual, adult and responsible and must be given freedom to act and develop on the lines of his own nature." His advice therefore is that "the superior race must therefore cultivate knowledge and sympathy, if its task is to be well done, and the inferior must have sufficient freedom to develop on its own lines, with help and guidance from the more advanced The mutual relation is a form of trusteeship, similar to, but not identical with, that which prevails between adults and minors in the same community"

This blessed word, trusteeship, has furnished the imperial races with a very useful weapon to deceive each other, but like the 'white man's burden' of which Kipling sang, 'trusteeship' will not go down with the backward races, and will not satisfy "the rising discontents and aspirations of the native population of Africa"

Incidentally we may mention that at the outset of his essay, Mr Marvin draws a clear distinction between the Asiatic and the backward races, but in respect of the remedy he suggests, it would seem that the distinction is without difference and is a matter of fine phrases only, for the principle of trusteeship brought into prominence by Burke in his attack on Hastings is said to have been "endorsed for all time" [of course for the perpetual benefit of the exploiting races] "in the administration of subject peoples" of Asia and Africa alike. The shade of Burke would, we believe, have turned in his grave if it were to know the uses to which that word would be put by his interpreters bent on perpetuating the white domination. It is true that the Oriental races are inferior to the West in scientific education and material strength, as Mr. Marvin says, but he also speaks of their historic past 'in many points more venerable than our own' and of their ancient cultures. Of China, he says, that at one time it was "an example to Europe in many of the highest qualities and attainments of the human spirit," but "it fell behind in the race by the non-acquirement of science". Do these cultured Oriental nations deserve to be placed under the heel of European domination *alias* trusteeship? And what does their 'guidance' in the following passage amount to but merciless exploitation so long as their victims are not strong enough to resist with success?

"They are passing under the stimulus of Western thought into a state of national self-consciousness and scientific organisation, and our function, while preserving their historic features, is to hold them together and guide them during the inevitable evolution."

But the real truth has been told by another writer who, writing on England in the East, says that "no civilization, whatever its claims to superiority, has hitherto supported itself without adequate military power", and the humiliating though sanctimonious imposition of Western trusteeship can be repudiated by the Eastern nations only by developing that power. If, like Japan, they succeeded, no European historian will have to speak of that blessed word being "endorsed for all time" in relation to these and even when they do not rise above the level of the tribes of Arabia or of Afghanistan in civilization, no guidance, 'similar to that which prevails between adults and minors' will either be offered or tolerated, and the benefit of trade with the Western nations will be more correctly appraised, and it will be more universally recognized that "trade is a civilizing and binding tie when carried on between equals on honest terms, it is a fraud and degradation when forced on ignorant inferiors, sometimes at the cannon's mouth, as in the Chinese wars of the 'forties and 'fifties".

Many writers have pointed out the liberal policy followed by the Latin races in their colonial administration, and Mr. Marvin adds his own testimony thus "from the first our method of dealing with coloured men differed in one important tendency from that of the French and southern European nations. All Western Europe shared the guilt of slavery. But whereas what are called the 'Latin' races have cultivated 'fusion' we have on the whole pursued the policy of 'separation', with educational work and co-operation in the same legal and civic system gradually extended. Thus South America is largely peopled by men of mixed descent from aborigines and Europeans and the French incorporate their Arab and Negro subjects in the Chamber and the Army as far as possible on equal terms. But throughout the Anglo Saxon world the policy of 'reservations,' of separate life and territories, has been followed and is being still extended, and intermarriage has always been discouraged."

The difficulty of the problem of the Empire is alluded to, but no solution is suggested except that "the hope of the future lies in avoiding the absurdity of logic" And all the writers who have dwelt on the subject, including the editor himself, have given logic the go-by, and have not dared to face the position of India

in the British Commonwealth, and the only indirect reference to the subject is to be found in the following passage. "The control of immigration, it is recognized, is a subject for colonial and not imperial settlement, yet its results may yet be of general effect." As for the British part of the Commonwealth, peopled with white races, one writer writes in the following strain: "This group of the British Commonwealth, bound together only by custom, tradition, and by sentiment, is the greatest gift of England to the world. Equality of partnership, co-operation in common ideals, these things if they are realised, will provide the greatest object-lesson in international peace. But it is a gift which has yet to make clear its value. The common ideals have yet to be proved, the power of co-operation is not yet fully tested." Again, "The Empire has indeed not yet proved its position For England and the colonies alike there are problems to overcome of which the solution is not yet apparent. One point is clear when such difficulties arise in the future, they must be overcome without force, without breach of the principle of democratic control, by virtue of goodwill It can hardly be contested that such a system in working would rightly be regarded as a great contribution from England to the modern world It would be solid ground for hope of international peace But can it be achieved ?" The whole question is thus left in doubt.

The chapter on England in the East is by Professor Dodwell of the School of Oriental Studies, London, and on the whole, it well repays perusal The chief distinguishing features between England and India, according to him, are that the former is mainly industrial, while the latter is mainly agricultural and that there, the State has shaken itself free from the Church, whereas King Priest and King God were familiar to us till quite lately, and "the social and not the political organisation hardened into permanent form" The want of a spirit of nationalism, and the instability of Asiatic states have been ascribed by the learned Professor to the following cause "Above all, whereas physical nature has formed Western Europe into a number of small and compact compartments, in Asia natural boundaries are few and there is nothing to obstruct the march of armies and the flow of civilizations over areas incomparably greater than those of any Western European State This last has reacted on the character of Asiatic States So far as our experience extends, free political institutions arise and develop in small, well-defined, and well protected areas But what of the United States of America No doubt this is not the sole condition, but it is certainly a powerful factor, and its absence a strong obstacle. But this condition was just the one lacking to the early Asiatic civilizations -- the states thus brought into being were of indefinite extent,—either very great and always tending to fall to pieces or engirt by a ring of other states, pressing closely on each other, without preordained boundaries, and at constant war, then, too, all the great states that arose were tested again and again by the peril of barbarian invasions from the steppes and deserts of Northern and Central Asia; so that what between Timur Lenk and Jenghiz Khan on the one side, and a never-ending cycle of expansion, fissure, and redintegration on the other, the states' main preoccupation was either defence or conquest, and the individual citizen was usually a member of so vast an agglomeration as precluded the development of those common ideas and feelings which form the basis of nationality This makes one essential difference between the history of Asia and that of Europe. The latter produced a considerable number of well-defined national types existing within well-defined geographical areas whereas the former produced a small number of loosely knit civilizations corresponding with more or less unstable empires And secondly, as I have said, the Asiatic states did not produce consolidated political institutions In one region we find what looks like the germ of city states, but the germ disappears without developing ...... "

"Agricultural societies are always characterised by stability rather than progress, and when they are grouped in such large political units as the geographical conditions of India permitted and even encouraged, the mass of society was such that no individual could stir its inertia The position was that of our own Middle Ages, but intensified a thousand fold"

This analysis of Indian history and the stable condition of Asiatic thought cannot be brushed on one side as altogether imaginary, nor can we ignore the truth that underlies the following sentence "it has been Britain's role in Asia to be at the head of those who have disturbed the hereditary quietude that for long ages had been broken only by the rise and fall of dynasties." Professor Dodwell thinks that the scientific method "is the one great gift of the modern world to man It is playing in India, and indeed in all civilized Asia the same part as Greek thought played in Medieval Europe The latter shook the bases of society of the Church it prepared the way for the Reformation, for the emancipation of thought for the development of industry, for modern democracy In like manner before our eyes the Asiatic world is undergoing the same painful process The old conception of the kingship is fast disappearing, the acquiescence on which oriental societies reposed is being sapped, the slender rivulets of trade have swollen into great rivers -- either abandoning or destroying the homes of former industry upon their ancient banks. But some strong stimulus of this sort was necessary to set Asia once more on the intellectual quest"

What the writer says of China applies equally to India: "Great as was the Empire of China and ancient as its culture it was in a military sense feeble and in a political sense ill organised For many centuries no additions had been made to the Chinese store of practical or theoretical knowledge" In another chapter, it is said of the international character of European science, "the weaver's shuttle passes backwards and forwards, each country learning and teaching, giving and getting, till the pattern of the world becomes plain to our wondering eyes" But where is India's place in this pattern that is being woven by international cooperation? Her contribution, with the exception of one or two well-known figures, is almost *nil*.

Professor Dodwell throws a new light on what he calls the humanitarian movement which transformed the spirit of the Company's administration and resulted in the introduction of English education by Macaulay's Committee of 1834. "One might have supposed," he says, "that the development of this new and enlightened policy would have been accompanied by a check in territorial

expansion But that was not at all the case On the contrary, the British dominions [in India] expanded faster than ever ..... Before 1840 the Company was declaring that no honourable accession of territory was to be declined Evidently it was felt that the development of an honest and improved system of administration, combined with the new educational activities, furnished a moral justification for annexation Thus the humanitarian movement, in its origin opposed to conquest, came at a later stage to contribute arguments for the extension of dominion" It is not for nothing that the continental nations regard England as the most consummate of hypocrites in international politics

The revival of Asiatic self-consciousness, the reaction against European influences and control, is called by the name of 'the Revolt of Asia'. *From our present point of view the problem may be shortly stated thus—whether the Soviet Government will succeed in organizing the states of Asia into an alliance inspired by an intense hostility to Europe and its civilization or whether under the leadership of the English-speaking peoples the East may be brought into friendship and co-operation with the Western world"* Professor Dodwell observes further · *'The time is certainly approaching when under the constructing influences of modern communications the two types of civilization which exist today must assume an attitude of definite friendship or hostility"* That is no doubt true, but Asiatic co-operation cannot be secured by the policy of distrust followed in India and of humiliation in South Africa where as the establishment of a naval base at Singapore is a direct challenge to the nations of the Far East "The only bridge across the fissure which for so long has separated the two great groups of peoples" is according to the learned professor, the cultural influence of the East upon the West as well as the renascence of Asia under the stimulus of Western knowledge "The contemplation of that remarkable system of Indian society which long seemed the one thing permanent in a world of change familiarity with customs separated by worlds from our own and with peoples utterly unlike ourselves, these and many other influences have obliged us to shake off something of our island narrowness and self-content and have given a steady impulse in favour of wider views of humanity and its future even when the effective influence of our own ideas and civilization has been steadily increasing'. The renascence of Asia under the stimulus of Western knowledge the application of scientific method, and of common tests, of knowledge and common standards of morals [not entirely European, let us hope] will in the writer's opinion, enable Asia and Europe to co-operate

In the chapter on the League of Nations, contributed by Mr Marvin, he draws attention to 'our prominent position in the League of Nations'. The British Empire has six seats in the Assembly of the League of Nations and by the terms of the covenant one permanent place in the Council This gives us in each case something like a ninth of the membership on the present basis, but in actual weight far more But it must not be supposed that the vote of the six members for the British Empire is necessarily cast as one Complete freedom of decision prevails, and the British Empire delegates discuss questions together as a little Assembly within the Assembly itself." "We made an able Frenchman head of the International Labour Office, just as the French and other nations loyally support an Englishman as general Secretary of the League. But in the working of the office and in the place which industrial, financial, economic and financial questions take in the whole work of the League, English influence is decisive" That being so, and England having gained most of all the belligerent nations as a mandatory power under the League, she has no objection to "listen sometimes to the fervid discourses of those who deal more readily in the abstract than we do ourselves" A veiled contempt for such idealism is natural to the Englishman whose "turn for practicality' has taken the fullest advantage of this 'great idealist experiment.' "There is no lack of idealist oratory, and with the French interest in the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, and with the expected advent of the Germans this year (1925), the forces of abstract thought will be greatly strengthened In general terms the English function in the League is to infuse it with a practical spirit gained by centuries of experience in dealing with similar problems on a limited scale. We have to co-operate in a frank and cordial way with others to whom abstract ideas, whether of humanitarian or national import, are much more real and urgent than they ever seem to us." "England in politics, and France in language and general culture, have led the world," but "as a link of nations and torch-bearer of politics, she (England) leads them all and this is her vital function in the League of Nations"

With England thus playing the leading role in politics and commerce in the League of Nations, 'the reconciliation of patriotism and the larger allegiance to mankind' is easy for her "They are Devon-men, but Englishmen still more, and as Englishmen, proved members of the Empire, and as members and builders of the Empire they now share in six votes for the management of the common affairs of the world in the League of Nations" Mr Marvin is therefore well satisfied, and can complacently declare that "love and understanding of mankind find their best roots in love and understanding of home and country One grows from the other and the larger attachment need not in any way dwarf or hamper the latter." Animated by this spirit of unctuous self-glorification, he repeats the parrot-cry that, though India no doubt will have self-government in its own good time, "we naturally and rightly insist that the goal must be reached by safe and progressive stages and not by revolution".

According to Mr Marvin, "we had from the eighteenth century onward been quoted and followed as an example in self-government by other nations 'struggling to be free'. in the art of self-government, in preserving an unbroken political unity, without a revolution for 250 years, and gradually extending the system to our offshoots and dependencies, in this we stand alone by... our prominent position in the League of Nations we count for so much in the stability and progress of the world.. for the League of Nations exists to generalise the peaceful progress [i e progress which does not interfere with the exploitation of the backward races of Africa and the Mosul oil fields] which is characteristic of English history......The practical spirit is the spirit of compromise ..... Hence those trained in the English school of 'prac-

tical politics' have many special aptitudes for service in the League of Nations ...We maintain on the whole a continuous policy in foreign affairs, and therefore go into the League of Nations... as a steadying force," which means, no doubt, that England is there to see to it that the League does not allow claims of abstract justice to override her interest or convenience.

The last chapter is headed 'The child's approach to Internationalism', and therein Mr F. J. Gould points out the way in which the teacher has to proceed and the child has to be taught if the moral unity of mankind is to be brought about in some remote future. In many respects though the references to India are few, the writer seems to us to be endowed with really sympathetic insight, of which the evidence is far from being common in the rest of the book. The writer begins by affirming that "to children learning history, every foreign nationality must be introduced in human, vivid, and picturesque terms." The European and American missionary and the English political traveller and retired Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, between them, give us exceedingly picturesque stories of Indian life, but they love to dwell on all the black spots and paint us by preference as semi-nude aborigines, and, knowing nothing of our life from the inside and writing always with a motive, they produce caricatures which pass for truth in the homeland and create greater estrangement instead of furthering the cause of unity. In the day of the final reckoning between the East and the West they will no doubt have their dues meted out to them. In the meantime all honour to those who, like Mr Gould, try to heal the breach by sympathetic appreciation. "India, especially, possesses so rich and ample a store of lovely legend and ethical evangel that it is a grief to think how little of it is known to the schools and even churches, of this island to-day." "It is useless to sigh over the lost opportunities of past teachers of history and to lament that, for example, they occupied time with the Black Hole of Calcutta that might have been better devoted to a portrayal of Indian village life, and Indian arts and crafts. Instead of sighing I would sooner render thanks to one man and one woman. The woman is Miss Margaret Noble, a London infants' school teacher who went to teach girls in a back lane of Calcutta, and who, in her book *The Web of Indian Life*, acted as prophetess of the Hindu soul, and disclosed to profound charms of devotion and imagination to us of the West, and who has narrated for children the *Cradle Tales of Hinduism*. The man is Romesh Chunder Dutt, once Prime Minister of Baroda who, in easy English verse, has recited the chief episodes of the wonderful old epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* ... this most fascinating story is beloved, even as a gospel, by many millions of our British commonwealth fellow citizens in India, and our children ought to know it at least as effectively as they know (or their history manuals know) the events of the Indian Mutiny. In brief, I would affirm that it is now one of the most pressing and solemn duties of the teacher to open up a knowledge preparatory yet vivid, of the far-stretching Indian civilization. India is destined to form one of the largest links in the final chain of human unity, and to neglect India would be as foolish as to neglect France in a survey of the evolution of Europe."

POLITICUS.

THE PROBLEM OF HINDOO-MOSLEM UNITY

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND ADJUSTMENT OF MUTUAL RELATIONS

BY MOULVI WAHED HOSSAIN, B.L., M.L.C.

The bloody riots and sanguinary conflicts between Hindus and Moslems in Calcutta have created an extremely anxious situation. The feeling of tension seems to be widespread. Sudden outbursts of hooliganism at intervals, secret murder and the sense of insecurity of life and property remind us of the troublous days of Karim and Chitoo, Tantia Topi and Akbar Khan. The general panic and terror, which still prevail in the second city of the Empire, resemble those which prevailed in the period of interregnum which saw the downfall of the Moghul Empire and the rise of the British supremacy in India. Our surprise is, how can the dark days of the Pindari reign of terror be brought about in the noon-tide of British power in India? Sometimes the most un-expected things happen, but it is certain that the present state of affair is not going to last long.

However, the present outburst of communalism in the country has given rise to various opinions. The pessimists think that Hindu-Moslem unity is an impossibility. The optimists take these communal ebullitions as passing phases of Indian life, and attribute them to the manipulation of some interested persons for serving their own purpose. But

there are some men of light and leading who honestly believe that there can be no real unity between followers of the two creeds so differently placed as regards their education, culture and temperament According to them unity is possible only when both the races will come up to the same level of education and intelligence Consequently, according to this view, Hindu-Moslem unity is a question of time.

Adjustment of Mutual Relations

Now, let us examine the problem without any bias or prejudice There is some force in the argument that unity presupposes equal conditions of life. Two communities in a state of different degree of education and culture, may live in amity and peace without habouring ill-will to one another so long as there is no clash of interest But as soon as class-interests come into conflict, the feeling of amity disappears, and class antagonism occupies its place This is a truism and is equally applicable to those cases where the two classes of persons are placed on the same level of intelligence and culture. Thus it is the conflict of class-interests which gives rise to the feeling of antagonism. Therefore the argument based on the equality of conditions of life loses much of its force. Now, the question is how to avoid the conflict of interest, either class or communal? I think there are two ways of avoiding the conflict of interests and bringing about Hindu-Moslem unity (1) One is by leaving the adjustment of mutual relations to the natural process of self-adjustment; and (2) the other is to settle the differences by conscious recognition of mutual rights If the matter is left to the natural process of self-adjustment, it will take time—indefinitely long time—to attain the happy consummation In the meantime the conflict of interests will lead to the rancorous growth of rabid communalism The present state of communal feeling prevailing in the country and the clash of interests leading to the occasional outbursts of antagonism clearly demonstrate the utter futility of the process of self-adjustment. Moreover, political exigency requires speedy adjustment of mutual relations and cannot wait for an indefinitely long period. Therefore, the second alternative requires our serious consideration The principle of conscious recognition of mutual rights is based on the policy of "give and take."—surrendering some rights which one enjoys in excess, and acquiring those rights hitherto denied to him. Thus by conscious recognition of just and legitimate rights of all communities the conflict of interests may be avoided, and the period of self-adjustment shortened But such a recognition requires the strength of mind and broad out-look of the men of light and leading of all communities and a strong desire for speedy settlement of communal differences. It is perhaps then that we shall be in a position to say that we are acting on the principle of justice, equality and fraternity.

The talk of a Round Table Conference for settling mutual differences seems to be based on the second alternative The representatives of various communities will do well to sit round a table, discuss the various questions affecting their rights, and then arrive at a common understanding by recognising mutual rights This will have a two-fold effect—(i) it will sweep aside the fog of suspicion which now clouds the mind of both the communities, and (ii) it will enable each community to know exactly the place and position it occupies in the Indian polity The task is no doubt difficult, but the difficulty should be grappled with with a determination

While on this subject I should like to point out the attitude of Islam towards non-Moslem communities It is well known to students of history that when foreign countries came under the sway of Islam, the Moslem Rulers (Khalifas) had to deal with the rights and privileges of different communities, notably with those of the Christians, the Jews and the Persians. The Christians used to take out their cross in procession accompanied by music Hazrat Omar, the second Qaliph, allowed it with necessary safe-guards. The following edicts issued at the time, throw a flood of light on the subject (1) Regarding the blowing of conchs and ringing of bells (*Nagoos*) the *firman* says:—

"The *Zimmi* (non-Moslems under the protection of Islam) may blow conchs or ring bells any time they like during the night and day save and except the times for prayers." *Kitab-ul-Kheraj*, p. 86

N. B Nagoos is a sort of conch for calling people to congregational prayer by the Eastern Christians.

(2) Regarding processions with the cross (*Salib*) the *firman* says

The *Zimmis* are entitled to take out their cross

in procession except by the congregations of the Moslems *Kitab-ul-Kheraj*, p. 80.

(3) Regarding the driving of swine, the prohibition runs thus

The *Zimmis* should not drive swine from their quarters through the quarters of the Moslems.

With the exception of limitations similar to those stated above, almost all the treaties concluded by Hazrat Omar and his generals with the conquered countries, granted to *Zimmis* (non-Moslems) full liberty of religious observances and full security of life and property. One of the clauses of the treaties concluded with the non-Moslem inhabitants of Jurjan, Azarbaizan, Muqan, &c, runs thus

"Security is granted to their life and property and religion and customs (*Shariat*), and no alteration will be made in any one of them" —*Vide* Tibri, p 2650, also p. 2662

To avoid tediousness I refrain from citing more instances from history and turn to the original source of the *Quran* and the *Hadiths* to ascertain the attitude of Islam towards the non-Moslems living in the same country or in the same neighbourhood The following four sets of passages will clearly illustrate the real attitude of Islam towards its neighbours and the underlying principles regulating the mutual dealings concerning social and religious matters

Referring to the non-Moslems and their religious differences, the Holy *Quran* says -

1 I am commanded to establish justice among you God is our Lord and your Lord our works will be imputed unto us your works will be imputed unto you *let there be no wrangling between us and you*, for God will assemble us all on the last day and unto Him shall we return Chap XIII

(2) Say : O unbelievers, I will not worship that which ye worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship Neither do I worship that which ye worship, neither do ye worship that which I worship ye have your religion, and I my religion Chap CIX.

(3) If God had so pleased, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee (the Prophet) a keeper over them , neither art thou a guardian over them *Revile not the idols which they invoke besides God lest they maliciously revile God without knowledge* Thus we have prepared for every nation their works, hereafter unto God shall they return and He shall declare unto them that which they have done -- Chap VI

(4) Wherefore we commanded the children of Israel that *he who slayeth a soul without having slain a soul* or committed a wickedness in the earth, shall be *as if he had slain all mankind*, but he who *saveth a soul alive*, shall be *as if he had saved the lives of all mankind* —Chap. V

(5) Make not God the object of your oaths that *ye will deal justly* and be devout, and *make peace with men*, for God is he who heareth and knoweth —Chap. II.

II

Referring to mutual relations, the Holy *Quran* says —

1 Show kindness to your parents and to relations and to orphans and to the poor and to your *neighbours who are your kinsmen and to your neighbours who are strangers and to your familiar companions* and to wayfarers, and to the captives whom your right hands possess (be they *your slaves* or *horses* or *other domestic animals*), for this is what God loves, and He does not love the proud or vainglorious who are covetous and recommend covetousness unto men Chap IV

(2) O true believers, observe justice when you appear as witnesses before God, and *let not hatred towards any one induce you to do wrong* but act justly this will approach nearer unto piety and fear God, for God is fully acquainted with what ye do - Chap. V 11 and 12)

(3) *Do good to the creatures of God*, for God loves those who do good —Chap II 91.

(4) Sympathy and assistance for your people must be shown in deeds of goodness and piety but you should not be helpful to one another for evil and malice ---Chap V 3

(5) And slacken not your zeal for the sympathy of your people And be not an advocate for the fraudulent and plead not for those who defraud one another. Verily God loves not him who is deceitful and criminal ---Chap IV 105.

(6) The person *who violates his brother's right is not a believer in the unity of God*

(7) *No one of you is a believer in God until he loves for his brother* what he loves for himself.

III

Referring to the mode of living and behaving with one another the Holy *Quran* says —

(1) There is much good in concord and agreement ---Chap IV 12

(2) And live peacefully with one another — Chapter VII 1

(3) Turn away word or deed which is vain and frivolous with what is better and then the person between whom and thyself was enmity, shall become as it were thy warmest friend —Chap. XLI 34

(4) Let not men laugh other men to scorn who haply may be better than themselves, neither let women laugh other women to scorn who haply may be better than themselves *Avoid entertaining frequent suspicions, for some suspicions are crime.* Pry not into other men's failings, neither let any of you traduce another in his absence, and fear God, for God is relenting and merciful —Chap XLIX 11 and 12

(5) They are the doers of good *who master their anger and forgive others* when it is proper to do so.—Chap III 128

(6) The recompense of evil is only evil proportionate thereto, but if a person forgives and this forgiveness is exercised on the right occasion so that matters amend thereby, he shall find his reward from God.—Chap. XLII, 38.

(7) Feed the hungry and visit the sick and free the captive, if he be unjustly confined. *Assist any person oppressed, whether Moslem or non-Moslem —Hadis.*

(8) Verily God instructs me to be humble and lowly and not to be proud and that *no one should oppress another.—Hadis*

(9) Do not say, if people do good to us we will do good to them and if people oppress us we will oppress them, but determine *that even if you do not receive good from people you will do good to them, and if they oppress you you will not oppress them —Hadis*

(10) All God's creatures are his family, and he is the most beloved of God who tries to do most good to God's creatures.—*Hadis.*

IV

Regarding the rights of and respect due to women the Holy Prophet says —

(1) *Paradise lies at the feet of thy mother* The rights of women are sacred, see that women are maintained in the rights attributed to them *Do not prevent your women from coming to the mosque* The best of you before God and His creation are those who are best in their own family and best to their wives A virtuous wife is man's best treasure Fear God in regard to the treatment of your wives, they are your helpers you have taken them on the security of God and made them lawful by the words of God The woman is the sovereign in the house of the husband. The world is full of objects of joy and delight and the best source of delight is a pious and chaste woman."—*Hadis*

(2) God enjoins upon you to treat women well, for they are your mothers, daughters and aunts.—*Hadis*

(3) Women are the twin halves of men —*Hadis*

(4) And respect women who have borne you, for God is watching over you.—*Quran*, Chap IV, 2.

(5) The adultery of the eye is to look on with the eye of lust on the wife of another, and for adultery of the tongue is to utter what is forbidden —*Hadis*

(7) I swear by God, there is not anything which God so condemns as His male and female servants (i e men and women) committing adultery.—*Hadis*

Comments are unnecessary on the four sets of passages quoted above. They contain the Quranic injunctions and the authentic precepts of the Prophet as to (1) how Moslems should behave with non-Moslems even in matters of religious differences; (2) how to live in peace and concord and adjust mutual relations without entertaining suspicion; (3) how to assist and sympathise with one another and do good to God's creatures who are His family, (4) how to respect women who are our mothers, daughters and aunts; for "*Paradise lies at the feet of the mothers who have borne us*"—*says the Prophet*

THE NEW GREATER ITALY AND SIGNOR MUSSOLINI

By Dr TARAKNATH DAS, M A., PH. D.

(This article has been prepared after the writer's recent visit to Italy and study of the "Life of Benito Mussolini" by Signora Margherita G Sarfatti)

To understand the real spirit and future possibilities of the new and greater Italy, we must first visualise, if we can, the significance of Italian contributions to human progress, since the glorious days of the Roman Caesars, and the present-day activities of the Italian nation under the guidance of Signor Mussolini and the Fascists.* Suffice it to say, for the purpose of our present discussion, that the people of the Mediterranean region made most of the fundamental and basic contributions in the fields of Law, Government, Art, Science, Literature and Religion of the Western people; and possibly, on the whole, the people of Italy lead them all. Roman Law, the Roman Empire (the glory of which inspires British statesmen to compare the British people and the British Empire as the heirs of ancient Rome) and its administration, Italian paintings, sculpture and music extort the admiration of all As to-day Italy has her Marconi and others, so in the past Galelio and others have aided Science. The history of Italian literature is an epic. Rome has been and is the fountain-head of organized Christianity, the Catholic Church, whose

* The word "fascist" is derived from the "fasces" or bundles of sticks carried by the lictors of ancient Rome as symbols of authority. It implies unity and authority.

history covers the major part of the cultural history of the Western people. May it be said here that the Catholic Church was the most important factor to bring about intellectual and cultural unity of all Europe as an entity. After my travel and observations, Italy of the past looms large; I do not hesitate to say that without full appreciation of Italy, through sympathetic study, none can adequately understand the spiritual and cultural significance of the Western Civilization.

In the glorious past of Italy lies the seed of the new Italy. This seed has taken centuries of adverse circumstances to grow into a plant, and it is now bearing rich fruit. As early as the days of Dante, the great Italian saw the vision of it. The Italian patriot Machiavelli who is the real father of modern statecraft among the people of the West, wrote the much misunderstood "Prince" as a message to an Italian Prince who would undertake the work of Italian Unity. Centuries later, Mazzini, the prophet of Italian Unity and Independence, the most forceful exponent of the ideal of nationalism and "Duties of man to God, Country and Humanity", in the nineteenth century, from whose writings many Indian patriots have received inspiration to serve their own cause, Garibaldi, the warrior-leader of the Italian War of Independence, Cavour, the statesman without whose sagacity, it would have been impossible to secure international support for the cause of Italian Independence, and King Victor Emmanuel, the advocate of constitutional monarchy, played their roles, supplementing one another to bring about a free and independent united Italy, the fore-runner of the new and greater Italy of to-day and of the future. As in Asia, modern Japan has attained her present status as a World Power politically, militarily, navally, financially and industrially within a short time, so in the case of Italy, which was for centuries under Austrian domination, her accession to the present status as a World Power is rather significant and dramatic, and this has been brought about through Italian efforts and sagacity in international politics. To-day Italy is the third colonial power in Europe, next only to Great Britain and France. About ten millions of her children, living outside the confines of the mother country, are engaged in founding a Greater Italy whose voice will be heard the world over and whose might will be respected by all nations of the world. At the end of the World War, the condition of Italy was most unstable on the verge o anarchy and chaos. Great Britain, France an the United States ignored Italian demands whil framing the Treaty of Versailles. But it seem that a miracle has happened; and throug some magic power, the great people hav awakened to their responsibilities and grea destiny; there has come such a transformation of Italy, that to-day the revealing mig of the Italian people has forced other nation to recognise that no important question o international politics in Europe can b harmoniously and amicably solved without th consent and co-operation of Italy. Certainl this change is the achievement of the Italia people, but through the great leadership o Signor Mussolini "Il Duce*" of the Fascist and the present Premier of Italy.

To-day even Great Britain is catering t the new and greater Italy to secure the support of the latter in British Mediterranean Near Eastern and African policies by ceding territories and making favourable debt-settlements. Great Britain has ceded a part of Kenya and Jubaland to Italy; she has supported Italy in the recent Italo-Egyptia boundary dispute which has been settled in Italy's favor. Great Britain has agreed t the Italian debt-settlement by which Italy will pay only 4s to a £1 of indebtedness. Indeed in making this generous financial settlement with Italy, political considerations have played a very considerabl part. Before the settlement of the Anglo-Italian Debts, Sir Austin Chamberlain, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, took the initiative to meet Signor Mussolini at Rapallo; and on December 29th 1925, these statesmen discussed the situation in the Near East and in the Balkans, because of the recent Russo-Turkish Agreement and Neutrality Treaty concluded at Paris, after the Turkish refusal to accept the decision of the League Council on the Mosul question and came to some kind of cordial personal understanding. Mr. Churchill, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking on the occasion of the signing of the Anglo-Italian War Debt Agreement, on January 27, 1926 made the following significant statement —

"My colleagues in the British Cabinet, *in leaving a wide discretionary power in those negotiations, desired me to take into consideration not only the purely financial aspects, but the whole course of*

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* "Il Duce" means Chiefs and Superman.

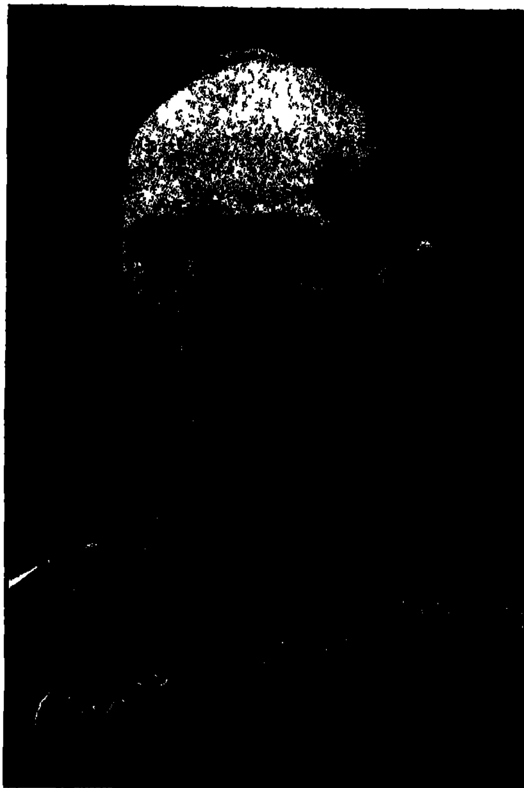
happy relations with Italy in the immense ... with which we have been associated both in war, and in the period of reconstruction"

The Times (London) of February 5, 1926, an editorial defending the Anglo-Italian Debt Settlement frankly acknowledged that political considerations played an important part It said ·

> That general political considerations entered the settlement is not improbable. Signor Mussolini went so far as to describe it yesterday as a *'political act'* which will strengthen the traditional friendly relations between Italy and Great Britain"

According to a Reuter despatch of Feb. 1926 from Rome, Signor Mussolini observed that the settlement of the Italian Debt to Great Britain *"makes one confident that there will be an even more intense Anglo-Italian cordiality in all those fields in which the activities of the countries collaborate to the advantage of civilisation and the world"*

Before the Locarno Pact was signed, Italy's co-operation was sought by the Powers particularly Great Britain, because it was evident that Italy's co-operation with Russia and Turkey might badly upset the whole situation in the Near East and the Balkans Italy has assumed the leadership of a movement so that the Latin races, especially France, Italy and Spain may co-operate in the solutions of problems involving mutual interests This became markedly evident when Signor Mussolini vigorously upheld the Italian claims in the Tyrol, and served notice on Germany and the League of Nations, to the effect that under no circumstances would Italy allow any nation or group of nations to dictate to her Signor Mussolini, on that occasion, boldly but significantly called upon the French statesmen and people to co-operate with Italy so that ...0,000,000 or more Latin people of these two countries would be able to check the new Pan-German menace In the Tyrol controversy with Austria and Germany, Italy won, because Germany could not secure British support which she hoped for, as British statesmen did not dare to antagonise Italy *It is very significant that the last session of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations held its sessions in Rome* It is very day becoming apparent that inspite of the promises of Sir Austin Chamberlain and M Briand to Drs. Luther and Stresseman, regarding the assignment of some colonies to Germany as mandates on behalf of the League of Nations, Germany will not succeed in securing any mandate unless Italy agrees to such an arrangement, after satisfying her (Italy's) own colonial demands or securing certain concessions. It may also be safely asserted that in the proposed Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, Italy's unmistakable voice will be heard and her influence will be appreciably felt by all nations, particularly the great nations of the world.



Benito Mussolini

New Italy's ability to assert herself in World Politics, is the best evidence of her internal strength, because no weak nation without *actual power* can ever command respect and recognition in international politics. To day, Italy is no more torn with fanatical, factional and political quarrels and party strifes tending to civil war, and this change has been brought about by the activities of the Fascists under the leadership of Signor Mussolini, who places great importance on creating a new world-consciousness among the Italian people His dramatic

trip to Tripoli, just after the recent and most lamentable attempt on his life by a British Peeress, Lady Gibson, at Rome, is not an act of self-aggrandisement, as many of his opponents will try to interpret it, but intended to create a spirit of "sea consciousness" among the Italian people It is to remind them that the Roman Empire of the past was a Sea Power, and there was a time when the maritime activities of the Italian people were an inspiration to the rest of the world. It is to drive into the minds of the Italians the significance of Sea Power and colonial Empire. if Italy is to play the role of a great Power. Mussolini's spirit can be better understood from the following extract from his speech delivered some years ago when he assumed the position of the president of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs He said —



Mazzini

"Fascism ought to become the watchful guardian of our foreign policy I think that Fascism ought to train up a generation of new men without provincialism or local feeling, who would *feel* the Italian problem, who would hold it to be a problem of self-consciousness, of expansion of Italian prestige, in Europe and in the world, and to attain this object would adapt both minds and methods If Italy wishes to play a guiding part in the destinies of the world, if Italy has the pride which she ought to have, she should prepare herself now, she should assemble a band of technical experts of students who would bring devotion and efficiency to the examination of special questions, and at the same time she ought to awaken among the great mass of Italians an interest in foreign policy Only by these means can Italy become a great nation, and, what is even more important, while presenting herself to the outside world as one united complete whole, preserve and safeguard her political unity at home.

... *It is necessary to force Fascism* [illegible] *its front and to turn it away from* [illegible] *quarrels in order that it may become the* [illegible] *power of our foreign policy. A hard* [illegible] *grateful task, but a necessary one. Either* [illegible] *will become this, or Fascism will cease* [illegible] *any object.*"

Space will not permit me to present a comprehensive analysis of the life and ideals of Signor Mussolini, the greatest of living statesmen. He has been described a a tyrant, a tool of capitalists who had suddenly assumed the role of an ambitious Dictator while he is looked upon by millions of Italians and foreigners as a "super-man Mussolini has many bitter enemies But it must not be forgotten that all great men in the past had enemies and anyone who will try to accomplish extra-ordinary things breaking up established customs and prejudices and the power of traditional hierarchy of a country will be bitterly opposed and unjustly maligned The Free Masons, the Anarchists and Communists and some professional liberals and a few sincere persons (out of their convictions) are opposed to Signor Mussolini and the Fascists, because he has had the courage to apply strong measures to crush their power which has not been for the best interests of Italy and at the same time he has introduced some extraordinary reforms to bring about desirable changes in every walk of Italian life. As a matter of principle, Signor Mussolini does not approve of any Secret Society, particularly of a Secret Society which meddles in national and international politics He also does not believe in any religious body, *as a religious body*, entering into politics and thus dividing the country on the question of creeds Italy is a Catholic country and Signor Mussolini recognises the place of religion and church in all organised society, and has again made the Catholic Church the State Church of Italy, but he is sternly against the Church or any order of the Catholic Church meddling in Italian politics He has been opposed to the Masons because it is an undisputed fact that they intrigue in national and international politics Signor Mussolini is not afraid of the Masons or the Clergy, but he feels that for clean politicians there is no need of any secret society Signor Mussolini has broken the hold of the Bolshevists in Italy, and his methods have been far more considerate than those of the Bolshevists in Russia British Labor, which is very loud to condemn

Mussolini and the Fascists, should be reminded that they have practised far worse legalised persecution in India, Egypt and South Africa for the sake of furthering British Imperialism and "whitemanism

To be sure, Signor Mussolini, at a very critical time of Italian history, adopted stern measures against those whom he thought to be advocates of chaos, under the guise of liberty But he did this to insure peace and to give the Italian people a chance to work and to increase national prosperity He never approved of vandalism and persecution As early as 1921, faced by intolerable pretensions of some groups (of Fascists) which were not sufficiently held in check by their local chiefs, Mussolini's warning broke forth in bitter reproach --

"The nation turned to us when our movement appeared as a liberator from a tyranny, the nation will turn against us if our movement takes the guise of a fresh tyranny... The nation needs peace to recover, to restore itself, to fulfil its highest destinies You do not understand, you do not wish to understand, that the country wishes to work without being disturbed *I would enter into alliance at this moment with the devil himself, with Anti-Christ if that would give this country five years of tranquility of restoration of peace* "

It is needless to say there is less crime, less riot, less violence, such as lynching, bank-robbery, murders in broad day-light, in Italy than in the United States of America Let us say very frankly that under a Fascist regime, which makes Italy a unit and which does not allow any place for communalism, localism or special privilege, there would be no possibility of a riot like the Hindu-Moslem riots which happen in India Such happenings would be crushed with iron hands and with effectiveness, and the fomenters of such riots will not enjoy liberty

Mussolini is not a tool of the capitalists He is for the Italian people, irrespective of class and occupation He has seen with his own eyes, the chaos, the workers of Italy brought about in the industrial life of the land when they tried to run the industries He is not blind to what has happened in Soviet Russia. *He is for the working people but he insists that as long as the workers have not the necessary efficiency to run industries, they must not ruin the industrial life of a country He feels that there is yet much to be learned by the workers from the capitalists, and the capitalist civilisation has not yet played its full role, but it is in its infancy and has infinite possibilities* As an idealist he does not believe in the theory that "economic interpretation of history" or material gain is all of life After all, within the short space of time he has had power, Mussolini has shown what can be done for the masses of the country without talking of "communism" and other impractical things. It is in Italy, it has been made possible to have such legislation as will make it impossible for the industrialists to use "lock out" against the workers, neither can the workers indiscriminately strike to paralyse industry What recently happened in America in the coal industry, what is happening in England in the same industry and the lock-out of the Indian mill hands by the Indian capitalists can never happen



G Garibaldi

in Italy Go and see Italy of to-day and you will find the masses are more contented, because they have work to do and everyday the standard of living of *Italian peasants and* workers is on the road to a higher level. Lastly, let this be kept in mind that when Mussolini was put in power, he had the support *of more* than five million Italians who come from all classes, and the majority of them come from the working people. To-day Mussolini has a greater following in Italy and his power rests upon the consent of the people

Mussolini is a leader of men, and he knows the masses , and when he "lives dangerously" and scorns all fear, he tries to live up to the ideal of a true leader who is to lead and not to cater to the whims of the mob. "Masses despise those who have not the courage to be that which they ought to be.' He once said —

"I am a leader who leads, not a leader who follows. I go— now and above all— against the current and never abandon myself to it, and I watch always, above all, for the changing winds to swell the sails of my destiny"

None should think that Signor Mussolini the son of a village blacksmith, has risen to the present position of a supreme leader, by mere accident On the contrary, the great Italian leader has made super-human efforts to reach his present position. In fact, he did not seek, the position for the sake of a position and honor, because although he is now living in a palace, he would be quite content to live in a hut and lead an obscure life, if that would help him the better to gain his goal of making Italy



Cavour

great From his very childhood, he made the best of the revolutionary republican idealism, inherited from his father. He utilised the "prison-like discipline" of a Catholic institution of higher learning for several years, where he led the life of a serious student He worked in various capacities of a common worker while attending the Swiss Universities, to increase his own efficiency He had to go to jail on various occasions in his own country and in Switzerland, as he was a revolutionary socialist. He went to Germany to get his first-hand knowledge of German culture and efficiency. He worked as a teacher, journalist and editor and above all, always from his very childhood he was a leader of men. As a student of Political Science and Government he earned his Doctor's degree by presenting his most original thesis on Machiavelli He is a master of various languages and philosopher who studied Buddhism more car fully than many Buddhists have done.

Mussolini was a revolutionary socialis but he was not a dreaming internationali When the World War broke out, on th issue of War and the part the Italian peopl should play in it, he broken his relations wit the Socialist party of Italy. The Italian nationalists were in favor of entering the War on th Austro-German side, and regular socialist were talking about "peace at any cost" and for the sake of internationalism Musssolini expressed his views in favor of absolut neutrality, and, in case of necessity (for securing National Unity), war against Austro-Hungary He raised his voice against the official socialists in the following way:—

"Do you believe that the State of to-morrow Republican or Socialist Republican, will not mak war if historic necessities— internal or external make it necessary? *And who will guarantee you that Government resulting from the revolution will not have to seek precisely a war of its own baptism* And shall you be against war which should safeguard your revolution our revolution To refuse to distinguish between war and war, and to presume to offer the same kind of opposition to all wars, is to give proof of a stupidity bordering upon the imbecile. Socialists of Italy, listen it has happened at times that the letter has killed the spirit. Do not let us keep the letter of the Party if that means killing the spirit of Socialism

It is rather extra-ordinary that today the Red Army of the Soviets is there to justify the prediction The Socialist Republic had to create a formidable Red Army to safeguard the Revolution Signor Mussolini had to give up his relations with the Socialist party to live up to his convictions None should think that Signor Mussolini gave up his convictions of the ideals of Socialism although he resigned from the Socialist party.

Mussolini was one of the few who knew the real meaning of "Italia Irredenta"—the unredeemed Italy, and to him the sacred emotion of nationalism was not mere talking nationalism So, as early as July 26, 1914 Mussolini wrote, "There could be no question for a single moment of going into the war on the side of Austria" On July 27, 1914 he further wrote

"The moment Italy showed inclination to break neutrality in order to back up the Central Powers the Italian Proletariat would have but one duty we say it out clearly and distinctly— that of rising in rebellion"

Later on he declared for armed neutrality for Italy to safeguard herself from reprisal and wrote

"We felt that it would have been absurd to urge that Italy alone should remain unarmed while the whole of Europe was a forest of bayonets. We admitted that we must keep in readiness to defend ourselves from possible Austro-Hungarian reprisals. This admission may lead us far, it may lead us, that is, to see that we must offer practical resistance to that war which would free us for ever from all possible future reprisals."

Later on he made it clear that Italy must work for achieving complete Italian unity by recovering those regions of Italy—Trento and Trieste—which were then under Austrian control. He wrote:—

It would be absurd to judge all wars alike. If it is a question of war on Austria-Hungary, the Socialist Party will not oppose it. Neutrality to the East is one thing, to the West another. *The point at issue is to complete Italian Unity."*

The great Italian patriot was urging Italy to enter the war against Austro-Hungary not to make the "world safe for democracy", but to complete Italian Unity. He was aided by a few people and among them were Corridoni and Gabriel d'Annunzio, the great poet. Slowly Mussolini's voice reached the masses and it was he more than any other man in Italy who paved the way for Italy's entry into the World War on the side of France and her allies. When Italy entered the war Mussolini wrote: "*O Mother Italy, we offer thee, without fear and without regret, our life and death.*"

Mussolini was never an arm-chair politician, advocating certain vigorous measures such as War, while sheltering himself at a comfortable distance from the battle-fields. He advocated War to recover Italian territories and volunteered to join the Italian army as a common soldier. He went through all the sufferings of a soldier on the battle-fields of northern Italy during the terrible winter campaigns. He was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell and he had to undergo the terrible experience of a serious operation to extract splinters of the shell which entered his body in more than thirty places.

Italy suffered tremendously during the War, because the nation was not prepared for it. Italy lost more than 500,000 men, but eventually it was Italy which broke through the Austrian line, which was one of the principal causes for Austria seeking peace. But when the war was won, owing to peculiar circumstances, the Italian statesmen met defeat in diplomacy and Italy was not given proper shares of territory to complete Italian unity and to meet her needs in colonial expansion. Mussolini was bitterly disappointed at the lack of leadership among the Italian statesmen. They not only surrendered to other statesmen of foreign lands, but they, in a cowardly manner, surrendered to Italian Bolshevists who created chaos in Italy. Mussolini again raised his voice for a definite policy which would change the internal and external relations of Italy for her benefit. He was asking for an Italian Revolution, and was at first supported by a few of the veterans of the War and his old associates. Mussolini was for a revolution, but he knew that revolutions are not brought about and won by renunciation and bluff. He wrote:—



Victor Emanuel II

"When one sets foot on the road of renunciation it is difficult to call a halt, especially when one's opponents regard every act as due to weakness, and put down as cowardice what may be merely conciliation. I do not bluff nor talk "hot air"..... A revolution above all things should have a mind of its own, clearly defined, only with clear ideas could the populace be won over. It should have a precise objective, a programme already laid down, so that in the hour of victory it would not fail through dissensions. Revolution is not a surprise packet which can be opened at will. I do not carry it in my pocket. Revolution will be accomplished with the army with arms, not without them, with trained forces, not with undisciplined mobs called together in the streets. It will succeed when it is surrounded by a halo of sympathy by the majority, and if it has not that, it will fail.

Signor Mussolini saw the vision that to save Italy he would have to bring about a Revolution, and he started to organise those who would be willing to risk all they had to save their country from chaos and make her great. A handful of veterans of the World

War and some of his very dear friends stood by him, and seven years ago on march 23, 1919, the first meeting of this heroic band, was held at Milan, the birthplace of Fascism. Fascism did not seek numbers to its ranks but wanted to enlist men of courage and intelligence to its ranks, because no great movement could ever succeed without foresight and preparedness, which is an intellectual property and cannot be left to the mercy of mere numbers, but which necessitates a selection of individuals. In the first meeting of the Fascists, Mussolini gave an idea of the work before them. Among other things he said :—

"The assembly of March 23rd renders its homage first to the memory of the fallen, to the wounded and those who fought for their country and for humanity, to all who declare themselves ready to throw themselves into the task of restoring social and moral order which will be undertaken by the associations of ex-soldiers. The assembly of March 23rd declares itself opposed to the Imperialism of other nations at the expense of Italy, and to the possibility of Italian Imperialism being used to the detriment of other nations... I do not look upon revolution as an eruption, or an epileptic fit I



The Mother of Fascismo

Signora Sarfatti, one of the driving spirits behind Fascism the author of the life of Mussolini

consider it should have an aim and, above all, a method.. To be a revolutionary in certain circumstances may be the glory of a life, but when those who talk of revolution are nothing but vandals and parasites we must not hesitate to oppose them for fear of being called reactionaries *As to reaction and revolution, I have one unfailing standard which I apply Every thing which matter for the greatness of the Italian people I will support. Everything which tends to lower the Italian people I will oppose.* ...The masses ought to be educated. not flattered and played upon by demagogues. We must stand as educators, who would not seek success or popularity or salaries or votes...'

He imposed military discipline on them who wanted to join the ranks of Fascism, and worked unceasingly to unify the best elements of the nation for the common cause of Italian greatness He organised a solid hierarchy of men who dared to act according to the following oath.—

"In the name of God and Italy, in the name of all who have died for the greater glory of Italy I swear that I will consecrate myself entirely and for ever to live for the good of Italy."

According to Mussolini,

The Facist soldier must serve Italy with purity with a spirit penetrated by a profound idealism sustained by an indestructible faith, dominated by inflexible will disdaining opportunism and caution as being no better than cowardice, resolute in sacrifice as the consummation of his faith"

The Facist Movement has been organised on the basis of efficiency and not on a communal, local or democratic basis *It recognises the fact that all men are not equal in efficiency It wishes to impose upon Italy the rule of the wisest and the best by giving the leadership and responsibility of the Government to the most competent* It is not a so-called democracy and it is far from being an autocracy, but it possesses an aristocracy of intellect which preaches and practises that *if you are superior to me in efficiency and merit, I shall obey you, if you are equal to me, I shall consult you, if you are inferior to me, you must obey my instructions*

Within a short time this militant organization of fighters and patriots of Italy began to flourish all over the country, and the followers wanted to bring about unarmed revolution by capturing Rome and thus establishing a Fascist Government Mussolini was not a self-seeker, nor a narrow-minded formula-worshipping revolutionist *He really adopted the Principle of Responsive Co-operation with the Italian Government with the King at its head* and when he was invited to form a government he agreed to do so with the aid of all, irrespective of party affiliations, who wanted to support him in his work Had he been a lesser man, a self seeking one, he could have become a Dictator by plunging the country into a civil war and dethroning the King But he knew it well "to pull down is easy, but to build is difficult He has assumed his responsibilities as a constructive statesman His whole ambition in life is to place the Italian people on the highest plane of existence through his effort and the efficient co-operation of others. Let him speak for himself of his future programme·—

"Twenty thousand leaders, twenty thousand *Condottieri*. teachers, engineers. bankers, captains

industry; ten thousand functionaries, all men of the first order, thoroughly equipped experts, men who have taken science into their very tissues That is what Italy needs. That is what I must ready for her. From forty to fifty thousand men functioning with the regularity of clock-work Every great calling is a priesthood which stamps with its character all a man's acts, even the least of them. Jealous of his honour, prodigal of his ... - that is the true officer; high-minded, serious ... ascetic—that is the magistrate, smart, ... e, but justice itself— that is the police official I am talking of the fifty thousand experts whose task it would be to act as guides to the whole nation The people are tired and sick of politicians. *What ... have to bring into existence is a great aristocracy of experts*"

One of the first acts of Signor Mussolini after assuming the responsibility of the Italian Premier was to call upon Italy's Educational Experts to aid him to bring about national Educational Reform which would be the foundation of training a nation of experts He appointed Professor Giovanni Gentile as the Minister of Public Instruction and under his direction a remarkable re-organization of the educational programme of the nation, from primary education to University education, has been accomplished Army reform, navy reform and all sorts of reforms in all fields of national life are in progress now in Italy

While transacting the affairs of State, Mussolini acts as a realist But he is an idealist devoid of base selfishness and the spirit of opportunism He has his supreme conviction and acts with the courage and determination of a warrior who gladly stakes his life for his cause In Mussolini, one finds the rare combination of the statecraft of Machiavelli and Cavour, the idealism of Mazzini, and heroism of Garibaldi, and vision of a true social reformer moved not by mere sentimentalism but with the pragmatic sense of doing lasting service, through rousing the will-power of a man to be good and great. Above all Mussolini is not a "man of one-track mind" who worships certain formulas and cannot change his position when that is needed He does not believe that his work will be accomplished in a few months or years but he feels that future generations will have to carry it on with greater glory and efficiency so he is deeply interested in inculcating the idealism of Fascism among the younger generation, even the children of five and six, whom I have seen leading most impressive parades of the Fascists

To me a Hindu, Mussolini typifies a Karma Yogi of the *Bhagabad Gita.* He works for the sake of his ideal of greater and glorious Italy, and fights along towards the fulfilment of his Duty, and not to secure praise and personal success A nation can become great only through the Karmas of her component parts—individuals Mussolini, the great Karma Yogi of Italy, has this vision and is pursuing the *sadhana*, with hundreds of thousands, if not millions of Fascists , and if we are to believe that work must have its effect, there is no doubt of greater glory for the new and greater Italy

In this connection, I venture to say that India will not succeed in attaining her national unity and freedom by pursuing the phantom of Communism or the false hope of International Peace and Freedom, promised by the British Labor Party and others; nor will she gain the end by worshiping the passive doctrine of Non-violent Non-Co-operation. Indian patriots will find a way from the methods of Fascism, tempered by Responsive Co-operation, which will lead to the reconstruction of a greater India.

Rome, Italy
March 25, 1926

D. B. PARASNIS

By JADUNATH SARKAR

THE first and most indispensable condition of historical research is access to original documents. He who collects old state-papers and other sources of history, therefore, makes research possible, and he benefits unborn generations of students by saving these unique records from destruction and dispersion, If, in addition to this, he prints the records, he confers a still greater benefit and extends that benefit to a wider circle of scholars, which may embrace the whole world

Such a benefactor of all earnest students

of Maratha history has been recently lost to us by the death of D. B. Parasnis of Satara on 31st March last. His life was simple, uneventful, and silent. But all his thoughts, passions and energies were devoted from his boyhood to the pursuit of a single aim, which he lived to carry to fruition before his death at the age of fifty-five.

Dattatreya, the son of Balawant Parasnis, was born to an ancient Maratha Brahman family on 27th November, 1870. He read up to the Matriculation standard in the Satara



Rao Bahadur D B Parasnis, of Satara

High School Even in his school days he gave a foretaste of his future pursuits by not confining his studies to his text books, but reading extensively the lives of historical personages, especially those of his native land. His strong literary bent showed itself quite early, and this school boy founded and edited a monthly magazine which called forth appreciation from some elderly men of light and leading. After leaving school, he founded and edited for some years another vernacular magazine, called the *Maharashtra Kokil*. But it was with the publication of his third monthly, the *Bharatvarsha*, in 1898 that his life's work really began. Though this periodic-al had a brief life of two years only, yet 24 numbers contained priceless original re-cords and learned reconstructions of Mara-tha history An interval of nine years follow-ed its death, and then he founded (in 19-) another and still more valuable histori-cal magazine of the same type under the na-me of *Itihas Sangraha*, which ran for seven yea-rs but was at last abruptly discontinued through getting into very long arrears of publication

Young Parasnis worked for a long tim-e under the veteran M. G. Ranade's genera-l guidance, among the Peshwas' Daftar (pre-served in the Land Alienation Office at Poon-a and prepared the materials published, in some cases, under other and better-know-n peoples' names. Later he published in hi-s own name selections from these and oth-er records as independent volumes, *e g.*,

Selections from the Peshwas' Diaries Shahu
Do do do Balaji Baji Rao, 2 Vols
Decisions from Shahu's and Peshwas' Daftar
Sanads and Letters
Kaifiyats, Yadis, &c,
Treaties, Agreements, and Sanads.
Life and Letters of Brahmendra Swami
The Royal House of Tanjore
Historical Papers relating to the Gwalior State, 3 vols. (for private use only)

It was rather unfortunate that Parasnis rushed to journalism too early, instead of completing his education. For, if he had gone through a full college course, he would have gained greater confidence in his own power as a writer and boldly challenged criticism by producing mature works of his own As it was he lived and died a collector and editor, and not a historian, though the texts he published will be invaluable to *other* men who will attempt history after him.

Parasnis's English works may be quickly passed over, as they were of a slight, topical character. His *Mahableshwar* (1916), *Satara State* (1917), *Poona in Bygone Days* (1921) and *Panhala* (1923) were merely presentation books and fell still-born from the press. The *History of the Maratha People*, 3 vols., which bears his name along with Mr. C. V. Kincaid's on the title-page, is admittedly the composition of the latter gentleman and expresses his opinions only, while Parasnis merely supplied the materials to the actual writer.

It is only by his publications in the Marathi language that Parasnis will live as an author. Those form his enduring contribu-

:o Indian history. His first work in his ır-tongue was the *Life of the Rani of* ı (1894), followed a couple of years by *The Marathas in Bundelkhand.* came *Brahmendra Swami's life and* (the second portion of it being a of first rate importance for the reign ıji Rao I.), the *Life of Baija Bai* (of ır), &c Parasnis published by instal- in his magazines several collections of -papers of the highest value to the ıt of Maratha history and even of *North* history First came the Bulky *Letters* *mals &c* (*Patren Yadi bagaire*) con- uted to the *Bharatvarsha* by Kashinath Sane Then appeared in the *Itihas-* *ngraha* under Parasnis's own editing, two volumes of despatches sent to Poona by Peshwa's agent at the Court of Ahalya Holkar, and two other thick volumes con- ng the letters of the Maratha envoys at the court of Delhi, followed by collections of letters written by the wa's agents at Calcutta, Seringapatam, Jodhpur, &c

It may not be well-known that Nana ıvis, who was the *de facto* ruler of the tha State for several years, had a favour- country seat at the quiet romantic village Menauli Most of the despatches and state papers which reached Poona in time were taken away by him to this e, and therefore, the State Record Office Peshwas (atleast the "Foreign" section was not in Poona After Nana's down- and death, his family was ruined, and priceless records began to perish from t or to be dispersed. In the course generations much was gone beyond of recovery. [Khan Bahadur Israel me that nearly half a century ago he to recover from Menauli a portrait stani ascribed to a French artist] But near the close of the 19th century, nis came on the scene he did every- possible to save and print what still ned.*

Similarly, the decay of the Rajahs of a (who had been reduced by Dalhousie status of landholders or rather pen- s) opened a wide door to the sale, rsion and destruction of the valuable ical papers, old pictures, art objects and relics accumulated by the house of Shivaji during nearly 200 years In the middle of the 18th century, when the Marathas dominated North Indian politics, the Mughal Emperor and nobles and Hindu Rajahs alike sought to please the Chhatrapati by presenting him or his Peshwa with valuable pictures of the Indo-Saracen and Rajput schools, finely illuminated Sanskrit MSS, decorated swords and other curios. These found a refuge in Satara palace, but began to be dispersed in the last two decades of the 19th century

Most fortunately for Indian history, D. B Parasnis stepped into the breach. He was an ordinary middle class man, without wealth, without official power and patronage, without social influence But his heart and brain were *ceaselessly devoted to saving* these raw materials of history, and ultimately he did save most of them with infinite planning, patience, and versatility in the choice of means This rich and unrivalled collection not merely of written records, but also of other valuable relics of the past, made Parasnis's house at Satara truly the Mecca of the students of Maratha history

The greatest disappointment of Parasnis's life was the burning of the Holkar records at Indore, he was for no fault of his own just too late by a week to see them After the Peshwas' records (partly preserved in the Land Alienation Office at Poona, but mostly lost from Menauli), the next in im- portance among Maratha historical documents were those of Indore, because the Gaekwad's State-papers are very modern, (nearly all of them dating from 1802 or later), and the old records of Sindhia are said to have been cleared away as waste paper by a former governor (*subah*) of Gwalior The Indore archives, on the other hand, were full and unimpaired Parasnis had been after these for many years, but the usual obscurantist and obstructionist policy of Native State officials had perversely baffled him. At last a very influential political agent in his re- tirement in England, heard of it and wrote strongly to the Government of India in support of Parasnis's application, the screw was put from the top, and then the Darbar gave to fear that permission which it had refused to scholarship. With this permit in his hand, Parasnis started for Indore, but while halting at Bombay to make some purchases he received a telegram from Indore

* Two other collections are said to have been away from Menauli by Rajwade and another a gentleman.

stating that a fire* had broken out in the low dark *cutcha* building where the records had been stored like grain-sacks, and that nearly all of them had perished Such is the harvest reaped by ignorance and folly in high places.

But how to make his rich store of original sources accessible to the public? How to preserve them from the vicissitudes of a family's private property and give them to the nation? How to house them in a building worthy of their importance and proof against destruction by fire or flood? These were his anxious thoughts during the last 12 years of his life. He was himself poor and friendless. Only the custodian of the public purse could realise his dream of founding a historical museum, and he naturally approached Government His collection had long been a common talk in cultured circles and in 1909 the Governor of Bombay (Lord Sydenham) had paid a visit to Satara specially to see it, Lord Willingdon, the next Governor of the province, had promised to build a museum for housing these historical treasures, and a site had actually been selected for the purpose on Government land, when the Great War came and stopped this along with many other good projects. But Parasnis's earnestness and perseverance were proof against every obstacle and after many years of hope deffered and anxious fear of opposition from a certain party in the legislature, the Satara Museum was at last completed in 1924 The Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson formally opened it on 3rd November, 1925,—a day which Parasnis truly declared was "the proudest and happiest day of my life"

Alas! it was destined to be very nearly the last also, because he did not survive this day by even five complete months, dying quite unexpectedly for one of his excellent health and temperate habits on the 31st March following

In addition to Marathi and Persian MS records, he made a very useful collection of printed books on Indian history, by a careful and persistent purchase extended over many years Two examples may be given here. He did not know French or German, and yet in his careful thought to provide every facility to future research students in India, he bought the French *Lives of the Gover[illegible] general of the Dutch Indies* printed in [illegible] and a German journal containing Dr O[illegible] Mann's long summary (in German) of [illegible] *Maj mua-ut-tawarikh bad az Nadir[illegible]* which gives the best Persian account [illegible] Ahmad Shah Abdali's rise His hope [illegible] that it would throw light on the 3rd battl[illegible] Panipat from the Afghan side, and he was sadly disappointed when I told him that the b[illegible] ended before the Abdali's coming to India

Not content with books in Europ[illegible] languages, he also bought in England the entire mass of private letters (all autograph) written to Sir Frederick Currie, the Brit[illegible] Resident at Lahore, during the eventf[illegible] year of the Second Sikh War, by Dalhou[illegible] Henry Lawrence, Nicholson and other mak[illegible] of Indian history, with the drafts of a[illegible] replies by Currie We can here rea[illegible] Dalhousie's defence of his policy in no[illegible] nipping the Multan outbreak in the b[illegible] but taking the risk of the revolt spreadin[illegible] to the whole Sikh population There are al[illegible] three other volumes of MS. letters written b[illegible] Lords Ellenborough, Hardinge and other[illegible] Parasnis also secured a fine steel engrav[illegible] of Lord Clive (in full-blown obesity) by paying something like £20 to his decendant

The Mughal paintings that Parasnis rescued out of the Satara Raj collectio[illegible] sent from Delhi in the 18th century) an[illegible] also bought elsewhere, are genuinely old and of unsurpassed value Nobody in India can hope to write a complete study of Indo-Muhammadan pictorial art unless he examines the three greatest collections of it in India namely, the Khuda Bakhash (Patna,) t[illegible] Rampur Nawab's and Parasnis's As late [illegible] January 1925, Parasnis bought a portf[illegible] of the portraits of Indian celebriti[illegible] of the 17th century (mostly of the Decca[illegible] Muslim States, with some of the Mughal Court, including a very fine profile of t[illegible] great Sawai Jai Singh)— which had be[illegible] collected by a Dutchman in India in Auran[illegible] zib's reign. A silly dealer had spoiled m[illegible] of these by retouching and adding a mod[illegible] varnish

D. B Parasnis had been created a Ra[illegible] Bahadur in 1913, but he ramained the sa[illegible] simple soul, the same passionate love[illegible] books and historical talk, the same jolly [illegible] and warm friend as before. The pre[illegible] writer remembers with a mournful int[illegible] a comedy in which we took part in [illegible] house in January, 1925. The Indian Historical

* The fire was real and not diplomatic. The remnant has been recently published in two thin volumes by Anant N. Bhagavat, the State archivist

..ord Commission was sitting at Poona ..it had been settled that its members ..'d visit Satara on the 3rd day. As the ..on terminated very early in the afternoon ..e second day, some eight of us decided ..oid the rush and have a quiet talk with ..snis by motoring to Satara that very ..ing, instead of accompanying the other ..mbers next day. A local gentleman under-.. to inform Parasnis of our coming by ..legram, and he forgot to do it The result .. the delivery of a bus-load of guests at ..lf past eight on a cold January night at ..asnis's door, to the intense surprise of .. host, confusion of his household and ..me of the guests. But Oh! the cordiality ..nd charm of Parasnis's unflagging conversa-..n which beguiled our time—and confusion ..our dinner was served at midnight, the ..st and his household fasting till then ..e laughed it away as a good joke!

Parasnis clung to his unpublished records ..d the credit of first publishing them with ..l the tenacity and unreasonableness of a .. or a miser Hence, workers in the ..me field have often charged him with ..shness and secretive habits Witness how .. withheld the author's manuscript of the ..itnis Bakhar from Rao Bahadur K N ..e who was editing that work, as described .. in this *Review*, February 1926, p 185. ..n Parasnis's explanation, in a letter which .. wrote to me only eleven days before his ..th, supports this view He wrote from ..na on 20th March, 1926

As regards Rao Bahadur Sane's remarks ..st me, I may point out that they are, to say ..ast, the outcome of his own misunderstanding. ..n he asked me for the loan of the manuscript .. clearly and definitely given him to under-.. that I was myself going to publish a critical .. complete edition of the *Chitnisi Bakhar*. ..n he first wrote to me, the MS. was not with ..but it was with my friend Mr P. V. Mawjee. ..n he enquired after some months, it was returned to me and I do not understand what fault my friend or myself committed when we told him the simple truth The manuscript had been secured by us after great efforts and expenditure, and it was naturally not possible for us to lend it out before we had made full use of it. No impartial and sensible man will interpret this as unwillingness on my part to help any research student. The complete edition of the *Chitnisi Bakhar* is in the course of preparation and will be out as soon as possible "*

In his passionate devotion to his country's history, there could be no place for any other love in Parasnis's heart. Our countrymen, especially the young who brood over our past, are politics-mad But Parasnis from his earliest youth shunned politics, of the familiar type, as futile, he even kept himself aloof from the Poona school of historical students whose mutul wranglings have almost sterilized their intellects and some of whom have degraded past history into an instrument of present-day political agitation. Parasnis knew the price of his conduct. Professional "patriots" whispered that he was a Government Sycophant,—a spy But he held on to the straight single course of his life, regardless of Envy's hiss and Folly's bray, and succeeded in enriching Maratha history as no other single individual has done His magazines not only published his own collections of records, but gave other workers an opportunity for preserving their discoveries and obtaining publicity. Sane and Rajwade, besides many younger men (notably "Yaswant" or Mr Gupte) have contributed to his *Bharatvarsha* and *Itihas-Sangraha*

When the day comes for rewriting Grant Duff's standard *History of the Mahrattas* (now antiquated by exactly a century) in the roll of those who have made such a revision possible not the least brilliant will be the name of Dattatreya Balawant Parasnis.

* Is it possible *now*? Who can edit it half so well as Sane? Not certainly Mawji. [J. Sarkar.]

THE WATERS OF LIFE

Through the lonely night the sound of
the waters of life,
Forever flowing downward to the sea,
Bringeth unspeakable comfort to the soul
Wandering in memory.
The mystery and tumultuous anger of
heaven
Lie in their quiet song,
From far serenity of starlit mountains
They are falling the whole night long
Through dreaming hearts, through sleep
of patient woodlands,
They wind their silvery thread,
Messengers of the deathlessness of life
Even among the dead.

E. E SPEIGHT

New Steel, Hard yet Pliant

Many of the qualities of the celebrated Damascus steel are said to be found in a modern product which an Ohio man has developed by a secret process. He combines iron and carbon in such a way that the resulting steel will bend, keep an edge of razor sharpness, is tough and can be driven through other steels without breaking. A bar of the material, fifteen inches long, was tempered to five different degrees, one end of it being



Demonstrating New Steel's Properties

hard enough to cut glass, a section was sharpened like a razor and would cut dry hair without honing or stropping, while other parts in the same bar would cut off a spike under blows of a hammer, would spring or could be bent backward and forward with the thumb and forefinger without breaking. Vanadium is an important element used in the preparation of the steel

Home-Grown Lions

A five acre lion farm, with an annual profit per acre from each year's crop that would astonish more prosaic farmers, has, in the last six years, grown up as one of America's strangest business ventures

Starting with a lion and two lionesses a half dozen years ago, Charles Gay the world's only lion farmer has run his shoe-string into a $100,000 plant, a stock of eighty animals in addition to many which have been sold outright, and a business that pays a comfortable small fortune every year. A few years ago, he landed in Los Angeles with his wife, and ten dollars in his pocket his only other asset a decade as an animal trainer in the Bostock troupe in Europe.

Today his lions are performing regularly in most of the movie studios of Hollywood, or in the imitation African jungle which he has plan his farm Each lion used in a picture d salary of $50 a day. In addition to this



Mr. and Mrs Charles Gay and a grou of their lion cubs

surplus stock is sold each year to zoos, c and stage performers while hundreds of daily pay admission to the farm to see mor than eight or ten large zoos could boast.

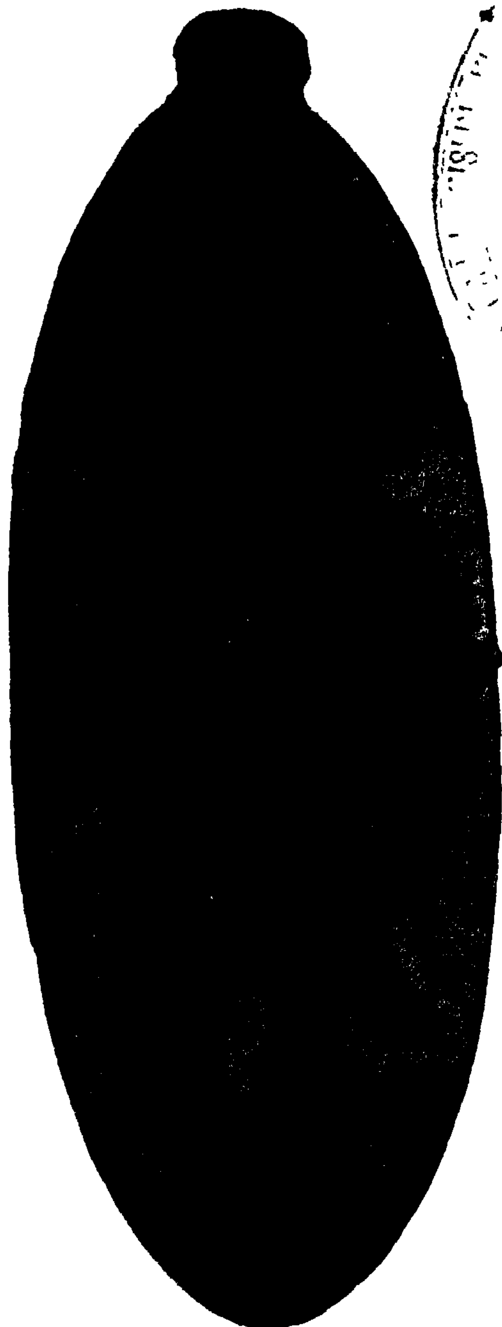
The success of the Gay lions as perfor due to his unique training methods. The a are as tame as kittens even when full-grow under Gay's direction, can be handled by th inexperienced movie actor without danger have never known a whip, prodding iron o cartridge, so are without fear of man In training, Gay uses a little switch, twelve



An actor supporting 600 pounds

long and when he enters a cage full of the beasts there are no attendants outside with other weapons to protect him.

There are no iron-barred cages on the lion



Gay taking a ride on a full-grown lion



A trained wrestler takes on Gay for a bout

farm. Instead all the animals live in the ope roaming around in large screened enclosures.

Dance on Galloping Floor

One of the features of a recent Cossack sh in London was a dance performed by two m who were supported upon a platform on pol

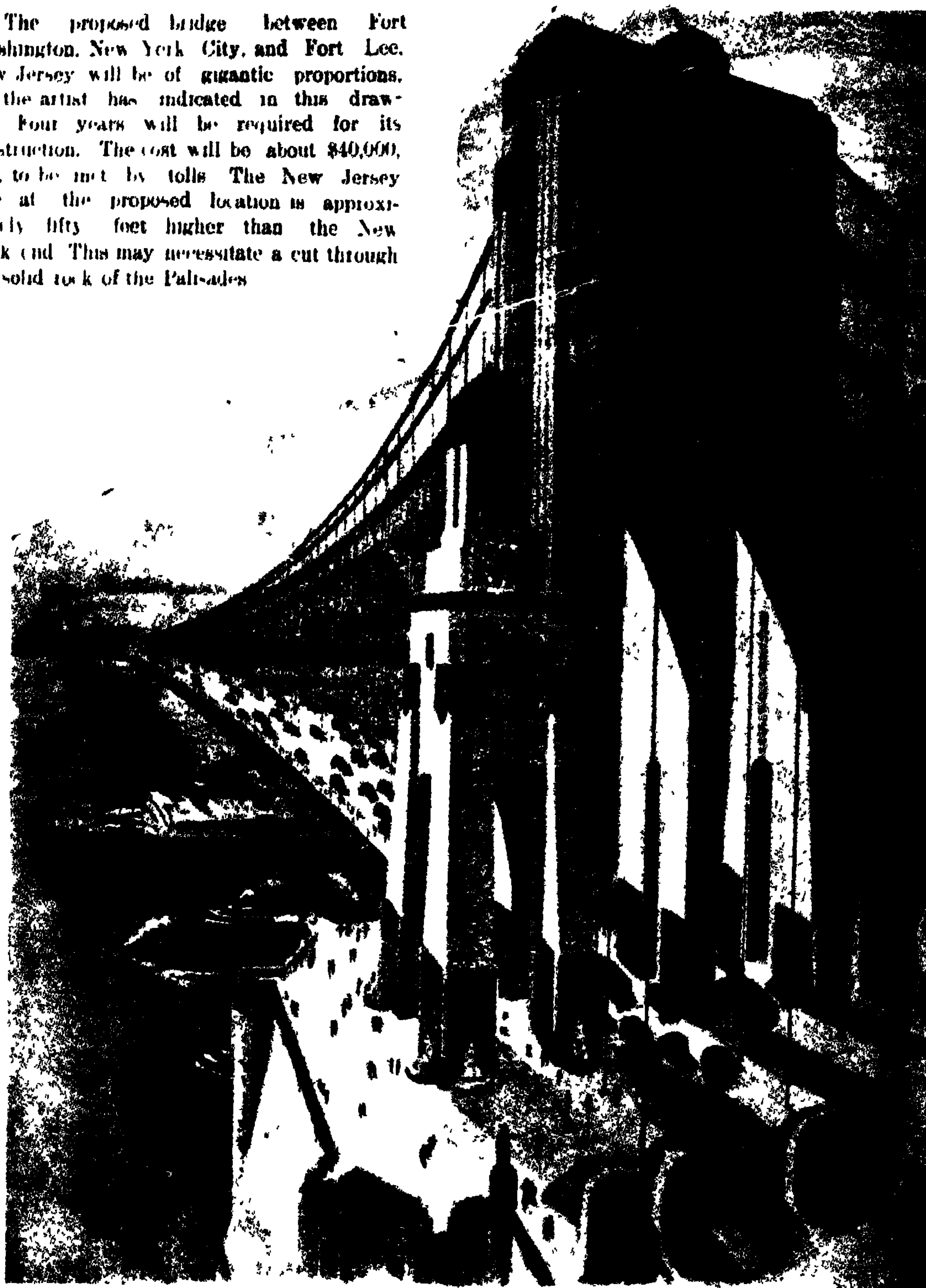


Russians Dancers performed on platform while Cossacks rode horses at a gallop

carried by horsemen. The uprights were fastene to the stirrups and were steadied by the riders the horses galloped along.

The Greatest Bridge in the World

Here is presented the conception of the greate bridge in the world, which will span the Huds



The proposed bridge between Fort Washington, New York City, and Fort Lee, New Jersey will be of gigantic proportions, as the artist has indicated in this drawing Four years will be required for its construction. The cost will be about $40,000,000, to be met by tolls The New Jersey side at the proposed location is approximately fifty feet higher than the New York end This may necessitate a cut through the solid rock of the Palisades

river at New York City, uniting the states of New York and New Jersey and providing a passage way for hundreds of thousands of commuters

Its single span will measure two-third of a mile almost twice as long as the center span of the Philadelphia-Camden bridge, now the longest in the world. About twelve million automobiles a year, it is estimated, will pass over this monster bridge. There will be tracts, also, for electric trains, and pathways for pedestrains.

—

Stadium reveals Secrets of Ancient Race

Further wonders of the ancient Maya civilization in Central America have been disclosed by the excavation of a stone citadel, occupying nearly eight acres at Lubaandum in south-western British Honduras. It is pear-shaped, nearly fifty feet high, and its summit is covered by great terraced pyramids and cement-floored plazas. The northern half of the structure is devoted to an amphitheatre where it is believed, allegorical dramas were presented to the accompaniment of weird music for the entertainment of as many as 10,000 persons at one time. Banks of seats, similar to those of a stadium, commanded a full view of the central court. The pyramids are flat-topped, unlike those found in other Maya ruins, and show no signs of ever having supported temples or palaces giving further indication that the citadel was devoted to a special purpose. Graves were discovered on some of the elevations, containing relics similar to those unearthed in burial places outside the stadium, and the bones, in no case, indicated an age of more than three or four centuries while in some instances, the burials had occurred less than 100 years ago. Objects found included spears and javelin heads of flint, axe heads, hammers, beads mirrors of iron, pottery, grinding stones, shell trumpets and whistles. Near the surface of one of the diggings, a figurine showing a man in medieval European dress was picked up, indicating that the manufacture, of these articles must have continued after the Spanish conquest, when the Mayas were driven into the forests, killed or forced into slavery by their captors.

—



Largest prehistoric building on American Continent cleared from in British Honduras

Cyclist Breaks Speed Record behind Motorcycle

Pedaling behind a motorcycle as a windbreak and directed through a special speaking tube attached to the driver's back, a bicycle rider in France recently shattered records by attaining a speed of seventy-four miles an hour. The motor cycle was constructed to meet the demands of the test, having a broad shield at the back to keep the wind from the racer and a streamline front of special design. So that the driver's words would be carried more distinctly through the speaking apparatus, a mask screen of transparent material was fitted over his face and around the mouth



Cyclist breaks spread record behind motorcycle. (Inset) The guide with his speaking apparatus.

race Both the driver and bicycle rider wore helmets. The demonstration was staged on the Mont Chery race track near Paris.

Organic Glass

A wonderful invention, which has been secured in England by Dr. Vredernburg, is flexible "organic glass." The glass is nonsplinterable and ten

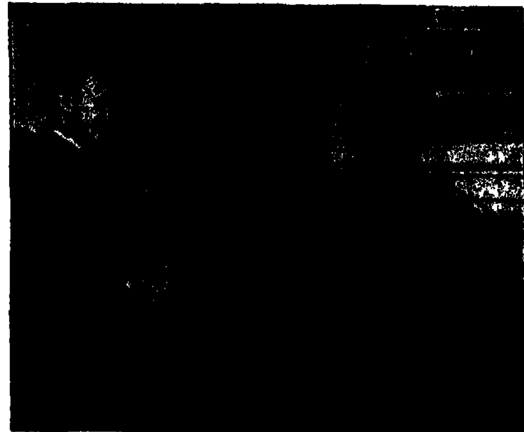


Organic glass, a wounderful invention

times clearer than ordinary glass. It can even be had in liquid form Dr Vredernburg is seen pouring the liquid glass (cold) from a bottle.

Hair raising Stunt

Static electricity is capable of other queer antics than causing howls in your radio set At a public exhibition in Portland, Oreg., current from a static generator lifted the hair of men students who sat in chairs near by, giving a realistic imitation of what sometimes happens in registering sudden and intense fear. When the test was tried with young women who had bobbed hair, the results were no



Fear did not lift his hair, it was Static Electricity

so pronounced, Their hair straightened out but did not stand up, possibly because it had been kinked by waving or similar treatment.

Caging a Python

It took eight husky men to unpack and carry to its cage a 20-foot python recently brought to the

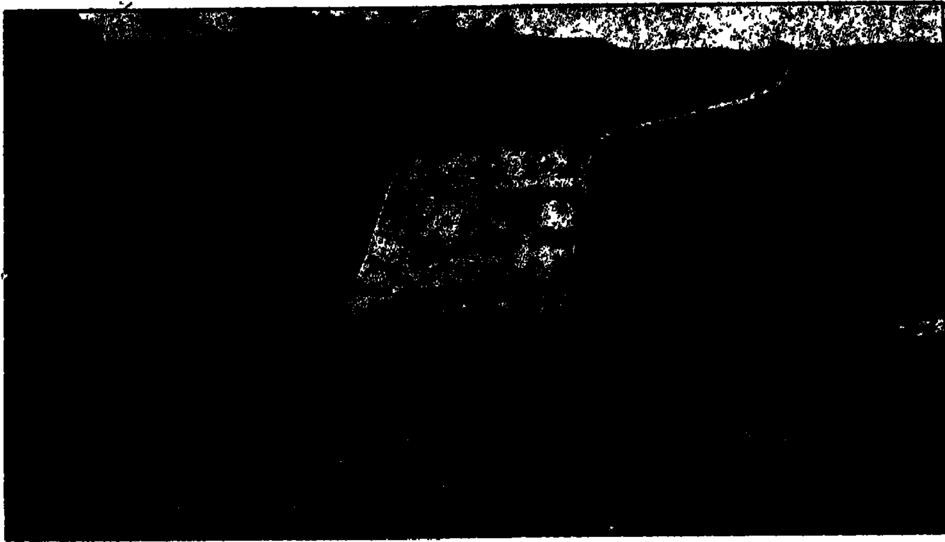


Caging a python

London Zoo from Singapore, India. The picture of the reptile, left, firmly held by Zoo attendants on its way to the cage, gives some idea of its great length.

Life of Buddha told in Silk on huge Tapestry

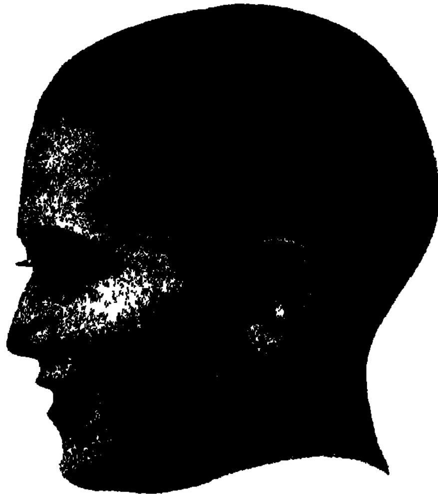
Besides a huge portrait, a piece of silk tapestry measuring 30,000 square feet, kept at a Tibetan monastery depicts incidents in the life of Buddha on its intricately embroidered edges Once a year on a bright day, the monks spread the cloth on a hillside in the belief that the display will please Buddha and give him an opportunity to see his devout followers who come from hundreds of miles around to view the tapestry



Natives thronging to see the great tapistry of Buddha

Latest Women's Fad

Now that fashion has decreed that women's ears may be exposed, a jewelled ornament has been devised, a clasp shaped to conform to the ear and



Latest women s Fad

supporting a pendent in the center. Piercing is not necessary for wearing the trinket, and as the frame holds the weight of the center jewel, there is little strain on the ear. The entire piece is set with gems.

—

Artist Paints on Cobwebs

Filmy cobwebs, so delicate that a puff of wind may destroy them, are used by a peasant artist in the Tyrol as a substitute for canvas He paints a variety of scenes in colours on the material which is so thin that the picture is practically as



This scene is painted on cobwebs

distinct on one side as on the other In spite of precautions taken to protect these pieces, they are likely to be torn and collectors guard them with great care

—

Wall's Motion when pushed

Pushing a forty-inch brick wall with the hand to make it move sounds ridiculous, but a sensitive instrument used at the bureau of standards is able to record any motion that occurs, and in many cases there is an appreciable bending of the wall. The gauze is in contact with the bricks and



Measuring how much a thick brickwall moves when pushed by hand

is so adjusted that the slightest movement will actuate light beams in such a way that the amount of bending can be told by their displacement. The instrument, an interferometer, is employed in making exacting tests on the solidity of structures and materials.

—

Bullet Proof Glass

Recent tests with bullet-proof glass have shown that the material will not only turn large-sized bullets from U. S army automatic pistols, but also smaller and more penetrating missiles from the Mauser weapon of German make. A bullet from one of these revolvers will penetrate eleven pine boards while the U. S. automatic is effective through eight, but the glass turned the smaller lead, permitting it to enter not more that one-eighth of an inch into the surface of the material. A metal-jacketed bullet was turned completely inside out and welded upon the surface of the glass in one of the tests, and a second shot failed to pierce the specimen.

A cartridge from a Springfield rifle was also turned back, although the force of the shot pulverized the outer coating of glass and the bullet apparently was vaporized. Layers of the target were separated in a circle six inches in



Cracked but not broken, specimen of Bullet-proof glass after being struck by two lead missiles

diameter around the point of impact, and this space was filled with a thin layer of lead which evidently had been condensed from the vapour. The glass is widely used for windshields, and windows of tellers' cages and pay cars.

—

Latest Fad in Jewelry

Held in place by a hidden silver wire, a diamond-studded arrow, to be worn on the arm, apparently pierces the flesh. In reality, the ornament half encircles the arm on the inside, the point being separated from the end of the shaft. The wire is attached underneath and binds sufficiently to keep the clasp from slipping.

—



Seems to pierce the arm

Sphinx's Paws cleared of the Sand of Ages

After having been buried for ages in sand that reached far up its sides, the famous Sphinx of Egypt again stands out in its original form and beauty, as the result of extensive operations carried out by the Egyptian government to save it from entire destruction. Its gigantic paws, resting on a wide base, have been carefully brushed and are now no longer a subject of conjecture.

The removal of the sand required considerable time. To dig out the great feet alone took many days, because extra care was necessary. A high wall to protect it from future sandstorms will be built when the work of restoration is complete. Any sand that may be blown over this bulwark can be easily removed each year.



The sphinx as it appeared after the last of the sand

Workmen whose stagings are seen in the illustration, are now engaged in restoring missing parts and strengthening weak-spots. They are rushing to prevent a threatened fall of the head, the support of which has been weakened by the erosion of the back and side of the neck. When that is done, they are to restore the Egyptian beard which adorned it, and the headdress that fell off some time ago. The engineers hope to complete the undertaking in less than a year.

—

Socrates or Silenus

Portraiture in the Modern Sense was an ideal in art unknown to the ancients. They fashioned their busts of famous men after the ideal in which they conceived their gods. Flesh was transitory, the gods were eternal. This was a thesis defended by a German writer in *The Dial* (New York) of a few months since and if this is so the statuette of Socrates, newly acquired by the British Museum, cannot fulfil all the conditions claimed for it of showing the philosopher as he was known to his contemporaries. The statue is supposed to have been executed at least a century after Socrates's death, and if the German theory is correct, he must have figured as something of a Silenus to



"A Silenus, A Satyr To Look At"
A Statue of Socrates, of the fourth Century

his fellow Greeks. But the London *Telegraph* puts his case differently.

"No other philosopher since the world began has so interested the natural man. There are not a few whose philosophies have had a greater influence upon the fortunes of humanity or more profoundly affected human thought. But who now knows or cares what Aristotle was like, or how Zeno talked or what were the domestic affairs of Epicurus? These names mean systems and ideas but Socrates is still a man. Martyrdom, to be sure goes for something but other philosophers have died for the faith that was in them, and failed to interest posterity. Socrates commands reverence and affection from thousands who have not gone far either in philosophy or Greek. He had the advantage of a disciple of literary genius. Whether the Socrates in Plato was, even at first, a faithful portrait, may be disputed but there is no doubt about the power and the fascination. Yet a cynic has been heard to say that the world would never have been interested in Socrates if he had not been so ugly. Good looks in a man will do little for his fame.

"True, the common, indifferent plainness is obviously no distinction. But let it get about that a great man's countenance was grotesque, and everybody has a kindly feeling for him. Such, upon this cynical theory, is the popular interest in Socrates. But it needs much qualification and development to be persuasive. Socrates, as Plato tells us was a Silenus, a satyr, to look at. He was short, he was pot-bellied and fat of neck, his eyes stuck out and his nose turned up, he had a big mouth and loose lips. Such is the face we know from the busts of the Roman age. But it is not as a figure of fun

we imagine him. We think not only of the satyr ... but of the man who went shoeless and shirt... all the year round, who lived harder than a ... who wandered about Athens asking every... questions, who had trances and visions who would always do what other men had not thought ... whether it was standing fast when the rest of the Army ran away, or defying the voice of the people or disobeying the orders of a tyrant. They say that in this new statuette the well-known features ... are not grotesque, but show a keen intelligence. Since the style of the work is rather realistic, as we should expect of the fourth century, it may therefore be a faithful portrait."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.*]

ENGLISH

THEORIES OF MEMORY. *By Beatrice Edgell, University Reader in Psychology, Bedford College, University of London. Oxford University Press.*

The phenomenon of Memory has claimed, during the past three decades, the attention of Philosophers and psychologists alike. It has been viewed as a property of all orders of organic matter as we find in the works of Hering and Semon. The physiologist has tried to explain it in terms of mental factors as Ziehen's theory testifies. There has also been an attempt to explain memory in terms of physical and chemical factors as instanced by hypotheses of Robertson and Rignano. From another angle the disorders of mind have been found to be mainly disorders of memory. The ... conscious factors that precipitate mental maladies have been postulated as the actual determinants of memory by almost all the schools of modern psycho-pathology. Side by side, there has developed a method and a technique for the study of memory as a process of reproduction, as we find in the laboratory researches of the long line of workers dating from Ebbinghaus. The laboratory work in animal psychology again, has led to the idea that memory is in its essence a muscular or explicit bodily habit or implicit word habit, that persists even when the process of learning is at an end. This is the attitude of the Behaviourist. Lastly there is the philosophic problem of the status of the past experience in the scheme of reality and of the ways of knowing the past,—a problem that has lately stimulated a considerable interest among Realists.

Of all these issues, the volume before us offers a short critical estimate of the biological and of the behaviouristic views of memory. It passes on to consider the epistemological questions raised by the Realist and and M. Bergson. The presentation and the criticism are both admirable. There is, however, an indiscriminate blending of the epistemological with the psychological attitudes throughout the chapters, which does not add to the value of the work. The constructive view presented in the last chapter is the least satisfactory portion of the book. The volume would interest both the psychologist and the epistemologist, but it would be of little help to either.

N. N. SEN GUPTA

TIBET, PAST AND PRESENT. *By Sir Charles Bell, K. C. I. E., C. R. G. Pp. XIV+326 with 93 illustrations and 2 maps. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. Price 21 net.*

Sir Charles Bell served for eighteen years on the Indo-Tibetan frontier, stayed a whole year in Lhasa as an invited guest of the Dalai Lama and has published a Tibetan grammar and dictionary. In the introduction, the author very modestly puts forward these qualifications as a justification of his attempt to write about the history and politics of the Tibetans. From the fair number of references to Tibetan chronicles in the book the author appears to be well-versed also in the ancient records of the land. From a writer with such equipment and unique opportunities, one may reasonably expect a real inside view of the Tibetans. In one sense, indeed, the author has furnished it,—viz. the political history of Tibet for the first two decades of this century, with special reference to their relations with the Government of Great Britain.

A faithful servant and believer of the British Empire, an able diplomat whose services added a state about "two and a half times the shire of Wales" to the Imperial domains, Sir Charles Bell naturally enjoys telling how the British influence and prestige has been gradually increased at Lhasa, at the cost of other and therefore less beneficent Powers. The narrative is lively, interesting, and throws side-lights on different aspects of Tibetan life as well as British diplomatic missions.

Occasional insight is also afforded into the

undercurrents of Tibetan social and religious life—as for example, in the mention of the work of the Tashi-Lhunpo in fashioning an enormous image of the Lord Maitreya and the merits thereof in the eyes of a cultured Tibetan

One misses, however, any attempt to present a complete picture of Tibetan life—apart from the political relations and cross currents. Our knowledge in this respect is not advanced one jot beyond the contributions of S C Das, Tsybikoff and Kawaguchi in the first few years of the present century—except through the numerous and excellent photographs, especially the fine color plates

It is to be hoped that the accomplished author will portray in some future volume the social life of the Tibetans, with the same degree of skill he has displayed in drawing the political canvas of Tibet in the recent past.

THE FOLK LORE OF BOMBAY *By R E Enthoven, C I. E., late of the Indian Civil Service Pp 353 with appendix and index. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924. Price -11 ss net*

In this work the author of the Tribes and Castes of Bombay deals with the religious and magical practices and beliefs of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sind The survey is fairly exhaustive, starting with worship of natural objects, trees, animals, human beings and spirits and passing on to magical rites, witch-craft interpretation of dreams and prognostications -and treatment of diseases A chapter on women's rites and another on village and field rites brings the work to a close, miscellaneous beliefs and practices being dealt with in the concluding chapter

The information was collected through the Primary school teachers of the Bombay Presidency and may be taken to have been obtained fairly correct- at least for the particular villages and castes concerned The editing of a mass of information from different sources has however led the author to make some general statements regarding the belief of Hindus as a whole These, in many cases, seem open to doubt.

The compiler seems also to lack first-hand and detailed knowledge of Hindu mythology and scriptures and appears to have derived his knowledge of ethnological theories mainly from the Gazetteers and Government reports on the tribes and castes of India The results are naturally, sometimes curious when the author tries to theorise Thus the local practice (of Kanarese villagers) of styling the magistrate (Mr Enthoven) god and father affords an illustration of the feelings underlying much of the primitive ritual of the Presidency (p 15) Again, "the difference between the great gods of the Hindu sacred books Brahma Vishnu, Shiva, and the village god Maruti or the disease goddess Shitala--seems to be chiefly one of degree" The final conclusion is that "the apparently almost endless elaborations of special rites and ceremonies--are the natural product of Indian mentality, which delights in subtle distinctions and is prepared for and patient of almost any extravagance." The facts collected will however prove useful to ethnologists

K P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

A HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE *By Kumudnath Das. Published by Das Brothers, Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bengal. 1926. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 229*

Mr. Das has removed a long-felt want by [publ]ishing this manual. The gradual developme[nt of] Bengali Poetry from the Buddhist era up to [the] age of Rabindranath is shown with well sele[cted] illustrations. Even post-Rabindranath poets a[re] not omitted. Chapters on Bengali Prose th[ough] not given with so much detail give an idea of [its] development. The book will be very usefu[l to] students of Bengali Literature. The get-up of [the] book lacks taste and the price is too high.

S. K D

THE GROWTH OF CIVILIZATION *By B Rajagopa[lan] M A Lecturer in History, Theosophical Col[lege] Adyar, Theosophical Publishing House, Mad[ras] 1925 Price Rs 1-4-0*

In this neatly printed hand-book of 117 pa[ges] (including an Index and a Bibliography) the subj[ect] is divided into three short chapters, dealing resp[ect]ively with Civilization and its growth, West[ern] Civilization, and the civilization of India Th[e] author's point of view is thoroughly liberal and [he] has not hesitated to point out the need of freedo[m] for national growth and the need of extremists a[nd] idealists in the progress of civilization. If we ha[ve] any complaint to make, it is that the different top[ics] are massed together and hastily sketched somewh[at] in the style of a student's manual compiled fr[om] various sources This makes the book less interes[t]ing than it would otherwise be but so far as it go[es] it makes profitable and instructive reading

X

INTRODUCTION TO THE BHAGAVAD-GITA *By D Sarma M.A., Professor, Presidency College Mad[ras] Published by Ganesh and Co Madras Pp 1[..] price Re 1*

This book is intended primarily for students [of] College class The aim of the book is to make t[he] students lead a life of high purpose accepting t[he] Gita as their guide A good book

THE UNIVERSE THE THREE STAGES OF THE EA[RTH] i.e., THE CREATION, CONTINUATION AND ANNIHILATI[ON] *By Benode Behari Roy Veda-ratna (Research [...] Rampur Boalia, Rajshahi) Pp 2+IV+136+ [...] Price Rs 5-1*

The author has found the truths of Mod[ern] Science in the Rigveda and the Puranas. Accordi[ng] to his *Sastric* calculation, the age of the earth [in] 1925 was 56450 years

THE DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST *By the R[ight] Reverend F H M Waller Bishop of Madras Publish[ed] by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp [..] Price -12-*

Orthodox Christian doctrines

JESUS AND LIFE TODAY *By the Rev Charles [..] Gilkey, M.A.,B.D Published by the Christian Lit[era]ture Society for India Pp 165.*

Barrow Lectures delivered in India in 1924 expounding orthodox Christianity.

THE BHAGAWAD GITA. *By K.S. Ramasw[ami] Sastri. Published by Ganesh and Co., Mad[ras] pp 174. Price One Rupee.*

In this book the author interpretes the [Gita] doctrine in the words of Srikrishna.

IN QUEST OF GOD: *By Ramdas. Published*

Ganesh Rau, Gourimutt Street Mangalore Pp + XIII

Describes the travels and incidents of the life of a self-less *Sadhu*

A HAND-BOOK OF PHILOSOPHY *By V P Patwardhan Professor of Philosophy, New Poona College Published by the author (3 H Sadashiva Peth, Poona) Pp 2+172 Price Rs. 2*

Intended for students studying philosophy for the B A Examination of the Indian Universities

MANUAL OF WORSHIP *Compiled by Charlotte C Wyckoff Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Pp 60 Price as 7*

Intended for Christians

DACCA UNIVERSITY BULLETIN No X —PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY *By G H Langley M A, Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Philosophy in the University of Dacca Published for the University by the Oxford University Press Pp 21*

A thoughtful lecture But here 'Philosophy' means 'western philosophy and History means history of the western world'

MAHESH CH GHOSH

LETTERS OF SAMUEL JOHNSON *A Selection With an introduction by R W C Oxford University Press Price Rs 2*

This nicely got up book belongs to the World's Classics published by the Oxford University Press, and will be read with interest The introduction adds to the value of the collection It tells us that Johnson has never been in high estimation as a letter-writer Many of his best letters it is true, are in the *Life*, and are familiar in that setting But they are not there printed, or read, continuously and, like the other components of that great whole, they obey a law of subordination, and seem to shine not by their own light, but as fragments of a vaster constellation The other letters have been neglected " The worth of his letters will be understood from the following —

In his letters, if anywhere, we should find the real Johnson the Johnson whom Boswell loved and revered, though he does not quote him so often as he quotes the Autocrat of the Mitre The letters have, indeed, all the qualities which should commend the letters of a great man to the esteem and affection of his readers They are spontaneous and they are sincere they abound in wit and wisdom, in humour and fancy ...

But when this has been said, there is yet more to say. There are, in the best of these letters not a few passages which it would be hard to over-praise, which are as memorable as the most famous sentences in Johnson's published writings and which it would not be easy to match from any other writer...

Johnson's prose, when he is deeply moved, achieves sometimes a harmony of thought and language, which the noblest prose rarely attains which is not altogether unworthy of comparison with the splendours of great poetry. " X.

THE APOSTLES AND THE MISSIONARIES OF THE NAVAVIDHAN. *Published by Niranjan Niyogi on behalf of the Brotherhood, 3 Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta cloth bound Rs 5; paper bound Rs. 3-12.*

This book contains portraits and character-sketches of *Acharya* Keshub Chunder Sen and of those of his co-workers and followers who are known as the Apostles and Missionaries of the Navavidhan or Church of the New Dispensation, there are two exceptions, namely, Raja Rammohun Roy and Maharshi Devendranath Tagore The portraits are excellent, and in, most cases, reveal the high spirituality of the men whom they portray The character sketches are written in a rhapsodical style X.

BIHAR PEASANT LIFE, *being a Discursive catalogue of the surroundings of the people of that Province, with many illustrations from photographs taken by the Author, By Sir George A Grierson, I C S (Retired) K C I E etc Second and Revised Edition Patna Superintendent Government Printing Bihar and Orissa 1926 Price Rs 10 Pp 29+114+13+ xiii+cli One coloured map and numerous illustration Cloth gilt letters.*

This is a very useful publication It describes with requisite accurate illustrations and vernacular names and their English equivalents, the implements and appliances used in agriculture and rural manufactures, the domestic appliances and utensils, soils, general agricultural operations, agricultural products and their enemies, agricultural times and seasons, cattle and other domestic animals, labour, advances, wages and perquisites, land tenures the native house, food, ceremonies and superstitions of rural life, trade, money dealings, and accounts, and weights and measures of Bihar We have mentioned only the main divisions of the work, the sub-divisions are too numerous to refer to in detail

The book would enable readers to form an idea accurate and vivid so far as it goes, of Bihar peasant life It will be useful to anthropologists, agriculturists, cottage industrialists and craftsmen, etc To the lexicographer also it will be of great help Indian compilers of dictionaries of Indian Vernaculars often include in their works Sanskrit words which are really used in the vernaculars, but for the most part omit many genuine vernacular words used by village folk, who form the bulk of the Indian population Of about 12,000 such words, fit to be included in Bihari dictionaries a list will be found in the index.

More than 30 years ago the writer of the present notice wrote a note on the need of compiling an illustrated list of such words in use in Bengal, in the *Dasi*, now defunct, a monthly magazine edited by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee He did not then know that Sir George Grierson had already done similar work for Bihar X.

STATISTICS FOR INDIA SHOWING CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM *Per ten thousand in Seer for 1922-3 Printed at Doss & Co's Assam Printing Works, Jorhat*

Publicists and students of public affairs will find this compilation handy for ready reference

X

OPIUM IN INDIA. *Compiled by William Paton for and published by the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, 111 Russa Road, Calcutta.*

The evidence contained in this useful pamphlet has been given by members of the Indian Medical Service, missionary doctors and Indian private

practitioners, both men and women; by educationalists of various kinds, and by missionaries. The main contentions of the Council, which we strongly support, are,

"that Government should accept the view that the consumption of raw opium in India, apart from medical prescription, is not a legitimate use that it should accept as an ideal, to which it will rapidly and steadily work, the restriction of opium to medical and scientific uses..' and "that the method should be followed of registering as licensed consumers those who are addicted to the vice, and that they should be rationed in accordance with medical opinion and the results of investigation of the amount consumed by those licensed,' no new names being added in future to the roll of licensed addicts.

X

ASSAM CONGRESS OPIUM ENQUIRY REPORT. *Published by R K Hatibarua, Connamara, Jorhat Assam. Pp 165. Re 1-8 Cloth boards With a map of Assam and an introduction by Mr. C F Andrews*

This book is a horribly revealing document showing, among other things, how 'the universal use of opium has converted the Assamese, once a hardy, industrious and enterprising race, into an effeminate, weak, indolent, and a degraded people"

To show how terribly excessive the use of opium in Assam is, it will suffice to state that the full medical requirements of each 10 000 of world's population, according to the League of Nations are six seers, but in the five upper districts of Assam the rates of consumption in seers are, Kamrup. 15 524 Darrang, 106 729 Nowgong 173-627, Shibsagar 110 915 Lakhimpur, 189 072, Sadiya Frontier Tract, 237 029, Balipara Frontier Tract 136 161 Frightful as these figures are, if they had been taken before the Non-co-operation Movement began, in 1921 they would have been far greater still, the number of seers consumed at that time being between 200 and 300 per 10,000

X

OPIUM AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM *The Geneva Conferences By W W Willoughby, Professor of Political science at the Johns Hopkins University Counsellor and Expert to the Chinese Delegation at the conferences, etc Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press 1925 cloth, gilt letters Pp 585+xvi. Price 4 50 dollars.*

This is a comprehensive work by a competent authority on the international problem of opium. Although not official in character, the present volume is in the nature of a report upon the work of the two Opium Conferences recently held in Geneva, Switzerland. Being in the nature of a report, the policy has been pursued of reproducing textually the more important statements made by the several Delegations" The author has attempted to incorporate in this volume all the information that is needed for an accurate understanding of the subject, of which it is a sort of rich mine

The main headings of the chapters are, Addiction in the United States, the Development of the International Problem, the Opium Situation in 1924 in India, British Malaya, Straits Settlements, Hongkong, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, Ceylon, Siam, Macao, Indo-China (French), Netherlands East Indies, Japan, Korea, Kwantung Leased Territory, Formosa (Japanese), the Calling of the Geneva Conferences, Preparation of the Agenda of the Conferences, China Invited to the Conference, the Organization and Rules of P[illegible] dure of the First Conference, the Chinese Situ[illegible] and the First Conference, Government Mono[illegible] Registration and Rationing of Smokers, Exportation and Importation of opium, Miscell[illegible] ous Provisions—Prevention of Addiction, F[illegible] Considerations, Regulation of Divans, use "Dross," Periodical Review of the Situat[illegible] Formalities as to Signing, Ratifying, Denounc[illegible] etc, the Organization and Procedure of the sec[illegible] Conference Proposals submitted to the conferen[illegible] the Competence of the conference, Prepa[illegible] opium in the second Conference the Limitat[illegible] of Opium and Coca Leaf, Indian Hemp, [illegible] Production of Coca Leaf the International cont[illegible] of Traffic in Drugs Medical Needs, Definitio[illegible] Codeine Heroin etc Discussion of the conventio[illegible] China and the Treaty Powers, Chapter IV of [illegible] Hague Convention, General conclusions

X

SANSKRIT

SADHANAMALA *Vol I Gaekwad's Oriental Se[illegible] No XXVI Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M[illegible] Central Library Baroda Price Rs 5*

This is one of the most important books publish[illegible] by the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and the Gener[illegible] Editor, Pandit Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, has spare[illegible] no pains to present it as a model of careful collati[illegible] of texts Sadhanamala is an invaluable handbook for students of Buddhist iconography Mon Fouch[illegible] was drawn to that subject after having studi[illegible] some versions of it coming from Nepal Th[illegible] learned editors of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* of S[illegible] Petersburg were eager to publish the text but th[illegible] Revolution intervened and transferred the charg[illegible] to our Indian scholar who has fully justified hi[illegible] title by bringing out the first systematic edition o[illegible] the text.

Iconographic interests apart the Sadhanama[illegible] presents philological and historical problems of grea[illegible] importance A popular treatise of the *Vajrayan[illegible]* School of Northern Buddhism the Sadhanamala wa[illegible] highly popular with the peoples on the border land of Aryan culture It was translated int[illegible] Tibetan from an original which seems to be Sansk[illegible] but really Sanskrit in a state of "vulgarisation'-- the grammar and the syntax being outrageousl[illegible] unconventional But however unorthodox be it[illegible] language the *Sadhanamala* seems to have preserve[illegible] numerous *sadhanas* or ritualistic hymns and in[illegible] junctions of the master spirits of the Mahayan[illegible] School to mention among others, the *Prajnaparamitasadhana* of Asanga, the Vajra-Tara sadhana of Nagarjuna, the Simhanada-sadhana of Advayavajr[illegible] etc Moreover in its elaborate pantheon we fin[illegible] the disintegration of the primary Buddhistic deiti[illegible] as well as the incorporation of numerous no[illegible] Indian deities with Indianised names. I found a big image of *Bhrikuti* devi in the Batavia Museu[illegible] (Java). The Tara and Arya Tara characterised a[illegible] "Maha-China-Krama" offer important cultur[illegible] contacts between India and China. The *Lokeswa[illegible]* and *Lokanatha* cults have been proved by Mo[illegible] Finot to be widely prevelent in the ancient Hind[illegible] colonies of Cambodge. Thus the Sadhanamala [illegible] a literary land mark in the cultural penetration [illegible] India in the Far East and Mr. Bhattacharyya ha[illegible]

one a great service to Indology by publishing the treatise

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Central Library, Baroda, Vol I

The origin of the Oriental Library of Baroda goes back to 1912 when 1610 Mss add 1070 printed books were taken over from the Baroda Vithal Mandir collection to form the nucleus of a Sanskrit Library Since then, thanks to the liberal outlook of His Highness the Gaekward, a systematic search for Mss were undertaken in Rajputana and Guzerat and Pandit R Ananta Krishna Shastri also collected 4000 Mss after an all India tour In 1915 the *Gaekwads Oriental Series* was started and in ten years nearly 30 important books on diverse subjects have been published.

The present volume is the catalogue of the Vedic manuscripts, excellently arranged and classified by Mr Shrigondekar M A and Pandit Ramaswami Shastri, describing 543 Vedic works running to 1420 manuscripts

The total collection of Mss in the Library nearly amounts to 20000, which is highly encouraging and redounds to the credit of the organisers and workers of the Library

Manasollasa Vol. I. Edited *By G K Shrigondekar M A Central Library, Baroda price Rs 2-12-0*

Manasollasa is otherwise known as *Abhilashitartha Chintamani* and is reputed to have been composed by the Western Chalukya King Bhulokamalla Someswara (circa 1124-1138) But this stupendous work extending to about 8000 Granthas and divided into 100 chapters could not possibly have been composed by a single ruler it might have been compiled by several scholars of the court of King Someswara as the editor surmises, while presenting only 40 chapters of the book in the present volume But it might equally be supposed to be the compilation of generations of scholars For the work is palpably an encyclopaedic summary of all the available works on the science of *Artha* or the *Raja-shastra* that is why it is attributed to a royal *savant*

The work moreover was compiled in an age of huge compilations like the Chaturvarga Chintamani of Hemadri the Yuktikalpataru Viramitrodaya, Sarangadhara-paddhati and such works To the students of Arthashastra, Manasollasa would be specially interesting because the latter seems to follow section by section the standard works on the Subject like the Kautiliya Arthasastra, the Sukranitisara etc, and yet the richness of details in certain chapters, especially those relating to the positive sciences e g, the training and treatment of elephants and horses, the testing of precious gems, embody the further observation and researches of the Hindus along those lines after the treaties of Kautilya, and Sukra were composed Most of the original treatises on such technical sciences are lost and thanks to these compilers that a summary of their contents are transmitted to us The compilers of the Manasollasa betray this technical preoccupation by incorporating a long chapter on the science of treatment and medicine (*Rasayana*) it is equally noteworthy that all the medicines are prepared from medicinal plants and nowhere the knowledge of preparation of *medicines from metals* is shown. This seems to be specially striking when we remember that the use of *rasa* a mercury and many other metals were known to the compilers of Kautilya Arthasastra's as we see it today and the Manasollasa also in two sub-sections *...*, *Vidhi* and *Dhaturada-rasayana* prescribes various methods of enriching the Government treasury by the practice of *alchemy*

This compilation of the positive sciences of the Hindus is specially interesting because "the Western Chalukyas" as the editor opines "were never known to have been contaminated by the Muhammedan civilisation We eagerly expect the subsequent chapters of the treatise in another volume and hope that the editor would supply us with an index of the technical terms and parallelisms from known treatises like *Matangalila, Ratnapariksha*, so far as possible

Lekhapaddhati Edited *by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal M A with notes etc by Mr G K. Shrigondekar M A Baroda Central Library price Rs 2.*

This book written in "mixed Sanskrit" and ascribed by the editors to the end of the fifteenth century A D is a curiously interesting document Surely the ancient Hindus corresponded with one another as is evidenced from the sending of deplomatic despatches in the Great Epics, of letters in the dramas but no systematic "Letter-writer" has as yet been published The Lekhapaddhati although a late treatise and full of provincial mannerisms attests to the fact that several works existed on the subject now lost to us

The book gives a formidable classification of letters running to over sixty heads' Several of them touch personal and domestic topics but their interest is less compared with the rich collection of letter models and draftings relating to political, military and commercial subjects So far as the commercial draftings are concerned the author has drawn largely from the procedure of the law courts and legal treatises

The royal proclamations, mandates, edictsetc, and diplomatic despatches form naturally the most important section and seem to be the development of the *Sasanadhikara* section of Kautilya's Arthasastra and as we all know that the earliest written document that we possess are the *anusasanas* of Emperor Asoke so from the 3rd century B C down to the 15 century A D., we find a continuity of epistolary tradition and style as would be evident from the letter heads like Rajadesah, Sasanpatram, Mahamatya-bhurjapatram Raja Vijnaptika, Pratiprichha etc

The glossary of the technical terms at the end of the book is very useful and we congratulate the workers engaged in publishing the Gaekward Oriental Series

Kalidas Nag

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HINDI

Vaidik Jivan *By Viswanath Vidyalankar, Mahesh Book Depot, Ghaseti bazar, Ajmer Price 12 as, 1925*

By rearranging the mantras of the Atharva Veda, to reveal the various sides of human life the author has really done a service He has helped to understand the aims and motives, the thoughts

and aspirations of the Aryans of those fargone ages. The explanations are lucid and elaborate

BUDDHA-CHARITRA *By Rupnarain Pandeya The Ganga Pustakmala, Lucknow Price 12 as*

This play is translated from the Bengali of Girish Chandra Ghosh

GALPA-GUCHHA *By Rupnarain Pandeya Indian Press Ltd, Allahabad Price 12 as*

Mr Pandeya has done a service to the Hindi-knowing public by translating the first and second parts of the series of short stories written by Rabindranath Tagore On the whole the work is satisfactory

SILA DEBI *By Lallaprasad Pandeya The Indian Press Ltd, Allahabad 1925 Price Rs 2*

This historical romance is translated from the Bengali work of Mr Nalini Ranjan Chaudhury An old story of Maharthan in Bengal forms the subject matter of the book There are a few illustrations some of which are in colours

ADARSA BHUMI OR CHITAUR *By Rudranarain' The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad 1925 Price Re 1-8*

The romantic annals of Chitaur are here told with much effect The letter of Prithwiraj rendered in Hindi verse by Mr Maithilisaran Gupta adds to the charm of this work

HIMAGIRI-SANDESH *Translated by Hari Saran Srivastava 'Mural' B A LL B Saraswati Printing Press, Meerut Price 6 as*

"The Message of the Himalayas' by Mr Paul Richard, is translated in versified form

ARABINDO MANDIRMEN *Hindi Pustakalaya Muzaffarpur Price 12 as*

The philosophy of Arabindo Ghose as embodied in a Bengali work will reach the Hindi-knowing public through this translation

JYOTISH PRABESHIKA *By Chandandas Jain B A Hindi Sahitya Bhandar, Malhipur Saharanpur Price Re 1-8*

An useful hand-book of the astronomical science based on calculations with special reference to India The charts and diagrams are helpful to students

SURISWAR AND SAMRAT *Translated from the Gujrati by Krishna Lal Varma The Vijay Dharmalakshmi Jnanmandir Agra, Rs 1-8*

Hindi Literature is enriched by this translation of Muniraj Vidyavijayji's work on the Jain Masters at the court of the Emperor Akbar All the available sources, including some Mss and royal firmans are laid under contribution On the whole the work is a great success The illustration of the stone image of Hirvijay Suri at Mahuwa in Kathiawad adds to the attraction of the work besides many others

SAHITYA-SIDDHANTA *By Pandit Sitaram Sastri Hindi Nirukta Karyalaya, Bhiwani, The Punjab Rs. 2*

The learned author has discussed the central topics of Rhetorical Sanskrit Literature with a mastery not easily available He sometimes differs from the old writers on certain points. The delineation of *Rasa* by the Sanskrit writers is fully exposed in this valuable work. RAMES BASU

—

MARATHI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE HIS LIFE AND STUDY *By Mr R G Kanade, Graduate Tilak University Poona, with a forward by Prof N G Damle M A Pages 350 Published by the author at 35 Shukrawar Peth Poona City Price Rs 2*

Rabindranath Tagore of worldwide fame is a unique figure in Modern India. He not only combines in himself the genius and art of a poet a dramatist, a novelist, a statesman a social reformer and a philosopher, but is a paradox to many owing to the amazing combination in him of some apparently opposing elements of thought clearly visible in his poems which bewilders his readers A reader who dives deep in his philosophy needs no telling him that Tagore's is a school which has kept in its view the synthetical study of universal knowledge and this special feature pervades the whole of his thought and activities This speciality in Tagore's life is a key a firm grasp of which enables a reader to unravel the entanglements which otherwise lead him nowhere The output of Tagore's literary achievement during the last fifty years also is so vast and enormous that even a voracious reader cannot pretend to have read more than a fraction of it These and like difficulties probably deter young and enthusiastic writers from the stupendous task of writing Tagore's life and attempting an exhaustive criticism or appreciation of his life-work Mr Kanade's volume of 350 pages can by no means be said to be achieving the impossible It has only touched the fringe of Tagore's philosophy though his account of the life and literary works is fairly sufficient to give the reader a full idea of the significance and grandeur of the Poet's mind Looked at from this point of view, Mr Kanade's attempt must be considered highly creditable, especially so when Bengalee, which Tagore has mostly chosen the conveyance of his thought is not his biographer's mother-tongue

The get-up of the work leaves little to be desired

SHIVAJICHA KONE (A HISTORICAL NOVEL) *By Mr S P Joshi Publishers—P Aryan Agency, Budhwar Chowk, Poona City Price Rs 1-12*

Marathi literature now-a-days is suffering from a plethora of the so-called historical novels especially of those of Shivajee's times. Every nook and corner of Maratha history is being assiduously explored and imagination is freely being pressed into service to make a novel look like a historical romance, no matter if in doing so one gives a severe blow to history or even knocks it down Mr Joshi is an offender in this respect. There is nothing wrong in blending historical truth and the play of imagination to a certain length, provided you do no violence thereby to the well-known character of historical personages But Mr Joshi has flouted this wholesome law and crossed the boundary, making his hero, Netajee Palkar, a brave and trustworthy comrade of Shivajee trecherous to his master and to the sacred faith of Hinduism This is Netajee's vilification pure and simple I know one English writer has similarly vilified Netajee in one of his novels published some twenty years ago. But being a Mahratta Mr. Joshi is expected to know better and it would have been well if the author had spared

stajee the ill-deserved humiliation Another thing, Mr Joshi appears to have a hobby of coining and distorting words in an unnatural way to make nouns serve as verbs or other parts of speech,—which is reprehensible. Otherwise, the novel is interesting from cover to cover

V. G. Apte

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GUJRATI

Devangana, a Five Act Play First Part *By Markand Ratanlal Dholakia, L.C.E., printed at the Gujarat Printing Press Ahmedabad Thick Card Board Pp. 163 Price Re 1-1-0 (1926)*

Devangana is the heroine of this play and though marrying a *dasi-putra* is represented as an image of chastity Some people see romance in everyday incidents, the preface of this book apo-theosises such incidents and then launches into allegory The style is popular

Shap Sambhram and Other Verses *By the late Narmadashankar P. Bhatt, printed at the Sahitya Printing Press, Bombay Cloth bound Pp 58 Price 0 12-0 (1926)*

The verses are modelled in Sanskrit and English poems A successful attempt of the former class is seen in those headed, "Pushpa Bana Vilas," which with the commentaries make good reading for those who like poetry of that kind The verses are distinctly of a high order and contained promise of better work but the writer unfortunately died young

Shri Mitradev, *Published by Gordhandas K Parikh, printed at the Prayabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad Paper Cover Pp 11 Price Re 0 3 0 (1926)*

Theosophists believe in the near appearance of the Teacher of the World This little book says that Shri Mitradev Bhagwan has already appeared in the world and is six years old and living somewhere in Kashmir The book contains a number of religious truths and precepts

Ami Zarnan *By Shayda, printed at the Jain Prakashodaya Press, Bombay. Pp 156 Cloth bound. Price 1-8-0 (1925).*

"Brooklets of Nector," this is the name of the book which consists of short stories, furnishing light reading, for which there is a just demand at present, and which demand it meets very well.

Satik Hitopadesha *By Ambalal Bulakhiram Jani B.A., Printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press Bombay, Cloth bound, Pp. 180 Price Rs. 3-8-0 (1925)*

After nearly twentyfive years it is that we come across a really good translation of the Hitopadesha. In every way the present work is an improvement on the old one of the late Mr Vithaldas Rajaram Dalal. It supplies many omissions and brings the translation, commentaries and other explanations up to date. An Index of the first lines of Sanskrit Shlokas is provided, and though intended primarily for use of students, it is sure to prove a help to scholars also.

Sangitdhwani *By Mast Mani (1919)* has been received by us We notice new books as a rule.

Iravati, a historical Novel *By Chhaganlal Thakordas Modi B.A Third Edition, printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat Cloth bound. Pp 308. Price Rs 2-8-0 (1925)*

The book is said to have been based on a Dutch Novel It gives a graphic description of the times of Emperor Akbar, and we feel at times as if we were re-reading all that is written about them by Faizi and Abul Fazl The religious discourses, so much liked by the Emperor, are reproduced here., and the consequent intrigues rampant there to dethrone Akbar and put Jahangir in his place are also described Iravati, the heroine, though neglected remains faithful to her lover Altogether it is an interesting story well told

K M J.

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ORIYA

Swagatam or Hearty Welcome (a booklet in Oriya written in poetry and supplemented by English prose translations. The booklet was written on the occasion of The Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1921).

Bagdevi an Ode on the Goddess of Learning dedicated to His Excellency the Right Hon Viscount Goschen of Hawkhurst Governor of Madras)

These two booklets have been written by Sjt Lakshminarayan Deo, Jubaraj of Tekali (Ganjam) The Jubraj is a lover of learning and has been making efforts to write in prose and poetry

Bhababhuti, *By late Padmanabh Dev and published by the Raja Saheb of Tekkali, Sjt Brindaban Chandra Harichandan Jagadev Price Eight annas*

Padmanabh Dev was the Raja of Tekkali This epic shows the assiduity of the late chief. Love of literature was a passion with him, it seems, and though the book is full of erotic love, it is well-written

L. N. Sahu

THE POPULAR STAGE OF JAPAN*

By A. C.

THE history of the art of make-believe is probably as old as that of organised human society. It would, no doubt, be difficult to fix the date of the birthday of drama, but that need not detract from our enjoyment of the good drama nor hamper its progress.

The theatre was already an established institution of Western civilisation in the first millennium B C, and the ideals of the theatre world of those days are still cherished by a large section of modern Western intellectuals wonder and admiration In the West as also in India in the East, the continuity of the classical forms has been lost to a great extent and, new forms, some of dazzling splendour, some of weak mediocrity and others of morbid degeneracy, have crept in which have satisfied the laws of demand and supply but not the principles of dramatic evolution In China and Japan, this continuity has been preserved to a greater extent than elsewhere and the Japanese theatre of to-day is moved



The New Kabuki-za

Theatrical art has quite as long a, if not a longer, history in the East— in China, Japan and India Technique, the ideals and the themes have been different from those of the West They have also differed from country to country, so that when we come to judge of the relative excellence of the drama of the West and that of the East we notice that comparison is by no means easy Each followed its own path of progress and attained perfection to a degree which stimulates by an aesthetic urge which finds its origin in the misty days of the sacred dances and has obtained fresh vitality from new sources often during its long history

Both from an academical point of view and from mere love of a good thing, a study of the history of the Japanese drama would prove highly interesting. Zoe Kincaid's book on *Kabuki*, or the popular stage of Japan, is an excellent treatise dealing with Japan's popular stage It is a finely got up and well printed volume of nearly 400 pages and 50 plates (of which one is in colours). It gives the history of the popular stage of Japan, explains its organisation and techinque and

* *Kabuki*, the Popular Stage of Japan. by Zoe Kincaid, published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd. St Martins Street, London. Price 42 shillings net. With numerous Illustrations some of which are reproduced here.

ows how deeply it is attached to the life Japan This "popular" institution excels, many ways, most of the so called "high" ations of the Modern World The popular atre or Kabuki was established more than ee hundred years ago; but its predecessors the Nō and the Ningyo-Shibai, from which it s drawn much inspiration, are much older

"The Nō or classic drama" has for its formers masked figures and the "Ningyo-Shibai" or "the Doll Theatre" uses marionettes perform complicated ballad dramas" One ould almost divide the Japanese stage into two clear-cut sections, the Religious Stage and the Popular Stage The Nō and Ningyo-Shibai are mainly religious and the Kabuki stands for the popular drama It is not that the Nō and the Doll Theatre attained their fullest development in very ancient times, for the Nō aw its greatest days in the fourteenth century and the Doll Theatre not very long ago The



The Kabuki Horse

masked figures of the Nō performers and the marionettes of the Doll Theatre give representations of classical themes and express the passions pictorially and not so much in words This may be explained by the instincts of the Japanese people, which urge them to express themselves in the plastic way



Nakamura Jakuyemon of Osaka, an Onnagata who imitates the acting of the Marionettes

The Indian *Ram-lila* may be mentioned in this connection, as, although its technique and craftmanship show sure signs of degeneration, it still shows how the Indians also believed in the value of the mask in dramatic representations The technique of the stage in ancient India is now relegated to Sanskrit texts which few study or understand and the modern Indian stage is primarily a very weak imitation of a Western prototype. Whatever is left as a remnant of the lost art shows much similarity of form and spirit with the Japanese stagecraft and a comparative study of the dramatic art of China, Japan and India both ancient and

modern, should yield valuable culture-historical material Professor Takakusu has stated in *The Young East* that some forms of melodrama and some dances in Japan were derived from India in the last resort In Japan mask-making is still a living art and specialists in masks show amazing artistic ability and craftsmanship The *Ram-lila* masks and puppets are of course, crude and often ridiculous but what more can we expect from the ignorant amateurs to whom belong the credit of keeping up the show while the "elite" spend their time in scoffing at things Indian and in making vain efforts at assimilating a strange culture?

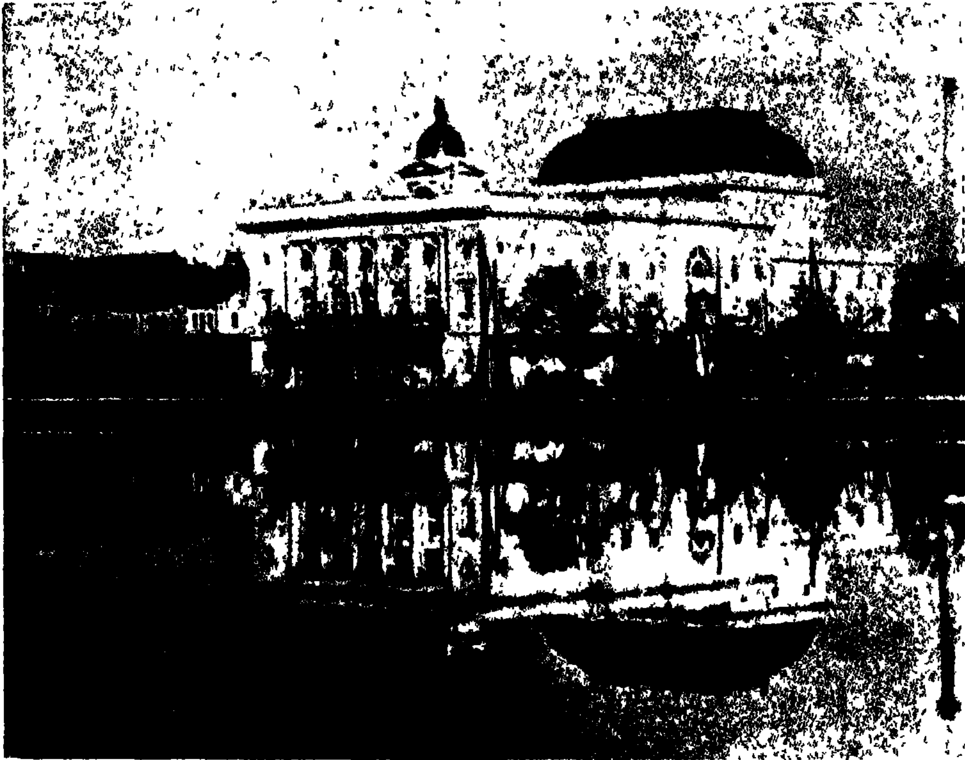
Zoe Kincaid's book is a masterpiece of lucidity and is eminently free from blemishes such as appearing learned, the interpretativeness which wraps everything in a fog which would otherwise seem clear enough, quotation-mania etc, etc It gives a short history of the popular stage, and then goes on to take up each aspect of the stage in turn and deal with it clearly and effectively Nothing is



An "actress" of the Doll Theatre



Nakamura Kichiyemon as a warrior of old Japan



The Imperial Theatre of Tokyo
Built in 1911, it survived the earthquake of 1923 but its interior was destroyed by fire. It has since been restored and is at present the centre where performers from every corner of the globe assemble

azy, or uncertain, over-inflated or summarised to the extent of making a dry bone of a living thing One must not think that being the *popular* theatre Kabuki would show a low standard of acting, stage management or organisation. It is popular in the sense that it is not sacred, it goes in for what the West would be called the Drama as opposed to the Passion Play Kabuki actors are almost always hereditarily chosen and are organised in a hierarchy Promotion and rank depend on hard work, mastery of technique and superior talent Actor families supply most of the actors, and great actors always pass on their stage methods to their sons or adopted successors. Stage building and furnishing are also tackled with the same elaborateness and efficiency as the acting In these respects even the highly competent "Revue" managers in the West may learn a thing or two from the orgnisers of the Kabuki.

Before going into the history, organisation and conventions of the Kabuki the author gives us a glimpse of the popular theatre, a pen picture which creates an interest in the



Matsumoto Koshiro impersonating Townsend Harris, the first American minister to Japan. The picture shows that the Japanes are masters of the art of make-up

reader to know more about this charming institution

"An indescribable din, thoroughly characteristic of the atmosphere of Shibai—that forms part of the pleasure of theatre going—is composed of a hubbub of voices, the clatter of tea-cups, the twang of the samisen, the thunder of big drums, the cries of the vendors selling pots of hot tea, rice-cakes, or oranges to customers in the back seats of the gallery and the metallic click-clack of the hyashigi or wooden clappers, that signal the beginning or end of the curtain"

This reminds one of the uproariousness of the Indian theatres, where actors, patrons and *panwallahs* combine to create a fairish imitation of the Miltonic chaos.

In the Kabuki,

Long before the playgoers begin to arrive, heavy scattered drum-beats echo through the vacant theatre This is a reminder of the old days when the drummer stationed in the yagura, or drum tower, beat his tattoo to announce the opening of Shibai and to hasten the people on their way

As the time draws near,

A flute begins to shrill · next the light staccato beats of a No drum· the drummers cease their clamour abruptly the stage carpenters hammer and the calls of stage hands ..

Among the audience

...people kneeling down on their cushions the galleries hung with many lanterns and covered with scarlet cloth begin to fill Outside, the red and white paper lanterns decorating the under-eaves of the tea-house blow about wetly and a fusillade of vertical rain falls unceasingly upon the grey mud of the street



The transformation of a maid into a fox, a Conventional make-up

Nothing prevents the Japanese from attending the Kabuki, neither rain nor typhoon All yearn for the gay atmosphere and the happy theatre-goers throng to enter "Kabuki's dreamland."

The programme lasts from noon to midnight and Kabuki provides the audience with servants who attend courteously to all personal needs. "Hot rice and tempting viands," sake bottles, or tea pots render a sojourn to the Kabuki a thing of complex pleasures, a comprehensive recreation audience do not go to the theatre to get sensations. Most of the plays are well kn and the more known it is the more audience like it, for their pleasure is of "expectancy" and not surprise T cheer their favourite actors, make "audi remarks," such as "You did well!" "Nip Ichi" (best in Japan) and so on

The Hanamichi or the flower-way "one of the most interesting conventio of the Kabuki. Actors and pageants through the audience along the Hanam making the whole theatre the stage and audience a part of the "play and players

Interpretative music forms part of almost e play To produce certain moods in the aud

lrummers and Samisen players are ·tomed to make sounds and ms to increase the emotion or ·esque effect of a scene.

·pecial characters make up in ial ways, a relic of the mask tre, and the style of acting lso in most ways conventional host must have a certain ite make-up and must not be rious

l he Kabuki horse is a human-d composed of two men who tly carry the horse mask and re in a thoroughly equine ner This human animal inds one of the traditional gali pictures of the *nabu-narijan* or "nine-women-elephant" which Krishna and Radha · The Kabuki allows free play individuality but the indivi-lity must be outstanding and merely mediocre whimsicality whims of great actors ime the shape of conventional llibilities to later generations

Origin of Kabuki

It is an irony of fate that the manless stage of Kabuki should e been founded by a woman kuni, a ritual dancer attached the great Shinto Shrine of mo," founded the Kabuki the year 1596. She was ring the provinces to raise funds for shrine and at last came to Kyoto Here stuck somehow and forgetting her sion, married Sansaburo, a Samurai and, ether, they started a new era in Japanese ing O-Kuni's husband saw that her Shinto-ldhist dancing alone would not go far, he effected improvements in it This soon de her "one of the most popular personages the time" Sansaburo was a man of culture l his help went a long way to make O-Kuni ·' she became

I or a time after O-Kuni women ruled stage in Japan But the evil life they ind the bad influence they exerted on ·nese life led to the prohibition of iale acting in 1629. Mixed companies mpted to give performances even after but were put down mercilessly.

l he youngmen's stage was organised ne the abolition of the women's stage



Matsumoto Koshiro in an Aragoto attitude

Dansuke established the youth's theatre in 1617 and this theatre grew rapidly. Even this theatre suffered in the hands of the Government in 1641, when a nobleman's wife fell in love with a young actor After this we see the coming of the full-grown men's theatre, which is still going strong

The men do not assume male or female roles indiscriminately Some act only as women and are called the Onnagata and others act only male parts Among actors there are the Dokegata or comedians who practise a special technique Actors are organised in a hierarchy There are m·y grades of actors of which the first seven are important The first class actors are given a name which means "head-of-all-acting" There are then the 'without rival,' the "best-best-good," the "finest-best-best good" and so on



Ichikawa Chusha as Matsuomaru in Terakoya (The village school), who sacrifices the life of his son that the Michizane heir may survive

SCHOOLS OF ACTING

As in the creation of schools of thought and conduct in any branch of human endeavour, great personalities have played a prominent part in the formation of schools of acting in Japan. Thus the first great actors who left their mark on the kabuki technique were Sakata Tojuro of Kyoto and Ichikawa Danjuro of Yedo. Both these actors flourished in the Genroku age (from the last quarter of the sixteenth to the first quarter of the eighteenth century), called the age of Japanese Renaissance on account of the great achievements in literature and art made by Japan during this period. Tojuro was a person of great artistic attainm... and had an extravagant way ... living. He believed in being w... informed and versatile and ... up to the standard he himself ... for good actors by declaring,

"The art of an actor is lik... beggar's bag and must contain ev... thing, whether it is important or ... If there is anything not wanted ... immediate use, keep it for a fu... occasion. An actor should even k... how to pick pockets."

Tojuro was at his best in i... personating common people a... his ability in this departm... was in no small degree due t... his constant study of persons, an... things in their natural environme... His school is known as the re... or natural school and resembl... the realistic stage of the mode... West in spirit. Of course, oth... influences have kept it from follo... ing the path of unmixed realism.

Ichikawa Danjuro on the othe... hand drew his inspiration from t... exaggerated representations of t... Doll Theatre. He developed t... Aragoto or unreal or exaggerat... style of acting and made ... immediate success of it on accou... of the atmosphere of reacti... against effeminacy and sentime... tality prevailing at the time. Da... juro's militaristic themes a... "manly" style of acting caug... the people's imagination. Arag... reminds one of the *Vira-ra...* in Indian theatre-craft. Danju... was broadshouldered and brawn... and his acting suited his physiqu... The influence of the audience on t... acting is clearly noticeable when ... study the atmosphere of Kyoto and Ye... where Tojuro and Danjuro appeared. Kyo... was "quiet and easy going, Yedo milita... and intense." So Kyoto produced t... natural and smooth flowing style of Toju... and Yedo the demonstrative heroiness ... Danjuro.

Numerous great actors appeared in t... Genroku age, but it is not possible here t... make even a passing reference to each o... of them.

We shall also have to pass over t... brilliant characters who adorned the Japan...

..ge during the period beginning .. the end of Genroku and ..ding in the beginning of the Meiji or Restoration era (1868-1912)

Ichikawa Danjuro the ninth was the torch bearer of Kabuki during the long reign of the Emperor Mutsuhito, known as the Meiji era, .. endured for forty-five years ..8-1912)

His immediate precursors were ..n of indifferent merit and he ..ted as the "Saviour of Kabuki" ..ring hard times

Although he upheld the treasured ..-real style of the Ichikawa line, he ..ew himself with enthusiasm into .. portrayal of roles in a new ..pe of play called Katsureki, or ..ng history in which he painted characters with accuracy of ..ol showing the influence of Western ..ama and also his revolt from the ..onsistencies of the Jidaimono or ..torical pieces of the Doll Theatre .. actor of such great parts was ..ver seen before in Japan, and his ..e may not appear again for gener..s to come

ONNAGATA

To give an account of the most famous impersonators of male parts and leave those who have played female parts during the long history of the Kabuki in ..scurity would hardly be doing ..stice The Onnagata, or actors taking women's parts, have contributed as much to the development of the popular stage as have those who impersonated only males Ogino Sawanojo was the most famous Onnagata in Yedo during the Genroku period. He played female parts .. Ichikawa Danjuro, the originator of the Aragoto style of acting Of him it has been said, "Even the gods and Buddha would be struck with the actions of this man" Yoshizawa Ayame was the first Onnagata in Kyoto during the Genroku age His sayings on the art of the Onnagata have been collected in book form and called *Ayame Gusa* or the sayings of Ayame Ayame said that to play female parts successfully one must live as a woman and learn to do everything in a dainty and womanly way He should even learn to blush if anyone were to refer to his wife and children in front of him.



"Nava-Nari-Kunjar" or "Nine-Women-Elephant"

Famous for his good looks was the Onnagata Sawamura Tannosuke. There are other prominent Onnagata in the history of the Kabuki, but one should consult Zoe Kincaid's book for a fuller list

THE KABUKI PLAYS

The plays staged on the Kabuki are classified into four groups "Sewamono, plays of everyday life, Jidaimono, historical drama, Shosagoto, music posture drama, and Aragoto, highly imaginary improvisations" Odori or the descriptive dance is closely allied to these

In the plays of everyday life "human nature holds sway, the playwright selecting for his material the joys and sorrows of the people round him" In historical plays historical characters take a prominent place But dramatisation of true historical events

was fobidden by law and playwrights let their imagination run riot to make a fictitious plot with real characters in it

Shosagoto or the music-posture dramas "combine all the Kabuki arts— plot, music, scenery, acting, movement, and colour, and represent the most sincere collaboration of the Kabuki specialists"

In Aragota, gesture, posture, movement, costume, everything is exaggerated The plot is of secondary importance compared to technique and symbolic expressionism

In modern times, the influence of the West has been felt on the Japanese stage and melodrama and translations and adaptations of Western plays have become frequent In the Kabuki the long programmes never contain only one class of play, and Aragoto, Shosagoto, Sewamono and Jidaimono combine to please the audience, just as on the Indian stage dancing, music and the inevitable mob-scene always mix with high flown rhetorical out-bursts from the heroes and heroines to complete the dramatic feast

PLAY MOTIVES

Loyalty and self-sacrifice are · dominant motives of Kabuki plays. Be: › 1868 the conflict of duty, justice and obl.:, tion with humanity, sentiment and feel · was always there in the Kabuki play. T author of *Kabuki* gives the gist of seve· plays which illustrate these motives v·r clearly

Love scenes and ghost scenes are ve common in Kabuki plays Socialistic pro; ganda also finds a place in them The weird, a opposed to the usual and normal, seems t be preferred by the Japanese, by its frequen presence in their plays The illustratio given by Zoe Kincaid prove this statemen The traditions of Japanese society have stil a tight hold on the Japanese imaginati· inspite of Japan s modernisation, and th fact is best brought out by studying th play forms and play motives of the popula stage of Japan

GLIMPSES OF BENGALI SOCIETY FROM OLD BENGALI LITERATURE

BY TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M A., *R. L. Research Assistant, Calcutta University*

CONSIDERABLE materials, regarding the social, political and religious history of Bengal lie strewn over the pages of old Bengali literature The administrative history of Bengal during the Mahomedan rule as also of the period immediately preceding it, gleaned from the accounts of the Mahomedan historians and copper-plate inscriptions, do not give us sufficient information about the social life of Bengal The accounts to be found in these records are, moreover, often full of high-flown panegyries, bestowed lavishly by the writers on their patrons, the Rajas, whose cause they avowedly espoused The court parasites have often times given accounts of things which may, at best, be taken as half-truths and unfortunately the historian of Indian life and culture has, at the present-day, to depend mainly on these materials, which are quite inadequate for historical purposes.

In the old Vernacular literature, the reader is carried through a jungle of legends, mythi cal stories and crude rustic fiction which are apparently far from being reliable materials for history

But a closer observation reveals that the literature of legends and imaginary stori· often bear the throbbings of life, and in th crude performance one can feel the pulse of the people,—their ideas and inspirations, their manners and customs, sometimes with · greater accuracy than in the state records i inscriptions Underlying these legends there is life with all its lights and shades. In these accounts the eyes of a true historian will discover precious materials which, suppl· mented by official records, the great value o which cannot be ignored, will enable him t reconstruct the social and political history of the country on the solid basis of a tru scholarly research.

In the poems like the Dharmamangal, the Chandi Kavyas and the Manasa Mangals, the Sunya Puran, Gorakshavijay, Sivayanas and the Mymensingh ballads,—the poets sometimes derive the subjects of their treatment from actual facts, and, however much their accounts may be found tinged with poetic colourings, there cannot be any interested advocacy for a political cause, clouding their vision The historical plays of Shakespeare give us far better glimpses into the social and political epochs of the English people than the voluminous accounts on the subject, left by the historians

This is more or less true in regard to our vernacular poems also. The difficulty that confronts us in the field is the task of separating facts from fiction All that is wanted, therefore, is a historian's critical judgment capable of distinguishing truth from fiction and of arriving at a scientific conclusion

It is not possible in many cases to assign exact dates for want of materials, as also for the remoteness of a period to which the incidents belong

But time may come when all available materials might be arranged in a chronological order, but it would now be quite premature to make any attempt in this direction.

So, periods should now be considered in two main divisions, namely, Pre-Mahomedan and Post-Mahomedan The poets, though most of them belonged to the latter period, sometimes left accounts of facts which may be distinctly traced to the Hindu Epoch The subjects treated here roughly cover a few centuries—possibly those between the 11th and the 16th centuries Of this period the last two centuries were most prolific in producing a large mass of literary materials

Each of the subjects mentioned here says something new and, as such, requires careful study. These items are but a few of the many, each of which in view of the special importance attaching to it, deserves elaborate treatment

So far as religion is concerned, the country showed a marked tendency, especially during the Mahomedan rule towards a transition from Buddhism to the present-day Hinduism. If we trace the course of religion from the 10th down to the 11th century we see the Mahayana form of Buddhism holding the people in its sway Although various other cults,—the Dharma cult, for example, counted many adherents simultaneously, still it must be admitted that most of them had an element of Buddhism in them Such was really the influence of Buddhism in those days, that the Dharma cult, which possessed an extensive literature of its own, comprising, among others, the Sunya Puran, the Dharmamangal poems and the Maynamati songs, is supposed by many as being an off-shoot of Buddhism The quarrels between the rival cults, e. g., between the Sun and the Dharma cults, fill up some forgotten pages of our history The Sun-cult is still traceable in the tenets of Grahacharyyas and the Bratakathas (viz., of Itural) Although some zealous Hindu Rajas of the sun dynasty did much to revive the Pauranic Hinduism as it exists to-day, Buddhism was still there in some form or other among the masses Inspite of the degeneration of its old ideals, the legacy of moral sentiment of Buddhism was not altogether lost to the masses The Bratakatha of Malanchamala bears evidence of this fact With the advent of the Mahomedans, Buddhism finally lost its lingering hold upon the people, and out of its ruins, grew up the present form of Hinduism, revived and remodelled by the zealous Brahmin reformers who particularly laid stress upon the observance of purity in social practices, or Achara, as it was called, evidently with a view to counteracting the evils, arising out of contact with alien people, people professing a different religion Perhaps it was Vaisnavism that sounded the death-knell of Buddhism in this country

Though Buddhism gradually declined in this country, we cannot forget its great merits The theory of cosmogony, it is to be observed, as expounded in the Sunya Puran of the Dharma-cult, bore resemblance to the idea of creation, propounded in the Rigveda.

The idea of action * once again exercised a more powerful influence over the minds of the people than that of complete surrender in every thing to gods, fostered by the prevailing cult of devotion which became subsequently the guiding factor in the life of the people of this country

In the Maynamati songs we find the son putting his own mother into boiling oil This is evidently an un-Hindu sentiment and

* For example we may mention the characters of Lausen, Kaludom, Lakha Ranjavati, Maynamati and a host of others to be found in the Buddhistic literature, such as the Dharmamangla poems and the Mayanamati songs.

every Hindu will feel abhorrence at such an instance of monstrously unfilial conduct. This we trace to the degenerate Mahayana form of Buddhism when the theory of action exercised its sway over the minds of the people. The belief that mystic rites and mantras could work wonders may be traced not only in almost every page of the literature of the Dharma-cult but also in the literature of the Hindu religion, as illustrated by the legends of the sages, e g, Durbasa, Biswamitra and Bhrigu. Throwing one into boiling oil had also its parallel in the story of Sudhanna of the Mahabhharata. Karna's sacrifice of his son Brisaketu to satisfy a Brahmin guest in the familiar story of the Mahabhharata has its parallel in the Buddhistic story of Lanchandra.

All these tend to show that perhaps the forms of Hinduism, then prevalent, were considerably influenced by the Buddhistic ideas and beliefs as a result of which the Bengali recensions of the Mahabhharata and the Ramayana are specially intermingled with such grotesque narratives. The Agni Pariksha (or fire-ordeal) of Sita has its parallel in the stories of Behula and Khullana of the Manasamangal poems, and the Chandikavyas which are apparently imbued with the Buddhistic ideas. The Tapasya or self-mortification of Ravana of the Ramayana story corresponds to the self mortification of Lausen and Ranjavati of the Dharama songs.

The manners and customs prevailing in the country during the period under review were most peculiar, disclosing an admixture of foreign elements in them, due to some extent to Buddhistic influences. Examples are not rare to show the prevalence of many non-Hindu manners and customs in the country in bygone ages. Thus, when a daughter was given in marriage to a young man, her sister or sisters were also given to him as dowry together with a number of maidservants. This we find in the case of Aduna and Paduna, the two daughters of a certain Raja, in the Manik Chandra Rajar Gan, evidently composed before the Mahommedan domination. Another custom, namely, that of trial by ordeal, was peculiar, and may be supposed to be an outcome of Buddhistic influences, though parallel cases may be found in the Ramayana and the Mahabhharata. This custom had a striking similarity with a a similar practice prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons of England prior to the Norman conquest. The Maynamati songs, the Chandikavyas, the Dharmamangala poems and Manasamangal poems are full of these examples of trials by ordeals.

The custom of keeping a written document (Jayapatra) from a husband, going abroad for a long period on trade purposes by his wife under certain circumstances, was most peculiar. This was done to save the wife becoming enciente and giving birth to a child during the absence of her husband (generally a merchant) from calumny. Chand the merchant, is said to have executed such a document in favour of his wife and we have reason to believe that it was held perfectly legal in the Law Courts in those days. This throws a flood of light on ancient ways of life and points to an age when a wife was not under the complete subjugation of her husband, as in later days. The spirit of free love, free movements, and self-culture among women, as found in the recently discovered Mymensingh ballads, speak of an age quite different from the one that followed.

The keeping of trained dogs by the rich and giving them names show that they were once not regarded as untouchable. In the Maynamati songs we learn that King Govinda Chandra kept trained dogs, named them and made necessary arrangements for their comfort. The songs, composed before the advent of the Mahomedans into this country, refer to a period, when society was not influenced by orthodox Hinduism of later days.

That the merchants in the past enjoyed a status equal to that of the king is sufficiently illustrated in the Manasamangal poems and the Chandikavyas. Why and how they came to lose this exalted position require careful investigation. Bangsidas, the celebrated poet of Manasamangal, who flourished in the 16th century, made mention of passports being used by the merchants, duly signed and sealed by the King.

Bengal was once famous for her efficiency in the art of ship-building and her commercial activities established for her a high reputation worthy to be remembered. Besides such foreign works as 'The Mahawanso' of Ceylon, wherein mention has been made of capacious Bengali ships in which Prince Bijay and his companions arrived in Ceylon in the 6th Century B C, and other works of authority on Bengal's maritime activity similarly furnish authentic accounts of the subject, hitherto neglected by our countrymen. In the Manasamangal poems and the

Chandikavyas we find animated descriptions of the commercial and maritime activities of the Bengali people during the pre-Mahomedan period, although the poets dealing with those subjects belonged to a subsequent age. These accounts refer to a period when Bengal enjoyed political independence and when her merchants crossed the seas on commercial enterprises unfettered by the trammels of social rules. The ships visited distant countries, such as Ceylon, Guzrat and Java, and the old Bengali literature described incidentally the routes, the islands, and their inhabitants and various other things in connection with their voyages. The description, though otherwise exaggerated due to poetic excesses, is amazingly accurate in respect of the route taken by the vessels. With all these poetic extravagances and absurdities the mention of huge crabs and lobsters in the Madras waters, by the poets, is found to be true even to this day.

The mention of the Portuguese private-ships (Armadas) and the once-important ports of Tamluk and Chicacole (Madras Presidency), which we come across so often in the pages of our old literature, is a matter of common knowledge. The Bengali ships are stated as having doubled Cape Comorin and reached Patan or Somnathpatan in Guzrat. The hugeness of ships and the picturesque shape of the prows representing various animals according to the traditional mode of shipbuilding (as mentioned in Yuktikalpataru) are interesting indeed. The poets seem to have described facts, though not entirely free from poetic flourishes. The rites and beliefs in connection with sea-voyage and sea-going vessels curiously resemble those prevalent in the days of Greek civilization, in Europe.

The crew of a ship consisted of carpenters, pilots, and naval forces. There was a time when carpenters filled the places of modern engineers both in the East and the West, when these ships were principally made of wood and plied with the help of sails and oars.

The overseas trade, once carried on by the people of Bengal, was really extensive and the merchandise in which they generally dealt consisted mainly of agricultural products which formed the chief resources of the country. Among other items of export, glass deserves special mention. The fact that Bengal once used to manufacture glass can be substantiated by reference to the pages of the old Bengali literature as also to the statement made in the Periplus.

The grains, earthen and wooden wares, cloths, especially of very fine textures, were exported in exchange for spices, horses, etc. Spices were perhaps brought from the East Indies.

Now, so far as costume is concerned, there has not been any considerable change. The dress worn by the people of this country in ages long gone by, was very much the same as it is in the present-days. Inspite of this fact, it is not very difficult to mark some peculiarities which were current in the Hindu period and were even in existence during a considerable part of the Mahomedan rule. We have it, on the authority of the Manasamangal by Bangsidas, a book written in the 16th century A. D. that people used to wear the cloth almost in the same fashion as their upcountry brethren do now. In the by-gone days of the Hindu rule the warriors perhaps wore armour, indications of which may be found in the Dharmamangal poems. No doubt the practice lingered to some extent, even during the Mahomedan period. Wearing of velvet shoes by the warriors and the silver shoes by the rich as described by the poets of the Dharma songs and the Manasamangal poems deserve our notice. In the days of old Hindu rule the fashion was perhaps to wear *chaddar*, save and except on special occasions. The more general practice of wearing shirts and coats seems to have come into existence with the advent of Mahomedans in this country. In the Manasamangal poems we find the use of turban (pagri) confined only to the well-to-do section of the community.

It is in the costume of ladies that we mark a more remarkable change. They used *saris* of fine fabric which are now no longer in use. Among these may be mentioned *meghlal*, *meghdumbur*, *ganga-jali* and other saris. The ladies wore an underwear resembling the petticoat of the present day and a kind of belt known as the *nibibandha*. We find the under-wear mentioned in the Gobindalilamrita of Jadunandan Das. Sometimes the ladies of aristocratic families wore Ghagra (Gowns), Odana (scarfs) and Kanchuli (corsets) probably after the Mahomedan fashion. But Kanchuli (corset) had the antiquity of the days of the Vedic culture. Among the toilet requisites Dhup (incense) was invariably used to scent the hair. Amloki or myrobalan was generally used in place of soap, though the

use of the latter was not wholly unknown, as we find in the Kamasastra of Batsayana the the mention of Phenak (a kind of soap) The art of decorating the face with paints was practised with great care It was known as *patra-rachana* (lit leaf-painting) and somewhat commonly described as Alaka and Tilaka. The Tilaka marks had a great utility in indicating the caste to which a particular man belonged

Some changes are noticeable in respect of ornaments Such ornaments as *keyura*, *angada*, and *balaya* of various types have come down to us from a remote past and we find mention of them in the Ramayan and the Mahabharat Many of these ornaments were worn by both the sexes from the forgotten past down to a considerable part of the Mahomedan period Of the very old ornaments *Satesuari har* and *Hiramangal Kari* (for the ears) attract our attention *Magarkhara* and *Mallatodar* are some of the old items of ornaments Of these *Mallatodar* was perhaps introduced in the country during the days of the Mahomedan rule The name seems to suggest that the ornament might have derived its name from Todarmal, the great finance minister of Akbar, who stayed in Bengal for a short period The Mallas or wrestlers favoured this ornament, which they wore on their feet when going out to exhibit the feats of arms 'Khadu' and Tad, a kind of armlet, once constituted articles of gift for presentation purposes *Beshar* was another kind of old ornament used to adorn the nose, being still worn in some parts of our country

Some of these ornaments are still favoured by women in the countryside, though the glamour of modern civilization has completely revolutionised the ancient forms and usages in the bigger centres of metropolitan life Jadunandan Das, in his famous work, the Gobindalilamrita, gives an account of the old ornaments and ladies' costumes, while describing the toilet of Radha

Culinary art attained a high degree of perfection at the hands of the Bengali women from time immemorial Knowledge of the details of cooking was considered essential for women in general and efficiency in this art was looked upon as an attainment even by ladies of high rank in our society. Our poets often took pride in depicting female characters, possesing, among other finer qualities, a knowledge of this special art. Thus Khullana, Sanaka and a host of other ladies whom w find to have excelled in this art remind u of the typical Greek community of Homeri days

The Hindus always refrained from taking meals cooked by strangers, in support of which hard and fast rules were framed to suit their own interpratation of 'achara' or purity

A newly married wife was required to cook dainties and serve them with her own hands to the kinsmen and relatives, assembled to partake of the nuptial feast

Great stress was always laid upon the selection of the various items of food from considerations of health, and elaborate rules were framed accordingly The very old sayings of Dak and Khana show the particular attention paid to the selection of food Even today Bengali almanacs show to what excess restrictions in matters of food were carried Although to a casual observer these rules may appear absurd and meaningless, some of them may be based on solid hygienic principles

More attention was given to the preparations of sweets, vegetables and fish curries than those of meat Special preparations of sweets, called Alta and Indranith are now completely forgotten in our country, though they are so often spoken of by old Bengali poets Sitamishri and Olaladdu also are becoming forgotten Among vegetable dishes Dugdhakusumbha was once very famous * Many of the old varieties of fish and meat curries are still prepared in the country In the list of meat curries given by Kavi-Kinkan in his celebrated Chandikabya that made from sheep-skin is really amusing.

It seems that before the advent of the Mahomedans in India the people used to enjoy a free life unfettered by the trammels of increasingly numerous social and religious institutions The women took part in physical exercises both indoor and outdoor This may seem strange now-a-days but nevertheless it was a fact based on literary and historical evidence Examples of women possessing physical strength, as in ancient Sparta, may be seen in old Bengali works, such as the Dharmamangal poems. The Amazonian princess Mallika is an example on this point The young always took

* The Hindu dishes were perhaps simpler than those of Mahomedans The spicy meat-dishes, as decribed by our poets, seem to have been extensively introduced in the post-Mahomedan days after the Islamic taste.

reat interest in physical culture. And monstrations of physical feats were often ld and enjoyed by the people very much in e same way as the boxing tournaments in estern countries.

The wrestling of Prince Lausen with his icked adversary shows the modes generally pted in a contest In the Maynamati ngs, Mymensingh ballads and the Manasa-ngal poems, we learn that hawking or lconry and pigeon-rearing formed some the favourite pastimes in the days long ne by Another game once very popular s the clebrated 'gendu' play

This gendu or ball-playing still obtains in me parts of West-Bengal But the more pular among the outdoor games was the istocratic 'Chaugan', corresponding to polo, hich was current during the Mahomedan le The game was a favourite one with Emperor Akbar The word 'Chaugan' Persian, signifying play with a ball and a ck It was played on horseback (see ncyc Britt) and is known to have origi-ted in Kashmir, from which it travelled to fferent countries, including Persia, Tibet, anipur and Bengal, Bengal being directly debted to Manipur for its introduction into is country. The description of Chaugan ay in Alaol's *Padmavati* is interesting. ith the loss of her political freedom, Bengal st many of her indigenous games, es-cially the outdoor ones—and the ladies adually ceased to take any interest in em

Of the indoor games, dice and chess und favour in the days of old, as they do w Even the women joined in these mes In the Maynamati songs we learn of peculiar game known as Duapati, which ght be the same as or similar to chess.

The description of warfare, as given by ir poets, refers to the Hindu period, but e accounts were written in the Muhammadan riod and, as such, could not be altogether free om Muhammadan influences. The twelve b-lords attending a king was a time-honoured stom. The description of weapons too ints to the same conclusion The *mushals, udgars, shels, suls*, etc, were as old as the ys of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. elaborate description of these weapons d their use may be found in the Dhanur-da, Arthasastra, Nitiprakasika and some her works dealing with the subject. Some these weapons resemble a boomerang of istralia and a cross-bow of mediaeval Europe. The mention of swords therein leads us to suppose that Bengal might have manufactured the weapon. The chariots, the elephants, the cavalry and the infantry were known as the four arms There was no caste-distinction among soldiers, who were recruited from all sections of the community. Even foreigners were employed, of whom Telugus (the Madrasis) were prominent.

As for war-music, it may be said with certainty that many of the old instruments are still retained in use Among these the varieties of drums and pipes, etc, attract our attention The horn is no longer to be found, although it was extensively used.

After the conquest of Bengal by the Mahomedans, the two communities, viz., the Hindus and the Muslims, lived together on cordial terms and the vexed question of *Hindu-Moslem unity did not arise at all.* Although the Mahomedan rulers at first grew unpopular with their Hindu subjects because of their foreign origin and iconoclastic activities, the situation changed as soon as the religious zeal abated with the march of time and the rulers began to direct their attention to administrative reforms Of course, ill-will existed in individual cases as it exists everywhere But it was caused rather by personal jealousies than by any communal dissensions When an autocrat abuses his powers—be he a Hindu or a Mahomedan—ill-feelings are, as a matter of fact, sure to grow, and this does not require any serious communal difference to aggravate it.

No wonder, therefore, that the two communities sometimes fell out under similar circumstances Among other works, the Mymensingh ballads and the Manasamangal poems contain descriptions of racial animosities being provoked by similar causes

Bengal was not much known in the past to the outside world for the excellence of her architectural work According to the verdict of Western experts Bengal could not develop her architecture to any great extent on account of certain natural causes, for example, want of stone quarries and general unsuitability of the soil for solid stone buildings Among the supporters of this view, Mr Ferguson's name deserves special mention Although this view is to some extent correct, it is nevertheless open to contention. Our old literature throws a side-light on our past architecture, the grandeur of which seems to be a wonder to us. No doubt, the poets are apt to exaggerate but

what they said was generally true. In the work of Dwija Kamalalochana (e. g., Chandi-kavya) and in many other works we find excellent descriptions of stone-buildings inlaid with gems of various colours.

The peculiarities of temple-construction with jars fixed above the spires were indeed remarkable. The extensive use of glass too is worthy of notice. The peculiarities of the building of cities and the construction of fortresses had been mentioned in detail by various poets, among whom we may specially mention the poet Bharatchandra, the great contemporary and court-poet of Raja Krishna-chandra, who flourished in the first half of the 18th century. The Mahomedan architecture developed in no small degree in Bengal, which belonged to the Gaudian style. Distinct traces of this type of architecture in the works of Bharatchandra and many others, of Mahomedan stamp, are noticeable. The architectural ruins of Gaud, once the capital of the Mahomedans, drew the admiration of the world and Ferguson had incidentally to admit the abundance of stone-buildings in this province.

But the greatest credit of Bengal lies, according to this authority, in the introduction of curvilinear roofing in her buildings. Bengal is said to have taught the world the method of building this kind of roofs. With bamboo and thatch the Bengalees u to build curvilinear roofs in the p though these are now growing gradu scarce.

Even in stone and brick-built hou these roofings were used. In old G. and in Bishnupur in the Bankura dist ruins of such houses may still be s Another peculiarity in the building of hou was quite unique. It was the use of tw doors in a room, known as Barodoow ghar. In Gaud there still exist the r of a room with 12 doors. In the rece discovered Mymensingh ballads Barodoow ghar has been mentioned in more than place. Among other peculiar construction steel-houses of Lakshindra in the Man mangal poems, the 'Tungighar,' rooms b in a lake, as is found in the Chandika and Gorakshavijay, and the undergro prison houses deserve special mention peculiar ditches or moats surrounding fortified castle, the concentric circles wards around a city, the Chowkbazar, the Kotowali (the police station) were p haps partly Mahomedan in origin. But system of allotting different parts of a to different castes and professions perh mainly originated with the Hindus and read about them in old Sanskrit literat on architecture and town-planning.

TO MY INDIAN SISTERS

By ANN MARGARET HOLMGREN,

"THE MOTHER OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN SWEDEN."

DEAR INDIAN SISTERS,

YOU cannot imagine how happy I am to have the opportunity of writing to you. Mrs. Butenschon, a friend of Mr Nag, has asked me to tell you something about myself and my work for woman suffrage, because I have been called "the mother of woman suffrage in Sweden." I hope my doing so will be of some help to you, though it would have been far more agreeable for me to write about other women's work.

I was born 1850 in an old country-house. My parents belonged to an old aristocratic family, and my father, before he overt the management of the family-estate, been a diplomat and consequently learnt love other countries. In politics he was c servative, but in matters concerning wom rights he was in many ways far in adva of his time. From him I inherited my terest in politics and my love for my fell men. At the age of seventeen I lost h He had been to me not only a belo father but also my best comrade, and t in spite of the fifty years' difference age.

At nineteen I married a professor

ysiology at the university of Upsala, ithiof Holmgren. He was a very clever and ith-loving man, of whom there are not iny, and it was he that influenced my nd to take a more liberal view of life, a w I have always since maintained, and nch has widened in spite of my old age

I have been the mother of nine children ch a large family, in addition to the inagement of a large household, made great mands on a woman, and it was at times nost too much for me To my other house-ld duties were added bi-monthly receptions our home for university students I did t, however, let material cares drag me wn, but found recreation for my soul in isic, literature and ideal social work Of aluable importance for my spiritual life s been the tie of friendship binding me to late Norwegian poet and author Bjornst-ne Bjornson and his wife

I must acknowledge that it is mostly men o have had the greatest influence on my ritual development, with however, two ceptions. One of these is my sister, who, ough all my life has been a great help to , and the other is the great authoress en Key.

To Bjornson belongs perhaps the largest ue of credit for widening my views. His th in woman and her position in society e me a self-confidence which I had entire-lacked, but which is a necessity for one o becomes a public speaker For a long ie I was quite convinced that I was good nothing.

Four years after my husband's death I tled in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden the year 1901 I was elected vice-president a Women's Peace Association The follow-: year thrust an immense amount of work the woman suffrage movement upon me, s question having become acute in con-quence of a bill laid before our parliament the mayor of Stockholm Carl Lindhagen, ocating the right of woman to the fran-se A Woman Suffrage League was form-here of which I became the vice-president order to attain our goal, we found that ch would have to be done to arouse the erest and energies of women all over the intry. But how was this to be done hout financial means or a speaker, who l time to travel about the country ?

My eight children were now all grown-and had left home. I had, therefore, thing to hinder me, except that I consider-ed myself completely unfit for lecturing It appeared to me just as terrible to mount a platform as to mount a scaffold ; yet a voice within me kept saying it was my duty to make the attempt I was convinced that the right of political vote for women was the key to their entrance to the management of state and public affairs with an equal res-ponsibility with men, which I considered as necessary for the women themselves as for the development of the state

I worked out a lecture, which I hoped would be instructive and stimulating, and trained my voice on the basis of the singing lessons I had had in my youth After some months I felt prepared for my undertaking and wrote to known and unknown people in different towns asking them to receive me and arrange for a hall where I could speak The answer I often received was that I should not trouble to come, as there was not the slightest interest in this question in their district. However, I would not be discouraged, but wrote back that if it really was so serious and all interest lacking among the women, there was all the more reason for my coming, and a visit to these places was arranged in consequence.

In this way I became the pioneer in Sweden of woman suffrage I had to travel as cheaply as possible because no support could be expected from the League, and this helped to undermine my already rather delicate health. During some years I continu-ed making long and troublesome journeys, and went through many hardships, but was everywhere heartily received Sometimes I was a guest in a wealthy great house, at others a poor lonely woman invited me to her small humble dwelling In this way I met and learnt to know a number of women belonging to different stations in life and of varying occupations, and came to understand the difficulties with which they had to fight, which made my devotion to our cause all the stronger. My lectures were everywhere well received, both by the audiences and the critic? The conservative papers, which were against us, were nevertheless very loyal, and not a single unfriendly word was uttered I care-fully avoided anything that could sound aggressive or give offence I spoke with the warmest conviction on the profit and necessity for the common weal to give woman the right to vote. I was successful in winning many

partisans, indeed leagues were forced in 60 different places.

In the year 1903, when I was planning a lecturing tour in the most northerly part of Sweden, I visited a high official of the state-railways to obtain advice in regard to my journey. He was almost horrified when he learnt that I intended at that season (early winter) to tour farther north than the Polar circle, and he asked me if I understood that I ran the risk of being snowed up in the lonely wilds, possibly for several days at a time. He also reminded me that not long before serious riots had taken place on the trains during the transport of drunken navies and he finished by saying "The devil himself would not dream of undertaking such a journey at this time of the year."

The political situation was at this time, however, such that it was necessary to do what could be done in haste. No one could then have foreseen that we should have to wait eighteen years for the accomplishment of our aim.

I was obliged to procure furs in which to wrap myself up from head to foot, and to provide myself with a basket of food, in case we should get snowed up. The train started, however, and no other adventure overtook us than that we were stopped for an hour in one place by a herd of reindeer, which had placed themselves on the line. But a twelve hours' journey in bitter cold and dismal darkness is anything but agreeable. What however did this matter, when my soul was on fire for the righteousness of woman's cause? I suffered subsequently, however, from all this knocking about and was no longer able to undertake such trying journeys.

During these years several speakers had come forward and about 250 leagues had been formed in different places. I received later many agreeable proofs that people wished to hear and see me.

How rapidly times and men can change. When I look back to those years of toil, my heart is full of gratitude for all the encouragement and love I have met with among women as well as men in our country. My fellow-workers have had great patience with me. I have, I must own, some difficulty in working with others than those who hold the same views as I do. If I feel in any w[ay] tied, I become shy and stupid. Onl[y] allowed to follow my own way without re[s]traint, is it possible for me to use my pow[ers] to advantage.

Liberty and righteousness are the essen[tial] things for me. I, therefore, understand an[d] respect these feelings in the individual a[s] well as in a nation. I still work w[ith] enthusiasm for women's rights and equali[ty] with men, but we have yet far to go bef[ore] we attain this, and not least in the devel[op]ment of women themselves.

I should have wished the great suffr[age] organization to have continued as a neutr[al] league of women, but I was unable to c[on]vince others on this subject. All these cent[res] were, therefore, allowed to die out, and [I] shall sorrow over this fact as long as I li[ve]. Before women have learnt the value [of] uniting in solid organizations they will ne[ver] be able to do anything of importance; th[ey] will not be able to carry out the great tra[ns]formation of the heart of the world, leadi[ng] to the abolition of that greatest disgrac[e of] humanity, war and violence.

Could the women all over the world fo[rm] a sisterhood of love and goodness for t[he] maintenance of peace and good-will, [they] should fulfil a mission greater even than t[hat] of motherhood.

With all my heart I wish you succe[ss in] your work for freedom.*

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* In publishing the letter of Madame Holm[gren] to our Indian sisters I beg to acknowledge [my] debt of gratitude to Madame Butenschon of [Oslo] (Norway), an idealist and a great friend of In[dia]. She was my first hostess in Scandinavia a[nd] through her I came to enjoy the privilege [of] knowing intimately many women workers of t[he] land of women pioneers.

While this letter of "the mother of wom[an] suffrage in Sweden" is going through the pre[ss I] receive the sad news of the departure of an[other] great woman pioneer of Sweden, Ellen Key [of] international renown. I had the rare good fort[une] of meeting her and enjoying her hospitality in [her] hermitage of Alvastra. I reserve for the n[ext] number of the Modern Review my humble tr[ibute] of gratitude to her sacred memory. The life a[nd] career of these heralds of woman's destiny a[re] sources of perennial inspiration to women of a[ll] lands. May our Indian sisters march forward a[long] the path of freedom and creation, following th[e] foot steps of their great sisters of the Occident.

KALIDAS N[AG]

A PORTRAIT OF RAJAH RAM MOHAN ROY (*)

Calcutta, June, 25, 1829.

RAM Mohan Roy is the learned Brahmin whose conversion to Christianity, and polemical works against Hindu theologians and European missionaries, have made his name well-known even in France Before coming out to India, I knew that he was an able orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician; but I had no idea that he was the best of men

Mr Calder, whose affections celebacy keeps intact for the whole human race, is actively associated with all kinds of benevolent activities and is acquainted with everybody who may turn out to be useful. This morning he procured for me the pleasure of a meeting with his friend For many days, I had been telling him of this wish of mine, and, last Sunday, the 21st June, he made an appointment with both of us, in his house, in order to introduce us to each other

Ram Mohan Roy is a man of about fifty years of age, tall, stout, rather than fat, and of a middle complexion among the Bengalees The portrait in profile which they have made here, is a close likeness, but the front view is not so good, his eyes are too small for his large face, and his nose inclines to the right side He has a very slight moustache, his hair, rather long behind, is thick and curly. There is vigour in his physiognomy, and calmness, dignity and goodness His dress is of the simplest, differing from that of well-to-do natives only in the socks and shoes of European pattern which he used instead of wearing slippers on bare feet He wore no trinkets, not even the sacred thread, unless he had it under his dress

Some compliments on my part upon his learning, acquired in the face of many difficulties, led him naturally to speak about the miserable condition of all things in this country

The turn of his mind is wholly metaphysical Logic is also a weapon of which he makes frequent use and he does not like to put it away. He is a man who always speaks, acts, and, in fact, lives on the defensive He had been attacked so often! He never expresses an opinion without taking precautions on all sides This excess of prudence is necessary in war but it is only embarrassing among friends, it makes conversation a little heavy

Ram Mohan Roy received the usual education of a Brahmin, but instead of stopping where others generally do, at a superficial knowledge of Sanskrit and of Hindu scriptures, he pursued his study with ardour, and became not only an excellent Sanskritist but a thorough Persian and Arabic scholar as well, and through these two languages, more especially through Arabic, acquired a knowledge of the philosophy of the Islamic people and of the philosophy which they had borrowed from the Greeks

Early in life, he had been repelled by the absurdities of Hinduism and took the bold step of protesting against them He wrote books with the object of re-establishing the pure doctrines of the Vedas, which had become corrupted in course of time by a host of abominable superstitions

While attacking the religion, as it was practised in his country, he professed, in reality, to defend it, just as the Reformers of the sixteenth century who stood up against Catholicism laid claim to be the defenders of the Christian faith

Then he began to compose numerous pamphlets in Bengali with the object of setting forth the pure and unadulterated doctrines of the ancient Vedas and of stripping Hinduism of the absurd dogmas and gross superstitions with which it has become overladen. The orthodox offered no reply to him, in speech or in writing, but he had to suffer persecution at their hand. Rejected by his caste, alienated from his family, he found himself abandoned even by his young

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* Victor Jacquemont—Voyage Dans L'Inde, Tome I. Paris. 1841, pp 183-188. This interesting contemporary account has not been utilised or noticed in any of the existing biographies of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy by Miss Carpenter, Miss Collet and Babu Nagendranath Chatterji. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the testimony of a cultured European who was not obsessed by the religious controversies of the day. It also throws considerable light on the political ideas of Ram Mohan Roy.

This article is the concluding portion of "Pages from the Diary of a Frenchman," published in this Review in December 1925.

wife and children, who had been misled by people; but this unjust reprobation did not overwhelm him. Convinced that, in their existing state, the precepts of Hindu religion violated all moral principles and were inveterately opposed to all attempts at betterment, he did not cease in his attacks upon them.

In the midst of the labours which this fruitless struggle imposed upon him, he acquired a perfect knowledge of English and of Hebrew and made a study of the scriptures of the Christians In all possibility, he was guided in these studies by a Christian priest. He approached the Presbyterian Church He found nothing in the Vedas which was inconsistent with Christianity; and without openly abjuring Hinduism, without losing his caste, without even formally embracing any cult, he soon passed for a Christian

I do not know what proofs he advanced of his faith. I believe, he restricted himself to a regular attendance at the religious services of the Presbytarians, and I have reason to suppose that he also went to the Anglican Cathedral frequently, but the reason which had driven him to abandon the irrational faith of his countrymen, very soon estranged from him the Anglican cult, so rich in absurd dogmas, and he appears to have followed the Presbyterian Church

But it was not long before the extravagant sermons of a minister alienated him even from this cult. After this, the Anabaptist missionaries strove to take the possession of this vacant soul, but Ram Mohan Roy was not a simple or ignorant man; he knew Christian theology as well as those who wished to be his masters Endowed by nature with a feeling for religion, but freed from all prejudice, he had read the scriptures of the Christians critically and independently He had found in the New Testament only the history of the life and opinions of a just and wise martyr to the cause of humanity which he had made an attempt to improve; the ethical system of the gospels appeared to him to be the highest and the sublimest of all moral codes. He accordingly joined the sect very improperly called Christians, which proclaims boldly and unreservedly the unity of God-head and reveres Jesus only as the holiest of men. Thus Ram Mohan Ray became a Unitarian, while people wished to make of him an Anabaptist. A controversy between him and the missionary who sought to convert him ensued; in this Ram Mohan showed such superiority that the poor missionary, honest fellow that he was, could see nothing but the new conviction which had been brought to him, and publicly embraced Unitarianism.

So, Ram Mohan Ray is nothing but a Deist who chooses to attribute some sort of divine sanction to the morality of the Gospels

He had been long lost to the Brahmins, who gave up all attempts to recall him to the fold, their persecution, too, relented, and he became united with his wife and children But his first inconstancy among the Christians and the pure and the philosophical faith in which he had, at last, found an anchorage, still drew upon him the enmity of many people The vulgar herd who give little thought to religion, who, I venture to say, are without religion, and who pride themselves upon their constancy, upon their religious immutability, as if there was any merit in the inertness of sleep or of death,—the vulgar made it a reproach against Ram Mohan that he so often changed his faith, and because devout people see no difference between a deist and an atheist, he is charitably considered to be a wretch without a religion Further grievances against him are not found lacking in these charitable souls. Though, ever since his youth, he has ceased to go to the temples of the Hindus, he nevertheless observed some of the rules which impose abstinence from certain things. For example, he does not take beef, or wine, and if he joins the dinner of a European, it is only to sit at the table with his arms folded These are the heinous offences for which he is abused, and which draw upon him the charge of cherishing a remnant of affection for the superstitions of the Hindus.

Had this man been a mere speculative philosopher, had he entertained no ambition of becoming the leader of a sect, his high and straight-forward sense of reason would not have made any concession to these absurd but innocent prejudices of Hinduism for which he had been often reproached; but Ram Mohan Ray is a practical man. He is not a passionate idealist who attempts to realise impossible theories; all that he wants to do is to bring about the possible good; and however limited the measure of the possibility for the good may be, he is resigned to concentrate his effort within the channel in which it will be useful. Had he taken meals with Christians, he would have lost his caste; and

being thenceforward an object of contempt to men of all castes, his voice and his example would have carried no authority

His father left him some fortune, but he has probably spent all of it in charities and he lives in the strictest economy in order to be able to give away more.

Ram Mohan Ray has surprised me by the accuracy and the range of his knowledge of the various states of Europe. Formerly, when he was a young man, he himself told me, this Europe, the mistress of his native land, was odious to him, in the blind patriotism of youth he detested the English, and all that came from them Since that time, he had learnt more about the benefits which have followed upon the establishment of the British power, and has come to regard it as beneficial for India * National independence is not an absolute good; the object, the goal, so to say, of society is to secure the happiness of the greatest possible number, and when left to itself, a nation cannot attain this object, when it does not contain within itself the principles of future progress, it is better for it that it should be guided by the example and even by the authority of a conquering people who are more civilised

The metaphysical intellect of Ram Mohan Roy did not let go this opportunity of playing upon the words dependence and independence "When we have to depend," he said to me, "by the very conditions of our existence upon all things and all beings in nature, is not this fiery love of national independence a chimera? In society, individuals are constantly driven by their weakness to seek help from their neighbours, if, above all, the neighbours happen to be stronger than they; why, then, should a nation have the absurd pride of not depending upon another? Conquest is very rarely an evil when the conquering people are more civilised than the conquered, because the former bring to the latter the benefits of civilisation India requires many more years of English domination so that she might not have many things to lose while she is reclaiming her political independence."

The sincerity of such language, in the mouth of a Hindu whose thorough knowledge of the culture of Europe warrants us in assuming that he has sentiments and feelings resembling ours, might seem to be doubtful But I have not found it so, for, brought up as I have been in a country of faith in absolute liberty, in national independence at any cost, and subjected as I have been from my childhood to the opinions of those among whom I have lived, I have yet learnt from solitary reflection that these beliefs are more noble, more generous than useful.

My Indian philosopher seemed to take a new interest in the conversation when I spoke to him about what I had seen in the United States of America He had just paid rather exaggerated compliments to the more or less constitutional monarchies of England and France to which I wished to reply by setting forth the advantages of a democratic republic and that was how I was led to speak about the United States of America. The enviable condition of this country may be described by a few touches which are easily intelligible to unprejudiced minds All the inhabitants of this country speak the same language, with almost the same purity; everybody knows how to read and to write Outside the professions, there is very little distiction of dress. The richest dinner resembles the poorest one in any other country Cultivation of the mind has made a progress in all ranks of society almost in parallel lines with physical well-being Daily wages for even the most mechanical labour is sufficient to procure for those who have only their hands to live by, ample nourishment, good clothes, and satisfactory housing There are very few servants, because there is very little of the misery which leads men to sacrifice their liberty. Everybody works and works for himself; no idlers to lead useless lives on the riches acquired by the toil of others A man hardly ever saddles a horse for anybody else to ride upon; the loaf is almost always for him who bakes it

This order of things is exactly opposed to the organisation of the Asiatic societies Ram Mohan Roy expressed his admiration for it, he felt interested in it and his heart warmed up at this picture. ' Certainly," I told him, "I too have drawn a grave satisfaction from it, the sight of happiness calms the mind, but being brought up in a country where society is differently organised and where bad government has created a leisured class, which is at the same time learned and elegant, refined pleasures which I have long enjoyed

* This statement also occurs in the autobiographical fragment attributed to Ram Mohon Ray himself. But his political views are more explicitly stated here and this statement precedes that of the Autobiography.

have become for me a necessity which American society cannot satisfy; I admire it; but from my own point of view I cannot love it In it I shall be alone."

Ram Mohan Roy has also known this pain of isolation. He has grown in a region of ideas and feelings which is higher than the world in which his countrymen live, he lives alone, and though, perhaps, the con ciousness of the good he is accomplishin affords him a perpetual source of satisfactio sadness and melancholy marks his grav countenance.

Translated from the French b
N. C CHAUDHURI

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous view misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or i other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerou contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to b brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point Generally, no criticism of reviews and notice of books is published Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor The Modern Review.]

Some Information on "Cooch Behar Affairs"

A letter of the State authorities (Regency Council) of the Cooch Behar State regarding the appointments of Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan and Nawab Khusru Jung has been published in the May issue of the Modern Review The letter says that the first appointments of both the officers were given by His late Highness and not by the Regency Council. They added that Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan was appointed as secretary to H. H , etc , at that time but they are silent about the previous post or designation of Nawab Khusru Jung in Cooch Behar.

No record in connection with the appoinment of Nawab Khusru Jung has been published before the formation of the Regency Council and everyone knows that Nawab Khusru Jung has been appointed for the first time by the Regency Council under the Presidency of Her Highness the Maharanee. We quote here the orders of the Regency Council regarding the appointments of Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan and Nawab Khusru Jung:-

The Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, Tuesday, May 22, 1923.

"Orders by the Regency Council, Cooch Behar,

"The 21st May 1923——

"Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan, M. A (Oxon), Bar-at-law, Secretary to His Highness, is placed temporarily in charge of the Audit Department vice Mr. B. Ghose retired"

The Cooch Behar Gazette, Extraordinary, Friday, May 25, 1923.

"Orders by the Regency Council, Cooch Behar.

"Appoinment.—The 24th May, 1923.—Major Nawab Khusru Jung is appointed Guardian to His Highness Maharajah Jagaddipentlra Narayan Bhup Bahadur and Maharajkumar Indrajit Narayan and is also appointed Controller of the Household, both appointments taking effect from the 1st of April 1923

"Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan, M. A. (Oxon) Bar-at-law, is appointed Private Secretary to Her Highness the Regent."

It is understood from the above orders that Nawabzada Abdul Karim Khan was previously in the post of secretary to H H, and the name of Nawab Khusru Jung is simply mentioned in the order without any reference to his previous official designation

A certain Khadim-i-Islam, a supporter of Nawab Khusru Jung, in his letter published in the "Englishman" on the 1th May, 1926, says that Nawab Khusru Jung has been made "Guardian" to the minor Maharajah by Her Highness the Maharani the same facts have been published also in page 587 of the Modern Review of May issue and in other papers It is pointed out in the same letter that the subsequent appointment of Nawab Khusru Jung as 'Tutor' to His Highness the minor Maharajah was given by the Regency Council and the appoinment of the said Nawab as "Tutor" to His Highness was approved by the Government of India. The people of the Cooch Behar State are in dark about the approval of the Government, but the official orders of the Regency Council, quoted above, show that the appoinments given are of "Guardian" and "Comptroller of the Household and not of "Tutor".

I quote the following information from the "State Almanac" of 1926, which is published annually by the State authorities:—

"The Guardian to His Highness the Maharajah Bhup Bahadur and Maharaj Kumar Indrajit Narayan—Major Nawab Khusru Jung"

"Major Nawab Khusru Jung—Comptroller of the Household"

In supporting this more up-to-date information

it may be mentioned here, but I am afraid to give the readers trouble and to pass any opinion on the merits of the allegation current in Cooch Behar, that a new attempt is being made to retain Nawab Khusru Jung in a post inferior to that of the "Guardianship".

Another remark of the State authorities in the same letter on the petition submitted to the Government is as follows:

"That careful enquiries have elicited the fact that practically all the signatures were forged and that the petition was in fact a bogus petition."

I, therefore, leave it with all publications, without any comment, for the readers, who will be able to arrive at their own conclusion.

A Resident of Cooch Behar.

THE GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM AMONG HINDUS

By A Brahmana

THE recent riots in Calcutta, lasting for over a month, have seen the birth of communalism among the Hindus The communal feeling is primarily connected with religion, and was hitherto confined to one particular community, the Mahomedans. So long as it was limited to its own proper sphere, religion, the tolerant Hindu did not take any notice of it When it began to spread over the social and political spheres, some thoughtful Hindus saw the necessity of organising themselves communally, though even they did not think it desirable to allow communalism to invade the field of politics. But the ghastly horrors of the recent outburst of communal passion have given the general body of educated Hindus, especially in Bengal, furiously to think, and the feeling among them has become very general that unless they succeed in welding the loose and incoherent mass of Hindus into a strong and compact community, they are sure to go under in the struggle for existence *vis a vis* the vigorous, united and aggressive Islamic brotherhood of India. Let us see how this new tendency in Hinduism is likely to work itself out.

As all civilised peoples in the world except, Mahomedans, and particularly the Mahomedans of India—for we must exclude the Turks, and possibly also the Egyptians, who live side by side with the Christian Copts, of whom Zaghlul Pasha is the best known—are aware, communalism is a thing of evil growth. It is an anachronism, a fossil, a survival of the Dark Ages and mediaeval times, when rivers of blood flowed in Christian Europe in the name of religion, and religious wars between Roman Catholics and Protestants, crusades against Saracens, St. Bartholemow massacres, Ghettoes, *auto-de-fes*, were the order of the day, and Torquemada and the Inquisition became a byeword for brutal fanaticism. The gradual separation of the Church and State, religious disestablishment, Catholic emancipation, all paved the way for a return to sanity in civilised societies, but even in recent Russian history pogroms against Jews were not unknown. But then Russia was considered to be a semi-oriental country which stood apart from the general march of European civilization and was not affected by its rationalistic and scientific spirit

At the dawn of recorded history, of which the Vedas are the earliest monument, India was a land of Aryans. The mighty Dravidian civilization was absorbed by Aryanism, but neither tradition, nor history suggests that cultural conquest was anything but peaceful. The age of Asoka was followed by the spread of Buddhism all over the land, but the records of Chinese travellers and the occasional references in Sanskrit literature point to the fact that Brahmans and Sramans lived side by side, breathed the same cultural atmosphere, and the weapons of logic and philosophy and the dialectic method were usually the only weapons employed by them in their mutual warfare A time came, with Kumarila Bhatta and Sankaracharya in the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, when Hinduism first took a definite shape. It rose out of the ashes of Buddhism, which was driven out of the land, but once again history does not record any bloody combats, and cultural assimilation seems to have been the sole process of achieving this mighty conquest. Mahayanic Buddhism left its traces

in image and relic worship, and in the doctrine of *ahimsa*, which converted a meat-eating people (*vide* Charaka, Susruta, the epics, and even the Upanishads) into a nation of vegetarians. Then came Islam with Mahomad Bin-Kasim, who overran Sind. It was the first time that the Hindus felt the impact of a virile and aggressive foreign religion which offered the alternative of the sword or the Koran—a method of persuasion hitherto unknown to the philosophic Hindu, to whom adequate spiritual preparation was the one essential pre-condition of conversion. The Devala-Smriti, which laid down laws akin to those by which in our own days war-babies in France and elsewhere were naturalised, was written at this juncture to stem the tide of Mahomedanisation. Two or three centuries later came Mahmud Ghori and Mahmud of Ghazni, and with them Islam was fully established in the land, and in the pages of the learned Al-Beruni (who alone of all Moslems known to history, the brothers Faizi and Abul-Fazl and the royal Dara Sukhoe excepted, made an intensive study of Hindu culture), we find how sad was the devastation caused by the Ghaznavide invader, and from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam (stanza XLIV) we know that by the beginning of the twelvth century his name had passed into a byeword for ruthless conquest in Moslem countries The harrowing tale of broken images and temples and forcible conversions and abduction of women that followed from that time onwards to the days of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan (and even down to the recent Moplah rebellion), is written into the blood-red pages of history. The iron was driven deep in the Hindu soul, and the memories of those days rankled in his breast like a horrible nightmare.

The methods of the Devala-Smriti were not given a sufficient trial, for they were repugnant to a people who were deeply wedded to their ancient customs and held strong views on the admixture of blood On the physical plane, they found their kings unable to defend them against the general Islamic onslaught, partly owing to mutual dissensions and rivalries, and partly to other reasons, such as the practical exclusion of all except the warrior caste from the military profession, the want of solidarity due to caste divisions, and the imperfect development of the patriotic sentiment. Casting about them for moral means of defence, they bethought themselves of strengthening the bonds of exclusion and isolation, and the lawgivers of all parts of India who founded the various schools of Hindu law, as well as their numerous commentators, prohibited sea-voyage and tightened the reins against admixture of blood even among the different castes, and shut the door altogether against social intercourse with the newcomers from beyond the border, designated Mlechchhas and Yavanas (originally Bactrian Greeks who had become Buddhists or Hindus). In this way they sought to preserve the purity of their race and their cultural traditions, and it cannot be denied that in the worst days of Hinduism, when Islam occupied all the seats of the mighty and there was hardly any secular defender of the Hindu faith, it was this cultural isolation which saved the masses of the population from merging themselves in the Church triumphant. Nevertheless, admixture of blood could not be altogether prevented and social intercourse could not be absolutely interdicted. The proud Rajput supplied mothers to Moghul Emperors, and the *Mel* system of the Brahmins of Bengal betrayed the extent to which 'impurities' had entered their blood. As a result, common manners, customs and social observances grew up. The court dress and court language of the Moghuls were adopted by both Hindus and Mahomedans, *pirs* and *fakirs* were respected equally with *sadhus* and *sanyasis*, and Mahomedans joined in Hindu fairs and festivals, while Hindus waited for the *darshan* of the emperor before taking their food. The first glimmerings of the dawn of a common culture were thus beginning to be visible, and the Din-Ilahi or universal religion of Akbar loomed on the horizon for a time.

Hinduism suffered its greatest defeat in the overthrow of the whole of Southern India—the country of Sayanaacharya and Madhava-acharya, the cultural stronghold of the Hindus during the dark days of Moslem rule—at the fateful battle of Talicota, where the combined Moslem forces crushed the greatest Hindu power of India in the fifteenth century. Then the Mahomedans fell out among themselves, luxury and power produced their inevitable consequences, military efficiency declined, religious persecution under the bigoted Aurangzebe alienated the Hindus, and the great Shivaji with his Marhatta hordes re-established the Hindu power, and it was from them rather than from the Moslems that the British carried away the sceptre. "The

empire of the Moghuls was already doomed before any of these [Dupleix or Clive] appeared on the scene ; and had they never been heard of, there can be little doubt that some Marhatta bandit or Sikh freebooter would in due time have seated himself on the throne of Akbar and Shahjehan" (Irvine, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, ch XXV) Meanwhile the way for the foreigner beyond the seas was paved by Ahmed Shah Durani at Panipat, which proved the grave of indigenous empires and involved Hindus and Moslems in a common ruin In the general decay which followed, noble ambitions and high aspirations, and all that was great and good in both the communities, disappeared from the land, each fought for his own hand, people ceased to think for the country as a whole, the power of initiative was lost, and religious bigotry, driven inwards, alone reigned supreme, and in the case of the Hindus, assisted by the ostrich like policy of the lawgivers, isolation and exclusivness reached the extreme limits at the hearth and home, and the forces of *contraction* well-nigh strangled the impulse to expansion visible in every healthy society.

When Islam came down from its high pedestal and *found itself on a level of* equality with Hinduism in India, the thinking section of Mussalmans found that they were not liked by the Hindus, who felt towards them in the same way as towards their own untouchables. The nimble wit and ready adaptibility of the Hindus also gave them a start in English education which was now the passport to success In most of the provinces the Hindus outnumbered the Moslems, and yet they had in the course of eight centuries become the next largest community in India. Sir Syed Ahmed saw that in education lay their only chances of self-improvement, and started the Aligarh College and withdrawing his followers from political antagonism with the ruling power, exhorted them to concentrate their energies on communal progress. The wonderful success of his policy did not prevent his successors from indulging in political free thought, for they found from the example of the Hindus that it was a potent instrument for the general advancement of the country in which Mahomedans must also participate, but they stuck fast to the communal part of the programme, and aided and abetted by 'command performances' (to quote Mr. Mohamed Ali as president of the Coconada Congress) from Simla and elsewhere, they started an intensive agitation for the communal distribution of the loaves and fishes of office and of the instruments of power, such as representation on public boards and councils. And as numbers count for so much in communal representation, a vigorous propaganda for proselytization was carried on simultaneously by fanatical preachers up and down the countryside, so that Sir Abdur Rahim, the protagonist of communalism in Bengal, in moving his amendment to the resolution for the proportionate representation of *Mahomedans*, was able to congratulate himself in open council that fortunately the number of Mahomedans in Bengal had gone up from 52 to 56 per cent within the last few years (vide Proceedings, vol. XX, pp. 140-42, dated 18th Feb., 1926).

The distrust of Hindus by Mussalmans, was, it must be admitted, not without justification Tolerant of every variety of religious experience and opinion, the Hindu does not, carry his tolerance beyond the region of theory into the field of practice. He does not it is true, betray any active intolerance, or try to impose his religious views on others, and in recent Indian history he has not thought of making converts on any large scale from other religions, *whatever may have been the case* when Buddhism was ousted from the peninsula. The well-known doctrine of the *Gita*, that to die in one's own Dharma is the highest virtue and to follow another's Dharma is terrible, is doctrine which he applies equally to himself and to the votaries of other religions, so that for Hindus and Mahomedans alike, change of faith was equally repugnant to him. The Hindu has never been guilty of reprisals like mosque-breaking and the like But he maintains a a stolid attitude of passive intolerance in practical life, and *does not* permit any intimate social intercourse between himself and the Moslem As soon as a Hindu goes over to the Islamic faith, he is lost to Hinduism for good, and all social connection with him is cut off The Hindu treats the Moslem and the Christian with absolute impartiality in this matter, and his attitude of passive intolerance is not aimed especially against the former In return, the Moslem has repaid him in his own coin Few as his peculiar customs and social prejudices are, he clings to them for all he is worth, and the Koranolatry (if I *may* coin the word) of the Moslem holds him in its grip as in a vice, so that even in his thought

he cannot free himself from the shackles of mediaeval theology, and his scripture stands to him for the sum of all wisdom, human and divine, and supplies the norm by which everything else must be judged, even in fields most remote from religion. The very multitude of the Hindu's scriptures, on the other hand, and the conflict of opinion of the Hindu sage on all vital questions, and the different schools of Hindu philosophy in which ultimate problems have been discussed with the utmost freedom, as well as the diversity of social practices and usages prevailing in different parts of the country, have all combined to give the Hindus width of view, a liberality of thought, and a range of philosophic vision which may have prevented their unification in the sense in which Mahomedans in India are united by their religion, but have kept them abreast of the highest and best thought that has obtained currency in any epoch of the history of the most highly civilised peoples of the modern or the ancient world.

Thus we find that the toleration of the Hindus, in the sphere of thought, has given them a universal outlook not confined within the limits of their creed or country, but that at the same time, their *laissez-faire* policy to live and let live—has, in the practical sphere, greatly narrowed their horizon and limited it virtually to their own community. And even here, the fact that there are a thousand and one sects into which the community is divided, bent on the same policy of letting well alone, has further accentuated this exclusiveness, so that there is no such feeling for the community as a whole as prevails among Mahomedans, and communal consciousness is substituted by group conciousness. The mass of Hindus never care to look beyond their nose and think of Hinduism only in terms of their sect, sept, or group, with the natural result that Hinduism has become indifferent and apathetic to the gross abuses that have sprung up in society as a whole in the course of ages. It has proceeded on the easy-going principle that whatever is, is for the best, and has absorbed everything and rejected nothing. The Hindu's social insularity has prevented him from taking back those lost souls who have strayed away from the fold and from throwing a cloak of protection over the helpless widows and orphans and the depressed classes who find a refuge in the hospitable social organization of other religions. The Hindu has hitherto suffered the depletion of his ranks or the humiliation of his co-religionists without a pang and has never dreamt of taking the field aggressively to retrieve the situation, believing that every one pays the penalty of his *karma* and what is fated will happen And all the time in his heart of hearts he has harboured an intense pride which filled him with a passive determination to avoid the least social intercourse with the renegade from the fold. It never occurred to him that it would be the manlier part to try to shape the course of destiny, give it a different turn by his own individual efforts, and mould society anew in the light of the new problems that the changing needs of the times had ushered into existence.

Thus, while the followers of the Prophet were vigorously pushing on their communal propaganda, the Hindu allowed things to drift so far as his own society was concerned Not that he was a silent spectator of the social drama Mighty thinkers and reformers arose among the Hindus throughout the nineteenth century, who dreamt of a universal religion and wanted to effect a radical transformation of Hindu society The gross evils that had crept into it, the prejudices and superstitions that had eaten into its vitals like a canker, the ritualism that had all but destroyed its spiritual essence, were sought to be wholly done away with, and an eclecticism based on all that is noblest in Hindu religion, to which was added the highest elements of other religions, became the favourite creed of the best minds among the Hindus. The hoary traditions of the ancient culture on which the evil customs were engrafted and which fed their roots were ignored, and it was forgotten that a great historical religion cannot be easily uprooted from the soil where it had implanted itself for thousands of years, that it has an imperishable core which deserves to be nourished and that no consciously evolved creed can replace it effectively in the minds of the masses, nor can it have the same influence for good over them. It was Dayananda Saraswati who, in spite of his defects, was the first reformer to have a clear grasp of this fact, and his great scheme of reform was based on its recognition. Later, Swami Vivekananda worked on the same lines, and tried to make the Vedanta practically fruitful by preaching the unity and equality of all

uls in the social as well as in the spiritual here, and in the place of the *tamasic* torpor at had overtaken the ancient religion he reached a rejuvenated and aggressive induism which would make a spiritual conuest of the whole world

Out of the teachings of Swami Dayananda e great Arya Samaj, the only vigorous and ing organization of Hindu social reform, ok its rise; and his doctrines, together ith those preached by Vivekananda, have ven birth to the *suddhi* and *sangathan* ovements in Hinduism. It is not for thing that Mussalman leaders scent in em a danger to the spread of Islam in dia. So long as Hinduism was unorganised d apathetic, the missionary zeal of Islam et with no check in its triumphant career, d its success was extremely gratifying ut with Hinduism resolved to put a brake it by setting its own house in order, and t only so, but so far advanced as to underke the reconversion of converts, the progation of Islam, it was felt, would become s easy And ever since Indian Moslems e begun to think communally, they have tached the greatest importance to such aceful penetration, which was about to be reatened by these new movements started the bosom of orthodox Hinduism

The unity of Hindus and Mahomedans on unprecedented scale was attempted in cent years by Mahatma Gandhi, but it was attempt which was doomed to failure, for overlooked the essential factors of mutual tagonism, and based itself on two things, z, a common hatred of the foreigner, and a lse expediency, to wit, the support lent to e Khilafat movement by the Hindus. In the ture of things the former could not form e basis of a permanent union, and the tter, pampering the extra-territorial and Panlamic proclivities of Indian Mahomedans which the Hindus could neither have rt nor lot, interfered materially with the owth of a united Indian nation. The llowness of the union was proved to deonstration only the other day at the great hilafat gathering at Delhi, when Mahomedan aders vied with one another in spouting nom against the Hindus, whom they fused to call brothers, and Mr. Mahomed li longed for the day when he would ing the Mahatma himself within the nks of the faithful. Even the great personity of the Mahatma could not prevent this tificial attempt at reconciliation from meeting with the fate it deserved, founded as it was, not on the bedrock of truth, but on false premises which could not bear the light of day.

A word regarding Indian Christians will not be out of place here. The recent riots have shown, what was all along evident to thoughtful observers, that between the Hindus and the Indian Christians the gulf was nothing like so wide as that between them and Indian Moslems. The reason is not to be sought in a common racial background, for that is shared by the Hindu as fully with the Mahomedans who equally with the Indian Christians have mostly sprung from the same Hindu stock It is to be found in the cultural affinity of the Hindus and Indian Christians, and also to same extent in the fact that in such matters as dress nomenclature language and domestic observances of a non-religious character, the latter do not make a point of accentuating their differences with the Hindus Polytheism and iconolatry for the masses, and pantheism for the higher minds, have characterised Christian Europe down the ages as much as Hindu India. Culturally, Christian theology and Hindu philosophy, especially of the Bhakti School, have many points in common, while both the educated Hindu and the educated Indian Christian keep a chamber of the mind open to the reception of the best secular thought and do not merge their whole individuality in their religious creed, however sincerely they may believe in it; and in the cultivation of music, sculpture, painting and the rest of the fine arts, some of which are taboo to the orthodox Moslem, they can associate on a common platform without trenching on the tenets of their religion. The rigid monotheism of the Semitic creed of a jealous God, the Lord of Hosts, had its counterpart in the religion of the prophet of Arabia, the commander of the faithful, but the intolerant Hebraic element in Christianity was in course of time completely submerged by the Hellenic element with which Hinduism itself, an ethnic creed like that of Greece has much in common The nationalism of the better class of Indian Christians, again, is rooted more deeply in the country's soil than that of Indian Moslems with one eye fixed on Arabia and the other free Islamic countries of the world.

We have now come to close quarters with the subject of our paper A distinct tendency towards communal organization among Hindus has manifested itself in and through

the recent riots. The rioters made no distinction between Brahmas, England-returned Hindus and orthodox Hindus, between Marwaries and up-country Hindus and Bengali Hindus, and for that matter, between Sikhs, Jains, Arya Samajists, and other Hindus. This naturally had the effect of throwing all the offshoots of orthodox Hinduism, and orthodox Hindus of all classes, irrespective of their place of origin, into one another's arms for mutual protection and defence, and made them conscious of their essential unity. Once this consciousness is born, it is bound to grow, and with its growth the feeling of unity between the higher and the so-called lower castes of Hindus will grow also; and in the growth of fellow-feeling between the different castes and sects into which Hinduism is split up, and especially between the higher castes and the depressed classes, we see the best angury for the growth of Indian nationalism.

A strongly organised, virile, and aggressively intolerant community, by its vigorous impact, has made the Hindus alive to the need of thinking in terms of the community before thinking in terms of the nation. Hindu opinion, which so long gave no thought to the matter, and in a vague sort of way dreamt of a united India without even a passing look at the enemy within the gates—the caste system with its fissiparous tendencies, is beginning to crystalise itself and feel that communal homogeneity must precede national solidarity and unification. A well-known public man has recently observed to the writer that there is no deception like self-deception and no community suffers so much from this vice as the Hindus. It will not do, for instance, for one belonging to the higher castes to take a glass of water at the hands of an untouchable at a public meeting for the uplift of the depressed classes, and, after earning the plaudits of the spectators, relapse into his habitual mode of living from which the submerged classes are rigorously excluded. It will not do for the pandit who poses as a reformer to say, as has recently been said in Bengal, that Hindu philosophy recognises no distinction between individual selves which are all emanations from the supreme soul, and that the depressed classes have only to work out their evil *Karma* in this life to entitle them to equality with Brahmins in another life. If it is necessary for Hindus to unite among themselves, they must take their courage in both hands, abjure all pretences and make-belie[ves], and build anew from the very foundation[s] so that every Hindu, whatever his rank, ma[y] feel that he has a stake in his religion an[d] a place in the hearts of his coreligionis[ts]. It will be necessary for the leaders to foll[ow] the lines of least resistance in dealing wit[h] a social organisation of such hoary antiquity. But the adaptability of Hinduism to changin[g] environments, its mobility and flexibility, ha[s] been a prominent feature of the religio[n] which has hitherto preserved it from extinc[tion], furnishing whatever justification ma[y] be urged for the proud name of Sanatan Dharma, or the Eternal Religion, which it ha[s] been pleased to give itself. The Namasudra[s] in East Bengal, the Rajbansis in Nort[h] Bengal and the Pods and Bagdis in We[st] Bengal, are a simple kindly lot, with a fin[e] physique, and quickly responsive to sym[pathetic] treatment. And it is them whom w[e] have kept at arm's length and hesitate t[o] call our brothers, though their services have bee[n] freely requisitioned by the higher castes i[n] defence of their hearths and homes. Th[e] whole caste system of the Hindus is boun[d] to succumb to the hard logic of facts an[d] must be thrown into the melting pot. Th[e] communal attacks which have spread int[o] the interior and are likely to last so long a[s] the communal fever lasts and its evils a[re] not brought home to the champions [of] communalism will assist in hammering th[e] Hindus into shape and in bringing abou[t] the Satya Yuga of which the Puranas hav[e] sung, when there will be but one cast[e]. The Brahmins of Southern India, who stil[l] insist on imposing abject and ridiculou[s] restrictions on the Panchamas, can hardly b[e] made to feel, as we in Bengal do, th[e] urgency of giving up all internecine dis[s]ensions, for there the Moslem element is no[t] numerous, and the foolish game of Pariah baiting may be continued for some little tim[e] yet without its suicidal effects being mani[fest]. But the day is coming, if it has no[t] come already, when the Hindus of the whol[e] of India must learn to combine and set thei[r] own house in order, if Hinduism is t[o] survive and maintain its self-respect as [a] religion.

Another well-known public man ha[s] recently expressed to the writer his opinio[n] that the true uplift of the masses of Hind[u] society depends not so much on a forma[l] removal of their untouchability as on th[e] removal of their dense ignorance. Wit[h]

education will come better manners, more rational customs, and a more hygienic mode of life, on the one hand, and on the other, a greater confidence in self, higher desires and nobler aspirations, and along with it all, a consiousness of equality which nothing can long withstand, and social intercourse and intermarriage with the high castes will follow as a matter of course, and will not have to wait upon any solemn pact or covenant or legislative enactment. It seems to the writer that there is a good deal of truth in this and that more and more attention will have to be paid to the educationally backward sections of the community if greater solidarity and cohesion be aimed at, and the zeal shown in the cause of mass education will be the acid test of the goodwill of the higher towards the lower castes. Ignorance being the mother of religious bigotry and fanaticism, education is likely to clear the ground for a better understanding between the two great communities, and from this point of view also the problem of elementary education should be seriously tackled.

How will a strongly organised Hinduism, communally marshalled like Indian Moslems and united and therefore bold in defence of its just rights, stand in relation to the other communities of India, is the question which next suggests itself for our consideration We have seen at the outset that communalism has worked immense mischief in Europe and has been abandoned by all the civilised countries of the West, Turkey being the latest conspicuous example, for it has discarded the last symbol of religious segregation, the Fez, along with religious endowments, an established Church and the theocratic organization of the State as embodied in the Khilafat, earning thereby the respect and admiration of all civilised countries for the far-seeing wisdom of her statesmen. We have seen how the separation of the Church and State, instead of weakening Turkey, has immensely increased her prestige and influence in the chancelleries of Europe. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report had not a word to say in favour of communal representation and did not hesitate to point out its evil effects. Yet, egged on by a third party, the numerically smaller of the two great religious communities of India held fast to it with all the tenacity born of a mistaken sense of self-interest. The repercussion of this separatist movement has begun to produce its effect among the Hindus, with this difference, that in the case of Hindus its effects will not be as bad as among the Mahomedans, and in fact, will, on the whole, be more beneficial than otherwise, for it will help to unify the community and enable it in course of time to attain the sense of democratic brotherhood and equality which prevails among the Indian Mussalmans as a whole, and is at present confined to the different castes *inter se* among the Hindus. We do not ignore the fact that the democratic ideal of the Moslem suffers from a serious drawback, inasmuch as it does not embrace the whole of India, irrespective of caste and creed, within its purview, and is rigidly confined to his coreligionists , but what we mean to say is that the Hindu must first advance as far as the Moslem has gone and transcending his caste-consciousness learn to feel for the entire body of Hindus, before both the Hindus and the Mahomedans can extend the democratic ideal still further and learn to think of themselves as Indians first and as Hindus or Mahomedans afterwards It must be remembered that the only unity between Hindus and Mahomedans which can prove lasting must be based on mutual strength and equality. There can only be a semblance of equality among communities unequally matched, who have no real respect for each other's strength In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, the stronger power is likely to develop into a bully and the weaker to degenerate into a coward When the two communities are equally strong and united, the narrow self-interest which has induced some Mussalman leaders to foment communal zeal will appear in its true light and end in disappointment For, the Hindus being in a large majority in all but two provinces, where they are slightly outnumbered, will then be able to enforce their communal demands in the same way as the Mahomedans are now doing in Bengal, and, to take a concrete instance, Moslems will no longer monopolise 24 per cent of the official posts where they form only 10 per cent of the general population, as is the case in Bihar and Orissa. If what Sir Abdur Rahim said in the Bengal Council on the resolution on proportionate representation be sincere, and the Mahomedans seek no undue advantage for themselves, and are "ready to concede the same to all other communities similarly situated," then it will not take long for the members of his community to be disabused of their great expectations, so far as the loaves and fishes of office, which

form the main bone of contention between the educated section of both the communities, are concerned. Fitness and capacity will then once more become the true test of public service. Again, when Moslems find that Hindus are as democratically organised as themselves, but not before this, they will perceive the utter unwisdom of confining their outlook only to their coreligionists, for by holding the whole outer world of kafirs at arms length they would only invite an equally strong determination on the other side not to allow the Mleccha to predominate. Finally, they will then be made to understand that for Moslems, born and brought up in India for centuries and sprung from her soil, to look to Arabia or elsewhere for cultural inspiration is radically wrong, and that the Moslem culture of India must be built on the foundation of the more ancient Hindu culture and come to terms with it, and with all this will come the crowning consciousness, without which no true Indian nation can be born, that all the different communities of India must look to India herself as their motherland and must not surrender themselves to a vague, mystical, extra-territorial sentiment of nationhood which other Indian communities are bound to repudiate emphatically and which the foremost Moslem countries of the world have definitely abjured

I shall close with a word of warning to my coreligionists, the Hindus. A Hindu philosopher of European reputation has told the writer in connection with the Hindu-Moslem problem, which is the most vital problem of the hour, that it is important for us to remember the noble truth which is as old as the Buddha himself that hatred cannot be overcome by hatred, but can be conquered only by love, and in order to cultivate that feeling it is necessary for us to study the religion and cultural history and social organization of the Mahomedans just as it is necessary for Mahomedans to study the religion and cultural history and social organization of the Hindus. It is no answer to my friend's observation to say that few Moslems do it. It is our duty to point out the way and set an example, if we are what we pose to be, viz, more culturally advanced as a community than Indian Moslems If we do so, we may perchance discover points of contact which will draw us more towards each other, and predispose us to substitute love for hatred. That such culture-contacts had been established in the past, will be evident from the history of the mystical sect of Sufis. Without some such cultural *rapproachment*, our communal organizations of the future may long continue to maintain an attitude of armed neutrality towards each other, poisoning the whole atmosphere with their miasmatic effluvia, and retarding the growth of that common Indian nationality of which the world-poet, who is also in a peculiar sense the great representative mind of India, has sung in his *Gitanjali*.

RACIAL PARTIALITY IN THE INDIAN ARMY

By Dr J. N. GUPTA

If you are chased by a venomous reptile, the best way of saving yourself from its attack is to throw behind some of your wearing apparels so that the chasing reptile may entangle itself in the apparel thrown and in the meantime you reach a safe distance. This is probably the only way by which one can save himself from a certain death, and this procedure of self-protection from sudden attacks from unexpected quarters is well appreciated by the bureaucratic Government of India, for whenever they are heckled and harassed in the Legislative Assembly for the adoption of a certain measure against their will, they throw Committees, upon the Members of the Assembly, which body is required to frame and issue questionnaires, invite answers examine witnesses, consult and deliberate and finally to submit their reports and recommendations. For carrying out all this it takes about a year in the least. Now-a-days

among the members of such Committees, there invariably are a few who dissent from the report of the majority and submit one of their own. This latter is called "minority report". Assent or dissent, none-the-less it is given the shape of a book and is sent to the Assembly for criticism, discussion, debate and adoption or rejection as the case may be. Whatever may be the result of debate and voting in the Legislature, even if the House by an overwhelming majority recommends to the Government for its adoption, the voluminous reports, which are prepared at the cost of the poor tax payers, find peaceful shelter in the Libraries of the Legislatures ultimately to be devoured by ants Many Committees and Commissions have come and gone leaving behind reports of their elaborate inquiries and recommendations, but the fate of nearly all of them have been the same. We therefore may very reasonably except that the fate of the report and recommendations of the Committee sitting at present, I mean the Skeen Committee, or rather the Indian Sandhurst Committee, will be the same as that of others of its like which preceded it.

Taking for granted that at least in this matter relating to the grant of the King's Commission to Indians in the combatant units of the Indian forces, the Government are really anxious to find out ways and means for properly training Indian youths, so that they may be entrusted with the commands of Platoons and Companies, what necessitated the formation of the Indian Sandhurst Committee? What benefit would the Government derive from the evidence of the people? What new information do the Government hope to get by the examination of witnesses? If the Government are really desirous of finding out a judicious way of Indianising the Army, then are we to suppose that in their estimation the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State are not competent enough in this respect and that is why this elaborate scheme of evidence-taking has been resorted to? Had there been the slightest sincerity of purpose of the Government in this matter they had a thousand and one ways and means of devising a scheme for the Indianisation of the Army. Had the Government been interested in the welfare of the teeming millions of this unfortunate country more than in anything else, they would have taken steps to curtail the Army Budget which costs us about 56 crores a year, more so for the reason that the maintenance of British a Regiment in this country means a cost four times as much as it costs an Indian Regiment. If not for any other reason, at least for the curtailment of the Military Budget, which entails a heavy drain upon the Indian Exchequer, the Indianisation of the whole of the Army in this country is indospensably necessary.

Since the last 7 years Commissions, though only a very few, are being granted to Indians in the combatant units of the Indian Army, and as a result of the agitation of the Members of the Legislative Assembly, a few more young men may be admitted to the existing Sandhurst College or an Indian Sandhurst that is yet to be It is said that Government are in right earnest about Indianising the Army and that is why they have separated 8 units of the Army where His Majesty's Indian Commissioned Officers are posted to prove their ability If this 8-units-Indianisation-scheme succeeds they would, in the same way, commence with other units for their Indianisation as well But as I have mentioned above, there is want of sincerity of purpose of the Government. At this rate of progress it would take about 450 years to complete the scheme And with their present mentality, their scheme of Indianisation would never succeed, for it is very well known that Indian young men look down upon this 8-units-Indianisation-scheme for their justifiable pride and self-respect is wounded by this policy of segregation of His Majesty's Indian Commissioned Officers from the British Officers holding the same rank, the same status, the same qualifications and ability. A unit consists of 12 officers, so for 8 units 96 officers are necessary The number of Indians admitted to the Sandhurst College at present is approximately 4 a year, so in 24 years the full quota of officers for these 8 units will be trained. Thus for the 140 units of the Indian Infantry, it would, roughly take about 450 years to complete the scheme of Indianisation. Then is to be considered the 'Sappers and Miners', Royal Air Force, Tank Corps, Artillery Corps etc.

The above calculations prove that the Government are not really desirous of Indianising the Army and that the talk of Indianisation, which they say is in progress, is a mere sham and farce.

"The Statesman" in its Dak Edition of the 11th Novembef 1925, says,

As a matter of fact an excellent career in the

Indian Army is now offered to Indians. Not only has it been decided to reserve certain units exclusively for Indians thus giving them a better chance of promotion than British officers in the Indian Army, but they are placed on absolutely equal terms with respect to promotion with their British Comrades".

It is indeed very fine to hear of equality "with respect to promotion," and the phrase "British Comrades" but by following facts I would point out what this much trumpeted "Equality" is in practice and whether the British people (in India) entertain the spirit of comradeship with Indians, "the natives" "The Statesman" further says

"From twenty to twenty-five years is the time required in any army for a newly commissioned officer to rise to any independent command".

Further assurance is given by the "Statesman" to Indians about prospects in the Army thus:

"Twenty-five years hence when questions of seniority and selection arise, all the chances will be in favour of the Indian. To-day he must like the other be content with doing his duty and learning his profession"

Let us now see how far the "Statesman," an English organ, gives a correct interpretation of the situation We are afraid that the colour prejudice that is in existence will be a stumbling block on the way to treating Indians on equal terms with respect to promotion and posting. To know what will be the position of His Majesty's Indian Commissioned officers in the combatant units, one is to consider the treatment meted out to Indians in the I. M S, which is the only service in which the King's commission has been open to Indians for the last 60 years or so

(A) Appointments

(I) High administrative posts, such, as D. M. S., D. G. I M S., Surgeon Generals, D D. M. S., A. D M S., etc., are practically not open to the Indians, with the exception of only one instance where an Indian (Col. Bholanath) was temporarily posted as A. D M S. A solitary instance in 60 years,

(II) Excepting a very few instances, Indians have not been given charge of those posts which carried allowances, such as Specialists, Cantonment Medical, Officers, Officer Commanding Units, etc As long as collateral charge allowance was admissible, *i. e.*, upto 1918, postings were so arranged that the European section of the I. M. S. used to draw these allowances. After 1918 when these allowances were stopped, such posts were thrown open to the Indians as well. Old records from Brigades will corroborate this. Statement of the last 50 years regarding the postings in such offices with the names of officers posted, will conclusively prove this fact.

(III) Take the instance of senior Indian I. M S. Officers It is found that by sheer cleverness in the manipulation of postings of Officers, these Indian officers were shunted behind to make room for Junior European I M. S Officers for higher appointments A detailed statement showing postings of I. M. S Officers with the years of service noted therein, will prove my allegations beyond doubt.

(IV) Out of 1200 temporary I M S Officers during the last great war, over 90 resigned One of the main reasons for their not sticking to the military service, was the existence of acute racial partiality and colour prejudice. During the last war, a temporary Indian I M S Officer was refused entrance into an Officer's mess which consisted of European officers only That gentleman brought this affair to the notice of the Officer Commanding and on his intervention the Indian Officer was taken in, but his life was made miserable by the inmates of the mess as a consequence of which he had to walk out and after great difficulty and hardship secure shelter elsewhere

(B) Promotion

From a glance at the Army list it is found that an I M S Officer can go up to the rank of Lieut. General. But curiously one finds that since commissions in the I. M S were thrown open to Indians about 60 years or so ago, not a single Indian Officer rose above the rank of full colonel Only two Indians have so far risen to the rank of full colonel in this long period of 60 years. (Col. Bholanath and Col. Banatvalla).

(C) Honours and Decorations

During the last war, it was while attached to the combatant units that Indian I. M. S. Officers, though only a very few, have received honours and decorations and practically none from medical units. The reasons are obvious. European I. M. S. Officers were the commanding officers of the medical units and as such they were the judges of the working

of the Indian I. M. S. Officer serving under them. It is the rule in the Army, as well as in the civil service, that the officer-in-charge recommends for decorations, honours or reward. To recommend Indian officers for honours and decorations for their bravery, meritorious and exemplary services means to recognise their ability and to jeopardise the very existence of the European I. M. S Officers in India at the same time. That is why the claims of the Indian Officers were invariably kept in the back ground. But such was not the case in the combatant units where the interest of the European Commanding Officers never clashed with that of the Indian I M S. Officers of the same regiment. As they belonged to two different branches of the military service, so the bravery and good work of the Indians were recognised, appreciated and rewarded

(D) Postings during the last Great War

Indian I M. S. Officers were invariably posted to the danger zone whereas the European I. M S Officers were given places of comparative safety A glance at the postings of Medical Officers in Regiments during 1914-22 in different theatres of war will corroborate all that I say

(E) Insolence of British Soldiers.

Insubordination and insolence in manners towards His Majesty's Indian Commissioned Officers is the characteristic of a British "Tommy". If there be two Officers, one European and the other an Indian, the British Soldier would turn his back toward the latter and salute only the British Officer. A petty soldier earning only 30 or 40 Rupees has the audacity to insult His Majesty's Officer. This is but a daily occurrence in places where there is a fort or a cantonment. This is indeed racial arrogance. Indian Officers thus insulted are in no way losers, but it clearly shows that the talk of discipline and obedience which it is said, is the key stone of the British Army, is mere sham If a subordinate officer of the Army does not salute his senior, this does not mean that the senior, man is injured, it means that they insult only their King, the constitutional head of the British Common-wealth of Nations. Aggrieved Indian Officers, whenever such affairs happened, reported to the officers commanding but no steps whatsoever, to their knowledge, have been taken to bring such offenders to book and thereby maintain the dignity, discipline and solidarity of the British Army.

As I have explained above, preference has always been given to the British Officers both in the Civil as well as in the Military services. As I am dealing only with the latter service, I leave alone everything regarding the Civil department. Let us now see what sort of officers are sent out to India for whom the claims of Indians are ignored. The fact that incompetent men are sent to this country to command and rule over Indian Jamadars and Subadars, who are competent enough for military purposes, and that it was these men who were the real leaders, fighters and winners of the last great war, will be confirmed beyond all possible doubt by the following The Mesopotamia Commission in recognising and eulogising the services of these Jamadars, and Subadars, who hold only the Viceroy's Commission (an inferior rank, inferior even to the Dominion Commission) says --

Our investigations show that what is in default is not the fighting capacity and efficiency of the combatant forces of the Indian army, but the system of military administration in control of that army Inspite of being ill-equipped, ill-trained and resting on paper-reserves, the Regimental Officers and the rank and file of the Indian Army have fought in a manner to show that, with proper drafts and properly trained and equipped, they would have few or no superiors. They are worth something better than management and control by eastern lethargy and bureaucratic incompetence"

A further quotation from the separate Report of Commander Wedgewood, M. P., a Member of the Mesopotamia Commission, will show the real state of affairs in the Indian Army and the condition of Indians serving in that Army inspite of a vicious system of Administration, which is condemned both by Indians and responsible officers of the British Army and Englishmen of light and leading in general Commander Wedgewood says .—

"Either the inquiry suggested above or the Indian administration itself should immediately consider whether the old fashioned prejudice against giving King's Commission to natives of India cannot be set aside during this war Even with the invaluable assistance given by the civilians who flocked to the Indian Army Reserve Officers, the evidence given before us showed a lamentable shortage of officers with the Indian Regiments, which must adversely affect their fighting value There seems no reason to suppose from the Mesopotamia Campaigns that Indians as fighting men, are any less capable than Turks, who have

their own officers under some German guidance. Indian officers under British guidance should do as well".

We Indians often hear the bureaucrats say that the British Officers (who are born with the spoon of efficiency in their mouths) are Indispensably necessary for the Indian Army and that is the reason why, inspite of the heavy cost for the maintenance in India of a British Regiment, which (according to Mr. Burdon, the Military Secretary of the Government of India) is four times what an Indian Regiment costs, the British troops and officers are maintained in this country at the cost of poor Indians. If what is said regarding the efficiency of British Officers and uselessness of Indians be a fact then their presence at a heavy cost is indeed "indispensably necessary" for the benefit of the British and Indians alike. Let us now see what General Sir James Wilcocks, Commander of the Indian Army Corps in France (during the last Great War), says about these "efficient British Officers" whose service are "indispensably necessary" for the maintenance of "Law and Order" and the protection of India from foreign aggression. General Wilcocks says:

"During my tenure of command of the Northern Army, nothing struck me more than the hopelessness of the system adopted by the War office and the Government of India in fixing the age for higher commands, such as Divisions and Brigades, and in the Indian Army of Regimental and Battalion Commanders. The consequence was that in a country like India where youth and vigour should rank first in apportioning work, exactly contrary was the case Merit had to subordinate itself to rules and customs and far too old a race of officers were frequently in positions for which they were unfitted But if this was the case in the Indian Army, encrusted in obsolete traditions, what excuse can be offered for the method adopted by the War Office in selecting Officers of the Home Service for higher commands in India ? In fact the War Office used India as the dumping ground for senior officers whom they wished to reward but for whom they did not mean to find a place in England"

So the above goes conclusively to show that officers who are considered incompetent for service at Home are sent out to India, which is the "dumping ground" for such incompetent and useless men. It is often said by these very men that Indians are incompetent to be placed in command of regiments but now that the above facts, which were hitherto out of view of the public eye, have been laid open, what have the Government of India and those officers who are in charge of the administration of the Army Department got to say in support of the baseless allegations made against Indians ? Let us for the sake of argument, assume that Indians are a race of incompetent and in efficient fighting men which necessitates restrictions in the grant of King's Commission, but the British Officers are condemned in no uncertain terms for their failure in carrying out the duties apportioned to them during the last War, when as many as 21 Generals, not to speak of the smaller fry, were relieved of their commands, in Mesopotamia, merely for their incompetence and inefficiency. If Britishers are inefficient in holding the King's Commission, then why maintain British officers in India instead of Indians, whose maintenance would cost much less than the British, who are no better ? In the face of these documentary evidences there can be no denying the fact that the European Officers are not as competent for the posts which they fill as is trumpeted, whereas in the case of Indians it is said by the people who belong to the same race as the white bureaucrats of India that Indians "are WORTH SOMETHING BETTER" and that "with proper drafts and properly trained and equipped they would have "FEW OR NO SUPERIORS." It is indeed owing to racial arrogance, racial partiality or colour prejudice of the Europeans in India, that Indians are said to be incompetent for Army officership These are only baseless allegations and cannot be supported by facts. In France, in Gallipoli, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in fact, in every theatre during the last Great War, it was the Indians, inspite of the humiliating conditions of service, who have fought and won, but recognition there is none, reward, honours and decorations have practically been denied us; a bad name has been given instead as a recompense for loyal and honourable services, and we are eternally doomed to live and die the deaths of serfs and scullions, "unhonoured, unwept and unsung."

The Indian Sandhurst Committee have not concluded their inquiry about the reasons for which there is dearth of candidates for the military career. I have stated above some of the reasons which justified Indian young men to refuse military service under the existing humiliating conditions. If the Government are really anxious to take in Indians for the military services with the idea of ultimately Indianising the whole Army they should at once remove the grievances as stated above and admit our youngmen

ısely on the same terms and conditions ıed to the Britishers. Our next grievance the bad system of education in our ıtry. With this system of education ans can never be competent for any ıce. The existing universities are only ı-manufacturing machines and these to be transformed and made into man-ıng institutions. Those of my country- who are even now unaware of the ctive system of education as persued in country, I would refer to the Report the Calcutta University Commission ıded over by Sir Michael Sadler

There can be no controversy about the cts in educating our boys, but in some rters the English Public School system being advocated. Some witnesses before Indian Sandhurst Committee recommend-he institution of English Public School mination methods in our country with ıdea that Indian boys thus educated will competent for Army service I would not k for or against that method of arting knowledge to innocent boys, but I ld quote a few lines and it is for the ocates of the system to judge how far adoption is advisable. Rev. F W Farrar A. F. R S, Dean of Harrow, in his cture on some Defects in Public School mination" says.—

can draw no other conclusion than that which be summed up in these few words. That but a l proportion of our boys, say twenty-five ent. go to the Universities, that yet the curri-m of our Public Schools is framed with a to the Universities; and that even of this poor ty-five percent, who are as it were the very flower and fruit of the system, and I may so phrase it its raison d'etre,—a considerable number (many would be inclined to say the larger number) leave school at the age of eighteen or nineteen, not only ignorant of history, both ancient and modern, ignorant of geography, ignorant of every single modern language, ignorant of their own language and even of its mere spelling, ignorant of every single science, ignorant of the merest elements of Geomatry and Mathematics, ignorant of music, ignorant of drawing, profoundly ignorant of that Greek and Latin to which the long ineffectual years of their aimlesss teaching have been professedly devoted, and we may add, beside all this, and perhaps worst of all, completely ignorant of and altogether content with their own astounding and consumate ignorance".

About the English Public Schools, T Taber says "I don't wonder, that one-half of our boys, who go to schools, do become down-right asses rather than learned men".

We are denounced by the 'Whites as being unfit for holding any responsible posts, both civil and military, but in thus denouncing us they blame themselves. Seely says "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national degenertion" If we are a degenerated nation, if we are unfit for any responsible service, if we are unable to protect our hearths and homes, it is to a great extent due to the deliberate policy of domilitarization and emasculation of the people, and it is this policy which stands as a stumbling block in the way of Indian youths joining the Army

The two divergent ideals of the grant of Self-Government to Indians and British domination in every walk of life cannot thrive together. Either the one or the other must go

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Stone Image of the Buddha in Sarnath Museum

In describing in *Rupam* what 'happiness' one image of the Buddha in the Sarnath seum has brought to him, Mr. Nanda Lal e, the great artist, observes :—

One of the Vedic truths of revelation shines in ıy aphorism—"Raso Vaishah", *i*, *e*., the divinity ısted in and *is* the flavour of life. Conversely e *rasa* the sentiment, the passion, or the flavour e soul of all aesthesis—is pictured by a simile which pairs it with the taste or experience of divinity In some such symbols the face of the Buddha in our frontispiece may be most aptly expressed For, it is the crystallised image of a *rasa*—the flavour of a quintessence of Bliss It is hardly possible to render the idea in more explicit terms. Blessed are the artists who are gifted to visualise the incarnation of Bliss—the *rasa*—or the flavour of Divinity. It is given to the artist to render in the language of form the abstract quality of Bliss. The poet can put it in his verse, the singer can catch it in his song, but we doubt if the learned critic, or the commentator in words can indicate or express it in the gilded phrase of his

purple prose. For it can only be felt and cannot be set down in words. If you seek to dissect it with your words you can catch very little of it. With the aid of symbols or similes you can but convey a hazy idea.

—

Sir P. C. Roy on Solution of Unemployment

Bread and Freedom is a magazine mainly engaged in the solution of the poverty problem Its editor Capt. J. W. Petavel is widely recognised as an authority on the problems of poverty and unemployment. Capt. Petavel's scheme of organising self-supporting educational colonies, where students would be taught the difficult art of earning a living along with other things, has been appreciated by many leading workers and thinkers. The May number of the magazine contains an appreciation of the Colony Idea by Sir P. C. Ray, who says

> We could give the unemployed bread, clothes and shelter by organising them to produce the necessaries of life for themselves In such an organisation there would be plenty of work suitable for educated people, so they could take their part in it just as well as those of the labouring classes The weakness of the colony organisation hitherto has been that man does not live by bread alone, and wants one thing more, namely, prospects. If work does not give prospects he will, in many cases, let his arms drop and will drift But now it has been demonstrated, that owing to mechanical progress, people, working in a good colony organisation could earn, not only their maintenance, but a surplus. We could have colonies in which they could go and work for a time and come away with a little sum to start an enterprise of their own with. This in every way makes the colony a possible solution.

The success of the colonies will, without doubt, depend on the efficiency and wisdom of the organisers, and on the amount of land and capital they can secure for their work. Only workers, however able and willing, will hardly be able to produce much. They must secure good land and enough capital to begin and succeed in their work. And their success will be commensurate with their resources With the backing of men like Sir P. C. Ray, the work should progress favourably.

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Rabindranath on National Reconstruction

Rabindranath Tagore writes in the *B. N. W. Ry-Men's Magazine*:

> The greatest danger looming before us is the drying up of the low current in villages where the shadow of death and want is daily growing deeper. And herein lies the chief difference be- ween India and other countries. The civilisat of Europe is a centralised civilisation, centra in cities, whereas our civilisation is one that spread itself out over a wide expanse of surface of the country. That is the reason China has survived numerous cataclysms hur against her. Her life is everywhere and cann be killed through the destruction of any of limbs. In all other schemes of re-generation a reform we have to bear in mind this special gen of our civilisation and culture inspite of our m vaunted success in the imitation of town-b civilisation of the west. This hybrid product wh could establish itself elsewhere could nev flourish in the eternal plains of India where sim villagers live and suffer. A town is a home formality and heartlessness A nation can ne live there. What we want is a resurgence of current which would again instil into the mind the whole country the need of festival days ancient times when a house-holder threw the do of his house wide open to welcome all
>
> Real cause at the bottom of the conflict betw Hindus and the Mahomedans is also the sa falling off in the capacity for friendship. Food scarce today and there is a deadly strike for little that there is. Besides the country being everybody what has been handed down to h none felt any personal tenderness for it however, we could join hands with one anot in creating the country anew with the toil of o own hands and with the love of our own hea then we could come to conceive a peculiar aff tion for what we could create, would regard it a fruit of our self-dedication and thus would f no petty jealousy or hostility towards others w had been equally associated in the work. T friendship will be the friendship which circu stances irresistibly compel. It will not be a sh live l amity based on contracts for the division properties. Friendship or intimacy of heart co not be induced with bribes.
>
> To be true workers in village-service my in tution served the Hindu and Muslim villag alike and within a short time they had work their way in the confidence of all I do not wa anything from villagers in return but only natural right to serve his fellowmen without a hope of reward If that spirit could be introdu everywhere in the country their problems wo be solved in the due course of time It might said that the zone of his activities is exceedin narrow but the power of truth does not dep upon its side, and if a man honestly and stre ously gives unto the world the truth that is in h his work will have incalculable results.

—

Arya Sangathan

Prof. S. Krishna M. A. writes in the *Ved Magazine* protesting against the use of t term "Hindu" to signify that section the Indian people which is of Hindu cultu He prefers the term "Arya" to "Hindu" a considers the latter to be a foreign inflictio Says prof. Krishna.

> By 'Arya-Sanghatan' we mean the so-calle Hindu Sanghatan. We do not recognise the wor

Hindu'; so we have not adopted it. It is used to signify the original race and religion of the people of this country, but it does not. It has no such signification. It is not a right name, for the matter of that. It is the distortion of a name. The Persians are said to have first called us 'Hindu' because they couldn't say 'Sindhu.' May be true, so did the Arabs that came after them, so did the Greeks. And to-day the whole world thinks we are 'Hindus' and smilingly we say 'yea.'

We do not like this spirit. Our fathers were not nomads and barbarians. They were men of understanding and culture. They have given names—and these are the only enduring symbols of any civilisation—to so many things in heaven and earth. They were not without a name for themselves. They called themselves 'Aryas' which means 'gentlemen' in its best sense. It is not self-praise, but is a symbol. It tells us their ideal of life. The old books all contain this name.

One may say the Aryas are only a section of the people, and the name is, therefore, exclusive. We deny, with all the emphasis at our command. We deny this country belongs to any but the Aryas. The Smritis declare with one voice that the *four castes are 'Arya' and that there is no fifth Varna'* so to speak.

Hinduism and Buddhism

The *Prabuddha-Bharata* says

To many the religion of the Buddha signifies the denial and repudiation of Hinduism, as if they were rival churches without an underlying unity. This rivalry of religions is an idea which is absolutely foreign to the Indian mind. Divergent philosophies there were, and *correspondingly* different practices. But all these, inspite of their philosophical quarrels, were considered equally valid means of realising the life's ideal and as such valued components of the One Eternal Religion. In this light only the mutual relation of Hinduism and Buddhism can be correctly seen. The idea of their mutual exclusiveness is, we are afraid, of modern and foreign origin. The ancient vision is to-day clouded by confused understanding and ignorance. True to our intellectual vassalage to the West, we have swallowed this intellectual morsel unsalted, and have consequently to witness the sight of daughter aggressively asserting themselves against the Mother Church, as if in their Mother's house they have not room enough to live and grow freely to their full statures! Nothing could be more erroneous and suicidal. The vision of the renascent Hinduism, synthetic and all-comprehensive, reclaiming her lost provinces and assimilating new ones, is, alas, yet enveloped in thick darkness for the mass of our educated countrymen!

Bohemians of Bengal

Mr. Jayanta Kumar Das Gupta M. A. writes in *The Indian Educator* on Bohemianism in Bengali Literature. Bohemian means, we are told, a "vagabond", an "adventurer" or "a person of irregular life or habits." Among the Bohemians of the literary world had been many masters of literary expression and keen students of human nature. These ideal Bohemians have inspired a whole gang of inferior intellects whose literary ventures have played havoc with the mental and artistic sanitation of humanity. Mr. Das Gupta sumarises the achievements of the Bengali school of Bohemians in the following words and concludes with a short advice.

The fineness of Dickens, Hugo and France, is rare in many realistic writers who pretend to speak of life as it is. Some of our present day writers think that they have known all the secrets of our social life. Cafes, restaurants, houses of ill-fame, grog and opium shops, rendesvous of hackney-coach drivers, rickshawwallas, carters, cooly lines, beggars, drunkards—all these figure prominently in some of the modern short stories in Bengalee.

The "Bijali" "Upasana" and "Kallol" groups are mainly responsible for these stories. But sometimes these are extremely painful and unbearable. There is no care for morals, no respect for dignity, manners and modes of life are undesirable, slang, colloquialisms, jargons and cant are used frequently, there is no rigidness even in the use of punctuation marks. For a comma a mere dash is used. The writers want to appear life-like—life as it is free from all outside trappings. The 'Bharati' group of Bengali novelists make a speciality in picturing Bohemian life. A latest book by a senior member of this group is the love-story of an actress and a moonstruck poet, resembling very much a story by the American Novelist, Leonard Merrick. But perhaps the best work of this group is on 'The Night Life of Calcutta' the underworld of Calcutta, its thieves, swindlers, criminals, the piccadollo.

Mr Sarat Chatterjee's "The Claim of the Road," his latest novel, socio-political, is a thought-provoking creation. It has been suggested in certain quarters that it owes its inspiration to Maxim Gorky's "*Mother.*" It is *Bohemian life in the form* of a political league with side-lights of human tragedy. Mr. Chatterjee's Bohmianism however is *stimulating* and invigorating. Its influence does not degrade while the descriptions of some of the other writers are nauseating nasty and offensive. The "Bohemian Club" in a novel written by a very well-known Bengalee gentleman is a dangerous institution. Even the most radical critics cry halt now, to this sort of 'art for art's sake' writing. It is not in any way bemoaning for the literary man to write of humble people. Defoe and Fielding wrote of robbers, highwaymen and vagabonds. Yet these great writers never gave any favour to the action of their characters. They did not hate the sinner but had an aversion for the sin. Hugo's "Jean Valjean" is *portrayed* not for the sake of his adventures but for the delineation of the innate goodness of man. But on the screen, the spectators clap their hands when he breaks the prison-bars as they clap when Tarzan is through one of his wonderful feats or when Craig Kennedy bags a clever crook. In spite of their wide sympathies Oscar Wilde and Leo Tolstoy

were not Bohemians. The former had too much of the aristocrat's blood in him.

It is mostly in French novels (e.g. Paul Bourget, Paul de Cock), or English season novels that the spirit of Bohemianism is rampant and runs riotous. Among Americans, Bliss Carmen and Emerson Howe specialise in this kind of writing. Thoughtful men in the West are attacking this growing menace to social life.

Bohemianism is natural, it is sometimes good, but it should never be used in lending a lurid colour to life.

Lala Lajpat Rai on the Clash of Creeds

The Hindustan Review publishes an article by Lala Lajpat Rai dealing with the religious problem of India and its political and economic implications. Says Lala Lajpat Rai

> The problem of India is a part of the world problem. India is the heart of the Orient I deliberately say the "Orient" therein including Africa and Asia both. As long as India is under the political and economic domination of the white people, Asia must remain so, and as Asia is not free, Africa must, perforce, be exploited by Europe. India's political subordination is the key to the political bondage of all the coloured races of the world

And

> The clash of different religions is the principal cause of India's political bondage and economic dependence. If we could remove this obstacle, we could solve India's problem without much difficulty and thereby help substantially towards the solution of the world problem. Can we solve it, and if so, how ?

At about the time that Islam finally overthrew the Eastern Roman Empire and drove Greco-Roman genius back into the heart benighted Europe thus setting it to relight its torch of intellect and scientific enquiry Europe was oceanbound and cut off from the rest of the world Then came Columbus and Vasco da Gama and four centuries of European expansion. So that now, in the words of Mr. Basil Mathews, author of the *Clash of Creeds* by Lala Lajpat Rai.

> "There are on earth some fifty three million square miles of habitable land surface. Of these miles forty-seven are under white dominance or nearly the whole habitable area of the world. Of the remaining six million square miles over four million square miles are ruled by yellow races—the Chinese and the Japanes : the latter now having sway over Korea, Formosa and the Pacific Islands that Germany used to govern north of the Equator.
>
> "Of all this vast area of forty-seven million square miles, controlled by the white races, by far the greater part is under the hand of the English-speaking peoples, Of every seven people in the Bitish Empire, six are cloured.

How did Europe achieve this ? Says La Lajpat Rai :

> Europe's success in taking possession of the whole world is due to power placed in the han of its peoples by the growth of knowledge, and progress that has taken place in science during last two centuries.
>
> "The very facts," says Mr. Basil Mathews, "th the siege of Islam forced the white man to ta to the ocean, drove him also to begin inventi new instruments for navigation, and so led on new sciences of mathematics, astronomy, engineeri construction, medicine and so on, and created th intellectual inquisitiveness and inventiveness whi are (when you get down to the roots) t central creative forces of the new world."
>
> The inventions of James Watt and Geor Stephenson created the industrial revoluti The industrial revolution brought in its tr wealth and an increase in population. Th followed the fairy-like development of transp and of farming and of mining until distan was destroyed and space shrank into smallne
>
> But this is at best, only a half truth The was not much of science in the 16th and 17 centuries when the real disintegration of Ind began This disintegration was started a helped by internal causes rather than by ext nal pressure, which in fact did not come into f force until long after Aurangzeb's death. Till th the Europeans in India had only been petty trad who relied much on the support of the native rul for the safety of their trade and effects. The cau that brought about the dissolution, first of t Moghul and then of the Mahratta Empires, sta quite apart from the growth of science a knowledge in Europe The flame that consum the Moghul Empire and later burnt and redu to ashes the Mahratta Federation, was ignited the clash of faiths, and the consequent lack of operation between the people and their rulc Individual ambition and treachery also play their part, but the main underlying cause was t clash of religions On occasions, people of diffe faiths joined hands against the British, but t latter could always successfully play one agai the other, so much so that the followers different faiths vied one with another in servi the British and extending their Empire all o Asia
>
> Then came the growth of science which accel ated the movement thus set in motion by the cla of faiths, until step by step nearly the wh world came under the domination of the wh race. Mr Basil Mathews excludes China and Jap from his description, but China is, perhaps, as go as a European farm.

So that by our religious quarrels we ha done the greatest possible disservice to t East. Are we going to live eternally und European domination ? Are we going free ourselves by a Race War? We a told:

> Mr. Mathews' examination of the race proble leads him, as it has led many other thinkers note, to the conclusion that race antagonism is r rooted in primitive instinct, it is not present in t natural child, it is put there through suggesti

and education by the adult. It is not fundamental, it need not exist. This discovery breaks the terrible tyranny of race-antagonism over man. He can conquer and destroy race-war. We can wipe out our enemies' by 'wiping out our enmities.' The third thing is, that the highest authority—as well as from our own outlook on history—the world domination of the white man is a recent growth and is not likely to persist indefinitely.

"What then is needed to achieve the ideal of the world-team on the plane of our life here and now? We need in the affairs of man, some real and powerful force that will fuse the separate notional and racial spirits into a unity. We need a King Arthur idea and ideal to gather the warring knights into a Round-Table of world-chivalry to co-operate in defending the distressed and the weak and in fighting for world-peace."

How far this is likely to happen and what is going to be the offshoot is known only to gods

The Problem of India is two-fold Racial, in that India is the slave of Britain; creedal, in that India knows no internal Inter-Communal peace. All these have a world significance Lala Lajpat Rai goes on

Ours is a land of many faiths. Some call them all "warring faiths", but the actual struggle for supremacy is confined to three—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity.

Just at present, the number of Christians is not sufficiently large to cast a shadow on the political future of the country. Moreover the younger generations of the Indian Christians are coming to realise that on the ground of religion they should advance no claims for special treatment in the domain of politics They are content to take their stand on merit and merit alone

What actually troubles us at the present moment is the antagonism (which is growing, both in volume and intensity) between the two principal religious communities of the country—the Hindu and the Muslim. Both are suspicious and mistrustful of each other One has always been militant, the other is developing that characteristic very fast One is anxious to increase its numbers, the other, at least, to maintain the *status quo* This, the latter thinks, it can only achieve by becoming as aggressive as the other is *i.e.*, by adding active conversion of people of other faiths to its programme. Shuddhi and Tabligh are the craze of the day. I say this is in no deprecating spirit as I am myself an advocate of the first, as Muslims are of the second. Anxiety to increase numbers for eventual political gain is at the bottom of both. Religion is thus made a handmaid of politics, as it has always been in the history of the human race.

The clash of Hinduism and Islam, however is not the only clash that troubles us. Within Hinduism itself there is a clash between the reformers and the orthodox—the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharma Sabha,—also in the south of India there is a rivalry between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. In Islam equally there is a clash between Sunnis and Shias, Ahmadis and Non-Ahmadis. Where this is going to end, nobody knows.

Anyway, if the present is any basis for the future, India bids fair to be a vast battle-field for the clash of faiths and creeds. No one can have any objection to freedom of propaganda, but this kind of rivalry or competition, which is almost unique in the modern world, is bound to affect most injuriously India's prospects of political freedom Our masters, the most astute, the most wide-awake and the most accomplished Imperialists of all history, are too human and too clever not to take advantage of the opening thus made by ourselves We do not need a prophet to tell us, that until in some way or other, this clash of faiths is so regulated as to be made inoffensive for political purposes, politically we are a doomed nation. However much we may foam and fret, till then no substantial political advance is possible. And unless we get our freedom, neither the rest of Asia nor Africa will get theirs. We will, thus, by a conflict of religions in our own country, be a direct cause of the coloured world's continued bondage, as we have been in the past the principal cause of their fall in the whiteman's march towards world-dominion

He reviews the world situation and concludes his article exhorting Musalmans to be sensible

' Let us glance over the map of the world and examine the situation a little carefully. Egypt's advance towards independence has been substantially checked She is sandwiched between the Suez and the Sudan, both of which are indispensable for the maintenance of British supremacy in Asia and Africa Turkey is free, but her frontiers on the East and the West, the North and the South, are so arranged as to keep her constantly at war with some one or other of her neighbours including some Muslim tribes. The bravery and strategy of Kamal Pasha have forced a Laussane treaty, but Europe has not forgotten that the Turk is an Asiatic and a Muslim to boot As for the homelands of the Arabs—Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia—any one who has eyes can read the writing on the wall China in the East, and the homelands of the Arabs in the West will never be allowed to have peace They are nominally free but we know what their freedom means In the heart of these Arab lands British Imperialism has implanted an Ulster which has sealed the fate of all of them The clash of doctrine and theology aided by the ambition of individual adventurers will do the rest The "indomitable courage" of the Riffs has raised a slight hope, in the hearts of some, of the coming freedom in North Africa; but European interests in Africa, East, West, North and South are too extensive and valuable to let that hope be realised even to a modest degree. France and Spain are already joining hands to crush the Riffs. Britain will play a watching game until she finds that the situation is beyond the means of two. Then she may step in to give the final blow.

Let us now look at Central Asia. Afghanistan is no doubt progressing, but the recent Khost trouble ending in the drastic measures which His Majesty the Amir took against the Ahamdiyas, is a warning finger for those who are in the habit of generalising and building on very slender foundations.

Let not Indian Muslim leaders, then, be deluded by the friendship of Anglo-Indian scribes who are goading them on to a bitter and never-ending quarrel with the Hindus, and always backing them against the latter. I may be a "firebrand extremist," but I have not spent years in Europe and America without knowing a bit of western mentality. The westerner is no saint. His alleged benevolence and philanthropy is not even skindeep. His professions are only a part of a political game. In actual life he is as cruel and as merciless as any other Imperialist in the history of the human race has been or can be. At present his one aim is exploitation. He can feed his economic serfs well, he can allow them a morsel of civilised life too, if and as much as, it suits his purpose. But the moment he finds that his "benevolence" or "philanthropy" or "love of justice" is likely to interfere with his gains, he stoops to such low tactics and such destructive processes as befit only those who are eaten up with their own self-interest. Let the victims of the Punjab Martial Law regime speak. Let the Egyptians give evidence. Let the Africans tell their tale of woe and afflictions. Imperialism is a monster which knows no law and no bounds. Self-aggrandisement at any cost is the only law it knows and recognises.

In the circumstances, it is for the Muslims to decide whether the game they are playing is worth the price they shall have to pay for it. They can have communal representation all along the line, in the Councils, the Local Bodies, the Services and the Universities, but at what price? Are they not bartering away the liberties of the Islamic world for a mere mess of pottage? Are they not reducing the chances of an Islamic revival by prolonging the period of India's bondage and reducing the chances of its gaining Swaraj, because that is what communal representation, if carried to its logical length, means and involves. Is it not worth their while to acquire the friendship and good-will of the Hindus by giving up their demand for communal representation or by coming to a reasonable understanding with them as to how far this principle should go. Communal representation in the hands of resourceful people like the British, is a weapon which will effectively bar India's march to freedom. Communal representation is only another name for the continuance of this clash of creeds in its full fury. Must this clash continue to poison our political life? Is it impossible to eliminate it? Let us pause and ponder. We are taking a very grave responsibility, too great and grave to be lightly underrated by making ourselves responsible for the continued political slavery of more than three-fourths of the human race who have their home in Asia and Africa. The only way to get rid of this responsibility is to banish religion from the field of politics and take our stand all along the line on pure Indianism.

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Sandal Oil Industry of India

The U. S. Trade Commissioner writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal*:

The sandalwood oil industry in India has been of very recent growth, and is principally confined to the State of Mysore, which has extensive sandalwood forests within its boundaries. While the neighbouring districts of Coimbatore and Coorg are also noted for a fair share of sandalwood production, Mysore has all the advantages incidental to the manufacture of the oil, being supplied with cheap electrical power. Up to 1916 the State of Mysore, in common with the Madras Government had been exporting all its sandalwood cut in the area without refining it in the country. The output of sandalwood from these three districts then amounted to 3,000 tons per annum, of which 750 were consumed locally and 250 by the other parts of India. The principal consumer during these years was Germany, which purchased nearly three-fourths of the exports from India, which amounted to about 2,000 tons. Mysore's share of the production amounted to nearly 2,500 tons, Coimbatore and Coorg between them supplying about 500 tons.

Sandalwood oil is required for various purposes, the three principal uses being for perfumery, medicine, and the manufacture of soaps.

During the war when Germany was cut off from the rest of the world, the Mysore Government was getting no revenue from sandalwood exports. In 1916, therefore, two factories for manufacturing the oil were started in the State one at Mysore and the other at Bangalore City and operation on full scale commenced in 1917. These two establishments are reported to be the largest sandalwood oil producers in the world with a total annual output of 200,000 pounds of oil. The director to one stated that this output could be increased still further and that the State is now in a position to meet the world's demands for sandalwood oil.

The plantations in charge of the Agricultural and Forest Departments are well cared for and the supply of sandalwood is said to be unlimited, the system of felling mature trees and replanting the cut area being carried on systematically.

Australia, the Netherlands and East Indies manufacture a similar but lower grade of oil. The Australian oil, although not actually classified with Indian sandalwood oil, is exported in large quantities to America, where it is used for blending purposes. The Dutch East Indian product, known as "Macassar oil," is equal to the lowest grade of Mysore oil and is also exported in moderate quantities to America and the Continent. The Mysore product is chiefly exported to Japan, where it is used for medicinal purposes the other two oils mentioned being of a lower grade and not suitable for either internal or external use.

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Romain Rolland Interviewed

The *Current Thought* publishes an account by D. K. Roy of an interview with M. Romain Rolland. Mr. Roy had a long conversation with the great Frenchman on the subject of Art in the course of which Mr. Roy suggested that Art was only for the elite Rolland said,

"What you say, is true only on the surface. I. must explain this to you at some

length. I must however warn you beforehand that these views of mine are not consonant with those that obtain among the elite.

"I am definitely of opinion that real art must of necessity appeal to all but the half-educated. That is to say, really great art must needs appeal to the uneducated as well as the truly cultured classes. Only it does not move the half-educated who however, feel cocksure that it is for them alone that great art is intended. The reason of the latter's failure to respond to the appeal of art is probably to be sought in the fact that the grinding-mill of our so-called modern education cures them most effectually of that freshness of spirit which is one of the first conditions of all feelings of exaltation. Thus they are unconsciously rendered incapable of deriving the right kind of inspiration from art.

True Art said Rolland appealed to the uneducated as intensely as to the well-educated. It was only the badly-educated half educated who failed to appreciate true Art. The uneducated appreciate Art, may be in a different way from the cultured, but nevertheless to a great extent.

The heart, unsophisticated by our so-called education, is still athirst for art, which cannot unfortunately be said of the half-educated whose love of art is so proverbially banal and superficial. You may raise the objection that the uneducated will not be able to judge correctly of the difference between superior and inferior art. May be. But my principal point is that this is not to be put down to any incapacity on their part to respond to the evolved art. What is responsible is their forced preclusion from opportunities for self-culture which alone can serve to educate the tastes."

Evidently Rolland argued from the psychological stand-point that Art is intuitional and not conceptualistic in its nature. Conceptualistic or thought-out things require training to be understood; intuitional things on the other hand make a direct appeal to the emotions which are the heritage of all normal human beings, educated and otherwise. The cultured people are those whose emotions have been rendered specially keen by constant and right use and they appreciate Art with comparatively greater intensity and in ways which may not be open to cruder souls. Only the wrongly-educated cannot appreciate Art, because their emotions have been rendered dull and respond queerly to Art stimuli due to prolonged misuse.

Mr. D. K. Roy drew his own conclusion from Rolland's words and did not agree with him. He opines :

I was at the time much struck by this view of Rolland's although it cannot be said that it is quite original. For it savours distinctly of Tolstoyanism in so far as it defends even lack of culture. Rolland is however wiser and more satisfying than Tolstoy, in that he does not, like the latter, belittle the place of real culture in artistic appreciation. Rolland seemed to me to have tried to effect some sort of harmony between the too one-sided views of Tolstoy in art criteria and the aristocratic outlook on art according to the accepted criteria.

When all is said and done however, it is difficult to maintain that Rolland is in the right, and that for the following reasons.

Truth being greater than idealism or optimism, one must base one's theories on the data of human experiences and not view truth or facts in the light of preconceived notions about the same. Now, it is an indubitable fact in the history of human experiences that one cannot taste of a superior ecstacy unless and until one strives to acquire a capacity for its reception. Our Hindu philosophy also endorses this view. For it has repeatedly asseverated that no spiritual realisation is possible to one who has not gone through the requisite *Sadhana* (discipline) therefor. The same applies to all realisations.

Here Mr Roy is evidently thinking Art to be something too high, subtle or intellectual to be grasped by any but the *Sadhak*. True Art is seldom that *Sadhana* may enable one to get more out of Art; but it is not an essential condition of appreciating Art. Rolland also says this. To imagine that Art must of necessity yield only "superior ecstacy" is moving far on the wrong side. Art is at once simple and complex. It is there for the enjoyment of all but the morbid. The more refined and supple one's feelings are the more one would get out of Art. "Hindu philosophy' gives *Sadhana* a high place, but it does not deny the rustic, the "man in the street' a *darshan* of the god. So Mr D K Roy is not justified in quoting 'Hindu philosophy" in support of his condemnation of Rolland's view. Rather, Hindu "Philosophy" is one with M Romain Rolland in that both say *Alpa Vidya Bhayankari*.

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Are some 'Musalmans" Hindus?

The majority of Indian Musalmans have escaped the full consequences of the denationalising influence that Islam exerts on its converts and have retained much of Hinduism in their conduct. Some Musalman's are partly Hindu even in their creed. The Aga Khanis are a good example. Pt Chamaputi M A Gives us an account of the cult of the Agakhan in the *Vedic Magazine* which should be read with great interest. In it we find

The Agha Khanists pay nominal reverence to the Kuran which, in common with other Mohammedans, they are now-a-days being taught to regard as their scripture. Their daily recitations contain very little from the Kuran. In Ganans—a

corrupt form of Jnana—*i. e.* hymns which they read for their spiritual upliftment. the Kuran sometimes comes in even for denunciation For instance in the Ganan 64 at P. 15 of *100 Ganan ki Chaupari* there occur the following stanzas :—

Rove rove Hindura duja Musalman
Rove Brahman Joshira vachan pustak Puranji
Rove Mulla Kajira heje parhan Kuran
Rove jinda Jogira baitha madhiye masan
Rove Kuda Sunni sag saccha shah na sambhan.

Weeps the contemptible Hindu, the Musalman,
Weeps the Brahman astrologer, who reads the Puran,
Weeps the Mulla, the contemptible Kazi, who reads the Kuran.
Weeps the living Jogi who sits on the shrine and in the crematory.
Weeps the false Sunni, the dog who recognises not the real Lord.

The highest authority attaches to the commandments of the Hazir Imam, i e. the living incarnation, who at present is no other than H H Aga Sultan Muhammad, the well-known Aga Khan, whose reputation in the outside world is more political than religious

In the *Arati* recited daily in the Jamaat Khanas it is expressly stated :—

Atharva Veda manhi jo koi mahir
Dasma din dayal Prabhu baitha chhe jahir.
He who is conversant with the Atharva Veda,
To him the merciful tenth Lord will be manifest.

The Aga Khanis are Shiahs inasmuch as they have sincere reverence for Ali whom they regard to have been, or to be the prospective, 10th embodiment of God, and from whom the present Aga Khan is thought to derive, by physical heredity, his divinity. Their name for Godhead is Oham, a corrupted form of Om. Says Ahmed in his Siharfi :—

Oham niranjan ek vriksh jo kita
Un ko dali do hi dita
Ek nur Muhamad Mustafa
Duja nur Ali Murtaja
The absolutely detached Om brought forth a tree
And gave it two branches,
One Muhamad the Chosen,
The other Ali, the beloved,

The tenth incarnation is believed to have been preceded by the nine principal Avatars of the Hindus, *viz.* the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, the Dwarf, Rama, Parshurama, the Buddha and Krishna The tenth, Ali is sometimes mentioned as having already come while in other places prediction is made of his future advent. In the *Dasavtar*, which is read in the Jamaats on all important occasions, a brief story is told in verse of all these incarnations. The last chapter glorifies Ali, who is identified with Nishkalanka and whose account is received most reverently, the Jamaat standing while it is recited. The object of the incarnation is stated in these words :—

'Bhakta uddhariye, asur sanhariye, danav dariye,
'Gatiyan tariye, asha puriye, vacha paliye,
'Shankha Chakra lese Shah hath.'
'Save the devoted, kill the devils, saw the fiends,
'Take (us) across* Sansar, fulfil hopes, keep promises
'The Lord will take in his hand the Shell and the Disc.'

Who will after this say, Ali is a Muhammadan deity ?

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Mogul Nobility

The following quotations are from an article on the above by Mr R. P. Khosla M.A., I.E.S. in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society :*

The great Mughal emperors lived in gorgeous style. Their courts eclipsed in splendour and magnificence the pomp and display of those of all their contemporaries whose brows ever ached beneath the burden of a crown. Such ostentation was maintained at a fabulous cost They had a long chain of noblemen who used to dance attendance at court These grandees, magnificent in themselves, were in reality parvenues. They were adventurous men who flocked from different parts of Muhammadan India and Asia in search of the avenues of honour, rank, and power. They were mostly soldiers of fortune actuated by motives of self-aggrandisement It was from this band of fortune-hunters that the Mughal nobility was mainly drawn. Consequently, it came to be a heterogeneous mass composed of incongruous elements—Turk, Tartar, Persian, Indian, Muslim and Hindu. The want of homogeneity was at once the strength and the weakness of the empire. They could never form into one caste, one sect, or one class This largely eliminated the possibility of a united revolt. A clever king could easily play one contending faction against the other , but an atmosphere was always kept up for palace intrigues, and conspiracies were frequently hatched. Although the nobles were men of high trust and great emoluments yet the great Mughals could never boast of a united following of selfless grandees Power seemed to swing in a balance between the king and the nobles. During the reign of a weak king the nobles would appear to have gained some substance of real power which would dwindle into a shadow simultaneously with the accession of a strong sovereign.

The nobility in India, in Mughal times, was fundamentally different in principle from that of the west Here the nobles were as much the creatures of the king as elsewhere , but heredity, which is generally the most essential aspect of accidental nobility, was wanting in the oriental In Europe the law of primogeniture determined the line of succession in noble families, but in Mughal India no incident of the dignity was heritable. Like every other personal decoration the investiture of nobility had to be individually earned. The Mughal noble was a noble not because he was the son of a nobleman but because the king chose to distinguish him as such. Family distinction could not long be maintained, There was hardly a Mughal noble who could trace his high lineage into the twilight of past ages. The want of heredity and the uncertainty of the duration of power left most of the nobles in meek submissiveness to the will of the king and in uncomplaining subservience to his interests. Mughal nobility was a personal and not a territorial nobility. It was not decreed by the mere accident of birth but determined by the opportunities of life. It was a

recognition of services rendered to the crown but not verily a reward for a real merit Even in those days of mediæval chivalry it was not necessarily a brave man who could win the smiles of the king: a courteous flippant man of flattering manners could easily strike the keynote to royal favor.

All the land of the state primarily belonged to the king who was the heir of all his subjects. The amiras could not be proprietors of land and could not enjoy independent revenues like the nobles of Christian Europe. The pension granted in line of fixed services was all that could be called the nobleman's income Although it was no small pittance yet the high cost of military establishment and the expensive manner in which he himself had to live did not leave him much by way of a provision for a rainy day. The pension was as a rule derived from a jagir. In fact, the whole of the country, with the exception of the royal domain, was a network of jagirs These jagirs were frequently changed lest an amir grew too powerful by holding the same jagir for a long time.

When a nobleman died his belongings went to the coffers of the king The descendants were ruthlessly deprived of the earnings of the deceased and the jagir lapsed to the crown The amir's death extinguished nobility in his family. His sons and grandsons were reduced to penury They had no place left for them in the ranks of nobility When a noble died it was customary for the king to offer high sounding condolence to the bereaved family, but the receipt of condolences was a signal for further destitution because condolence was followed by forfeiture of wealth. Perhaps the massage of condolence and the order for forfeiture were contained in the same letter. The Moghul kings were not altogether devoid of all sense of propriety The grown-up sons of the deceased nobleman were given just a start in life and were sometimes placed on the lowest rung of the aristocratic ladder. They began carving their careers anew.

The absence of a hereditary nobility had both good and bad points. There was no occasion for any serious tug-of-war between the king and the barons as in the Norman or Plantagenet England There was no possibility of any oligarchical oppression. India was free from an organised, reactionary, powerful, selfish noble class as disturbed the peace of France for centuries As the land throughout the Empire was considered the property of the king, there could be no earldoms or duchies in India. The society was not nobility-ridden and was free from the forest laws of England or such tyrannical and burdensome enactments as vitiated the French Statute book even after the destruction of Feudalism The Mughal noble was entirely at the mercy of the sovereign and could never play the role of the over-mighty subject who was responsible for the cruelty of the Wars of the Roses. A further precaution against the aristocratic class was taken when the amirs were forbidden to contract marriage alliances without the royal permission.

Every amir started very low. He generally began his career as a commander of twenty and had to be ready with his followers to mount guard. Amirs had to furnish contingents in time of war, and like feudal barons had to fight the battles of the king. They had to recruit and equip a certain number of men and horses besides elephants. Regulations were devised to secure the recruitment of the actual numbers prescribed and to prevent fraud in the provision of horses and equipment. A commander of 5,000 was not necessarily at the head of a contingent of 5,000 men. Men actually in service rarely approached the number expressed by the title of the amir

Ranks above 5,000 were reserved for princes of the blood royal who from time to time were deputed to wage war in the distant parts of the empire and sometimes to put down rebellious provincial governors. There was no regulated chain of civil service in Mughal India and the provincial governor was as great an autocrat in his own province as the emperor was at Delhi. He did not hesitate to unfurl the banner of rebellion when he thought that the central government was weak Sometimes, in very exceptional cases, the high honour of being the commander of 7,000 was conferred on a very tried and faithful pillar of the empire Raja Man Singh was raised to this rank as a mark of special favour. A little later Mirza Shahrukh and Mirza Aziz Koka were elevated to the same dignity.

Abul Fazal has left a fairly complete list of amirs From that list it appears that among the high mansabdars there were very few Hindustani Musalmans, Persians and Afghans far outnumbered them; but there was a fair number of Hindus. It is noticeable however, that the number of Hindu amirs in higher ranks got proportionately smaller and smaller every year after Akbar's reign.

Amirs did not lose their mansabs after the death of one emperor, but as a rule, continued to enjoy them under the new emperor We find many names common to two consecutive reigns.

The Anglo-Indian Speaks out

W A Hobson writes in the *Young Men of India* vindicating Anglo-Indian claims to communal representation The writer, if not wise is outspoken He speaks some home truths and puts forward claims in behalf of his community which rhyme with the prevailing craze for separate representation for every family, but make one wonder," what are we coming to ?"

Says Mr. Hobson

Let me clear the issue at the very outset by saying that all intelligent and educated Anglo-Indians regard themselves as natives of India, whatever their blood and cultural ties may be with England. Racially, we are neither English nor Indian

It is true that many or all of us claim to be English, at least culturally This claim is obviously untrue in the case of a very large number of us. The Englishman would be the first to repudiate this claim, but, even in the case of those who do resemble Europeans very closely in their mental and moral characteristics, a careful examination will show great and radical differences. What is true is that the Anglo-Indian has been educated and brought up by the British to believe that he is an Englishman. This has been done mainly with a political motive, but I am convinced, as I

have tried to show elsewhere, that it is this assumption which is mainly responsible for the weakness and unprogressiveness of the Anglo-Indian community. Instead of being allowed to develop on his own lines, he has been forced to give an exotic and extremely precarious bloom in the hothouse of an English educational system which totally unfits him to live and thrive in the natural atmosphere of the world he inhabits. On the other hand, he is also from the cultural point of view different from the pure Indian. He has his own peculiar habits and customs, not to mention language and religion. But none of these things should prevent him from regarding himself politically as a native of India, not merely in a statutory sense but in fact and reality. As a community, we originated in this country, and the vast majority of us will live and die here. No progress is possible for us unless we thoroughly assimilate this into our consciousness. We differ from the madrasee or the Bengalee or the Punjabee or the Marathi as much as they differ racially and culturally from one another, but with them we are sons of the soil and own only one motherland, India. It is not only to our interests but also our moral duty to live and work for the good of India. We must not claim, and we will not get, any preferential treatment over the other communities of India. But we also expect to be given our due rights and privileges in the country.

I personally have no particular admiration for the political abilities of Colonel Gidney or Mr. Barton, or Mr Rencontre, honest as these gentlemen are. Beyond speaking occasionally on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community, though something more is true of Colonel Gidney and Dr. Moreno, they seem to be taking no real part in the work of developing the country itself. The Indian representatives are far abler from every point of view and our own communal interests are likely to be better served by them than by our own leaders. But the real trouble comes in here. These Indian leaders themselves are at present animated by a strong communal bias. The Hindu is for ever keeping an eye on his Moslem brother. The Moslem is not always certain that the Hindu is wholly sincere in his national outlook. The Brahmin of Southern India is still a Brahmin first and needs to be watched by the non-Brahmin, and both by the representatives of the depressed classes. When all these people talk about the Indianization of the public services they always exclude the Anglo-Indian, as we can show from what is actually happening today in all parts of India. Our educational grants are never secure. We have to fight for them every year. Whilst Gandhi wants us to spin *khaddar* with him, Mr Satyamurthi of Madras is endeavouring to abolish our communal schools altogether and destroy our culture and our religion. In these circumstances, we must quite candidly say that to forego communal representation means destruction for us and we must fight against its abolition. We are ready at any time to accept this abolition, if our Indian brethren will only give us a guarantee, not only in word but also in deed, that our interests, in so far as they do not conflict with the interests of other people, will be protected and developed by them. The whole thing really rests with them, and I must honestly say that so far I have noticed no real attempt on the part of these people to act, or even to think, nationally and non-racially. It would be foolish on our part to give up our communal representation merely to allow the Hindu or the Muhammadan to rule the roost and divide the loaves and fishes among themselves. We must face facts, and then dream dreams of national unity.

Women Workers of India

The Indian and Eastern Engineer says

We are indebted to the courtesy of the Royal Society of Arts for a copy of the paper recently read by Lady Chatterji, on the employment of Indian women and children in industry. Principally concerned with the textile, tea and coal industries, Lady Chatterji pointed out that women had taken and were taking a steadily increasing share in industry. Women employed in factories had increased fivefold in thirty years and children threefold. In the mines some forty thousand were employed below and twenty-five thousand above ground according to the 1922 figures, which also mentioned 800 children below ground and 3.2[illegible] above. The principal reason given for women going into industry was the simple one that they were driven to it by poverty and the reader pointed out that all but the highest classes in India worked for the whole or some part of their living. The vast majority of the people were agriculturists and the conditions of life for them were poor; the villages are mostly insanitary and wretched, wages or receipts from farm operations poor and the money-lender unavoidable. The system under Hindu and Muhammadan law by which inheritances were constantly being divided and subdivided among heirs all tended to the impoverishment of the country dwellers. They entered the industries to gain money, to escape their surroundings, and to be more independent, three causes that have their exact counterparts in the same cases in the West.

She spoke of the modern mills of Cawnpur, Bombay or Calcutta as mostly airy sanitary places but condemned the majority of the cotton presses and ginning sheds. In the mills the women's work was not in itself so exhausting and was removed from the din of the machinery they being mostly employed in the reeling and winding departments. The children were more unfortunate as they had to work removing bobbins among the dust and rattle of the machinery. Conditions for women were better in the jute mills than in the cotton mills and women took a much larger share in the manufacturing, men being employed on the heavier work, but in the handsewing department whole families sometimes working together.

In the coal-fields children are not now employed below ground where the men hew the coal and the women carry it in baskets often as far as 20[illegible] yards and up a steep incline. A load might be from 60 to 80 lbs. The question of the cessation of women's employment underground has been under discussion since 1894 but nothing has been done.

In the tea gardens of Bengal about 215,000 persons were employed in 1921 and about 400,000 in Assam, half of whom were women and girls. The tea industry involved both indoor and outdoor work.

Discussing the sources of labour, Lady Chatterji id that much of it wherever employed came from eat distances. Much of the Bengal imported our came from the United Provinces. An analy- of the workers showed over seventy different stes employed and every variety of race and call- the majority being normally agriculturists or iftsmen from villages, to whom work in the factory a secondary means of livelihood. In the rjeeling gardens about half the labour was local, rest being imported from Nepal. In Assam the rdens were entirely dependent upon imported our The coal mines drew their unskilled labour stly from the local tribes of Santhals and Bauris d the remainder from the Central and United ovinces.

Agriculture and coal mining went well together m the worker's point of view as when the rural rk was urgent the coal mining was simply glected Both in the tea gardens and the mines it possible for whole families to work together e certainty of thus getting family employment wever is not so great as before owing to the trictions on child labour

In textile work conditions have improved Hours work are restricted to 11 a day or 60 a week h rest intervals. The presence of women in tories at night is prohibited. Wages are generally d monthly after a waiting period of fifteen days Ahmedabad they are paid fortnightly, a week in ears Much diversity exists in the province of mbay where monthly, fortnightly, weekly and n daily systems of payment were worked side side Women's wages in August 1923 in mbay averaged about Rs 17 and children's out half that amount Ahmedabad wages were ghtly more and Solapur only about Rs 8-9-0 a nth

In the Bengal Jute Trade Report for 1924 it was own that women piece workers received from Rs. 5-0 to Rs 7-8-0 and women preparers from Rs 0 to Rs 4-0-0 per week A child's weekly ges ran from Re 1-9-0 to Rs 2-8-0 a week

Housing was one of the most difficult questions cting workers, and as an indication of the con- ted conditions in Bombay the infant mortality per 1,000 was given as 419, though conclusions be drawn from this must naturally be affected the fact that there "is wholesale immigration of ies into Bombay from elsewhere" The provi- of housing for the Bengal jute mill employees not such a difficult question as the housing of mbay cotton operatives There is more space, ugh directly a new mill was projected it was al for land in the vicinity to rise in price nediately as an attempt to hold up the jute mill npany who would naturally need land for the ther purpose of dwellings. For this reason a tain proportion of the workers were housed in mud villages near jute mills and not in sanitary ellings erected by the employers. In coal mining ricts the irregular attendance of workers, ays keen to look after their own little plots of d which were often a considerable distance y, made it very difficult for the employer to vide suitable accommodation without putting iself in the position of being a mere convenience the worker.

Lady Chatterji led the greatest stress on the d for supervision of women workers, provision their maternity troubles and provision of adequate housing so that they might be independent of the need to make irregular alliances with men for the sake of a home and protection. She strongly advocated the appointment of more welfare officials and the encouragement of normal family life, which the increase of women in industry had rather had the effect of discouraging.

Art and Freedom

Writes W G Raffe in *Shama'a*.

Vitality in the entire work of building is the fundamental secret of the vigour and beauty of Gothic building and craftsmanship This it was that led Ruskin, the famous exponent of Gothic architecture, to seek and find the living source when became one of the most remarkable expressions of human art that has been known to history He found it sprang from the freedom of the worker in his daily work, so that the lowest labourer could take definite delight in the work that he did, being under no compulsion other than the normal agreement in labour among his fellow men Ruskin did not love the Greek work, because he assumed it, rightly or wrongly to be born from a condition of slavery, and that one fact as it seemed to him, blotted out much of the beauty of Greek craftsmanship, in favour of the living freedom of the vital medieval builder

It concerned the craftsman little that he had no municipal or parliamentary vote, this "freedom" once a year, or once in five years would not have convinced him that he was a "free man" if he had been under any external compulsion in his daily labour What freedom is there in the world, better than to do one's best in daily work as a task which is done because it is of service to the community and not to provide profits to some one who is merely exploiting the needs of the community? A craftsman could labour, day by day, with no *fear of short time or discharge*, and no great need to concern himself with demarcation disputes He learned not merely a detail of his trade, but, if he was capable, all of it

The spirit of Gothic came from the tremendous vitality of the freedom of the craftsman in daily labour, a condition that was common to the time, in a public sentiment that was based on a regard for the common weal first and private wealth a long way after In such conditions great public art was normal, it was the unavoidable expression of the current terms of life in current terms of art. The life of every nation is reflected in its architecture, as may be seen in our ugly chapels, dirty factories splendid public houses and cinemas and hotels and horrible railway stations—and our slums

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Diet and Race

Writing on diet and its influence on physical fitness, in the May *Welfare*, Mr. C. F. Andrews advances many arguments in favour of a change in diet in many parts of India. He cites many authorities and quotes their conclusions regarding the effects of

various kinds of diet on the human body. Mr. Andrews concludes:

It may be asked, what practical value do these studies possess in India itself. It is not possible to change in a day the rice diet of many millions of people even if we should wish to do so, but it may be quite within the range of possibility to modify it in a more healthy direction. Two thoughts suggest themselves. (i) The wonderful soil of Bengal might produce a *rabi* crop without exhaustion in certain large areas, if the whole problem of rotation of crops were worked out on scientific lines. This *rabi* crop might be some grains richer in protein and in certain vitamins than rice itself. (ii) The absolutely vital need of preserving and improving the cattle in these areas is made abundantly evident. For if a milk diet could be added to the starchy rice food, it would be an altogether more effective producer of physical fitness than the unmixed diet of rice. The gentry of Bengal are often magnificent specimens of humanity in physique. But this is because their rice diet is largely supplemented by the animal products.

On the whole, therefore, the new scientific discoveries, with regard to human diet, are not altogether discouraging for Indians as a whole. For India is one of the largest wheat growing countries in the world and its capacity for wheat production is only at the beginning of its course; it has not reached its fullest expansion. A hundred years ago, India produced far less wheat than now. In another hudred years, India may be expected to produce almost infinitely more. The balance, therefore, of good values is being restored in this direction rather than lost.

But by far the most serious factor on the adverse side is that of the deterioration of cattle. Here there has been during the century a dead loss and the last state of things is worse than the first. Yet even here, a practical effort is still possible, which may counterbalance the loss that has already occurred. The veneration for the cow in ancient India had undoubtedly its own practical and scientific value. It is not too late to restore it under modern sanctions. Thus, with abundance of milk and cheese and corn added to the staple rice-diet, the physique of the rice-eating peoples of India might indefinitely improve and health might advance in proportion.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

How can we Produce Scientific Workers?

The visible, external, material benefits of science are plain even to the man in the street. Referring to them Prof. T. D. A. Cockerell writes in *Scientific American*:—

"Within the last quarter of a century there has been an enormous increase in the number of College students in America. At the same time, the applications of scientific discovery and invention have changed the very aspect of our civilisation. According to the United States Public Health Service, the annual death-rate per hundred thousand in the United States has dropped in the 20 years from 1755 to 1288. The applications of science are keeping us alive, raising our standard of living, and bringing us conveniences and luxuries previously undreamt of. Large sums of money are given to scientific institutions and some of the results of their activities are eagerly received by the public and widely discussed."

But, says the Professor :—

"The material benefits of science are not the only benefits. If we study any one branch of science, we find that the active and fruitful research workers are extremely few, except in those departments which are stimulated by commercial profit. Look at it from any angle and you have the spectacle of a very small minority feeding the great multitude, often under difficulties. This minority is so efficient that progress is rapid, perhaps more rapid than is altogether good for us. In the meanwhile, the people as a whole have little of the true scientific spirit such as animated those great naturalists of the past century, Darwin and Wallace. So little indeed, that they will not even create adequate facilities for those who are actually doing the work."

If this is true of America, it is most lamentably true of India. That is one of the chief reasons why India is making such slow progress materially, and even morally and intellectually. For, says the writer:—

"We maintain, in fact, that scientific interest and activity are worth while as direct sources of pleasure and intellectual culture. They make the man, without which, as Edwin Markham said 'these cities glorious' are of no avail. It is hardly too much to say that the moral benefits of science are much more important than the material ones, and it may be true in a new sense that if we seek the kingdom of heaven first, all else shall be added unto us."

"......the study of the work of nature is an efficient means of education, if by that term we mean the development of the desirable qualities of mankind. It is the path to true religion, if that word implies a sense of the wonderful order of the universe which we must understand if we would successfully govern our own lives. Thus, and not otherwise, may we attain virtue. In that sense the scientific and religious attitudes are one, and

can look back with veneration on those religious ...chers of the past who were striving to bring ...n's mind into harmony with the ruling spirit ...the universe."

The Professor now proceeds to ask —

"Perhaps we may now, a little more acceptably ...k again how we may produce more scientific ...kers? How may we raise up a nation of ...ople genuinely interested in natural phenomena, ...d especially in the processes of life? How ...n we attain that sort of scientific virtue ...ich makes us see things as they really ... and desire to solve human problems ...ording to their real merits? How may we make ...entific observation a social function, so that it ...kes good fellows, bound together by the kind-...s of a common interest? No doubt the key to ...s problem is with the child Wallace and ...rwin and many others like them, refer to very ...ly influences, very early developing aptitudes."

It may be that some children have an ...born taste for science But,

"No matter how strong the inborn taste, it needs ...be shared with others, or fostered by the sense that ...ers have felt the same. The beginnings must ...voluntary, part of the play activities of child-...d ripening into more systematic and purpose-...efforts in later years When there have been ...such beginnings, it is difficult to stimulate the ...ilities which have already begun to atrophy, ...ded out by others which have taken prece-... This may in a large part account for the ...appointing sterility of the colleges, which are ...tainly not giving us the intellectual types we ...ought we had a right to expect

Is it possible by taking thought to add one ...t to our scientific stature? Assuredly, it is ...ly possible to develop innate faculties, but all ...ervation indicates that these are too easily ...pressed or crowded to the wall We are not ...ting the results which our natures permit or ...uld permit under favourable conditions Those ...ourable conditions can be created if we have ... will, but we must first have the grace to ...lerstand."

Malaria and the Mosquito Fish

In this article in the *Scientific American* ...der the above caption Dr David Starr ...rdan, Chancellor Emeritus, Leland Standford University, observes that prevention being ...ways better than cure, "the way to put an ...d to malaria ravages is to extirpate the ...squitos" He adds.—

"The Campagna of Rome, and 'Five Fingered ...arta' are classical examples of the undoing of ...pulations by mosquitos. The 'fading of the glory ...t was Greece', due primarily to her suicidal ...rs, was also in large part, the work of mos-...itos I know personally something of their havoc ... Macedonia and I am told that in regions about ... Black Sea the plague is still more virulent."

To get rid of mosquitos is now one of the first elements in "preventive medicine" or sanitation

"How shall this be done? There are three lines of attack to get rid of their breeding places, to cover these with oil, or to bring in an enemy which will devour their eggs and young.

"As to the first, pools can often be drained or filled up with sand or rock As to the second all mosquitos lay their masses of eggs in quiet or stagnant water, in which they hatch A layer of petroleum over the water will smother their larva or 'wigglers' and will also prevent the winged insect from ever escaping But there are many bodies of water in which neither of these methods can be used In such cases, the mosquito-eating fishes are the best resort A good many kinds of little fishes will eat mosquito eggs or larvae when they find them convenient Stickle-backs, young trout, some minnows, even goldfish do this to some extent But what is needed is a kind of fish that makes mosquito killing its chief business, which enters on it with alacrity and which will not or cannot harm other more choice kinds of fish

"These desired traits are found in perfection in the 'top minnows' or 'Gambusinos' of the genus Gambusia."

Our Anti-malaria and Health Societies and Government ought to import this fish For "the *Gambusia* is extremely hardy It will thrive in any still water, not too cold"

Turkey and a New War

The rise of a new and militant Turkey with Kemal Pasha at its head has created the possibility of a Turkish conflict with European imperialism Will it be Britain that Turkey will fight, for Mosul or will it be Italy, for leadership in the Arabic world? It may be any or both The *Literary Digest* quotes from the Turkish and the European press to come to a definite understanding of the situation One Turkish paper, the *Jumhouriet* writes:

"The prevailing imperialism in Europe is the only possible cause for a new war. The latest war created an endlessly unsolvable economic situation, from which some European Powers are still wondering how they are going to escape. Taking advantage of this situation, the diplomats are making diplomatic combinations The combination Chamberlain concluded with Mussolini at Rapallo, after the Locarno agreements, may be considered a direct menace not only to European but to universal peace It was followed by the Italo-Jugo-Slav understanding, which resulted in the rise of the question whether Itly must not have a Navy as strong as that of France in the Mediterranean.

"While the reasons for a possible new war are being examined, it occurs to one to question what part the oppressed Powers are going to play, Surely Great Britain considers this point very seriously. British

imperialism would not refrain from entering eight, or even ten, world wars so long as its aim is to prevent the resuscitation of nations now deprived of their human rights.

"We cannot say whether or not there will be a new world war. We know only that all Europe is afraid of it, and consequently we must own that war is unavoidable, and be in readiness to face any eventuality. That is the right way. It is preferable to remain awake rather than to sleep and dream of danger.'

A British View seems to make much of Mussolini's visit to Tripoli It says

"Ordinarily, the partial Turkish mobilization would be regarded as a gesture directed against this country in connection with the Mosul negotiations, but comments in the Turkish press seemed to make it clear that it is Italy which is seen as a possible enemy.

"In some quarters here the Duce's visit to Tripoli was seen as the prelude to a bid for Italian hegemony in the Arab world, in which the Fascist chief would attempt to don the mantle of protector of Islam, which the former Kaiser tried, but failed to assume. This, it was pointed out would place in his hands a potent weapon with regard to both Asia Minor and the African middle eastern territory under the French sphere of influence Turkey no longer can appeal to the Arabs on the basis of Islam, and the French are hard put to it to hold their own against the discontent of the Arab elements throughout their overseas possessions and mandated territories This is a situation which clearly could be turned to Italy's profit if she were able to establish herself as the leader of the Arab world".

Mosul seems to afford the strongest stimulus:

The Turkish government organ, *Millet* (Constantinople), declares flatly that the Mosul problem was so changed at Geneva that it "removed the mask of the laughing-stock called the League of Nations and the world woke up.' We read then

"The resolutions passed and the results obtained constitute a travesty of truth and justice Instead of solving the Mosul question, the League extended Great Britain's mandate for twenty-five years. History does not record anything so ridiculous done in the name of humanity It is now understood that this League is simply a net of treachery in the hands of the powerful against the weak Likewise it is the center of intrigues which, raising the powerful against the powerful, are in consequence able to set the universe aflame. No doubt, the world is carefully watching the tragic comedy of Geneva."

"What a ridiculous and melancholy game" this newspaper exclaims, when it is considered that the "highest politicians, controlling the destinies of Europe," are playing it, and it adds· "This fact is quite enough to show the rottenness of the basic situation of Europe, which every moment threatens to disturb the peace of nations Wiles and hypocrisy, corruption and ruthlessness can never build up a community of interests."

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Turkey, Islam and British Policy

"You can kick the Turk ; but pamper Moslem" seems to have become the Brit motto since Turkey gave up Islam and assu Rationality. The following extracts from *Review of Reviews* explain why the oil-own Turk is so despised of the British as why Britain loves to yield to Moslems points of "religion".

In Turkey, Mustapha Kemal is doing his utn to uproot the Moslem religion and to supp outward signs of attachment of it. He forbidden the wearing of the fez and has ca not a few recalcitrant Turks, who regard it badge of their faith, to be executed disobedience There is a strange story to effect that a Turkish cruiser was sent not long to punish a fishing village whose inhabitants ignored the "hat law," and that on the mo of its arrival a long row of corpses was laid on the beach—with the result that the cru was too short-handed to return If this, anything like it is the spirit of Turkish fisher and Turkish peasants, Mustapha Kemal ma laying up for himself more trouble than he or Bolshevist exemplars will easily be able to a This consideration may or may not render less inclined to seek prestige in a quarrel Great Britain over Mosul, yet in a view of general outlook in the Islamic world, it is that should give pause to ill-disposed arm critics of responsible British Ministers.

While Turkey thus worships the Goddess of Re and flouts the religious feelings of her people, Ar is coming, or has come, completely under control of the Wahabi, or Puritan, Islamic Su Ibn Saud To his conquest of Mecca he has added the capture of Medina and has driven King Ali, son of Hussein and brother of K Feisal of Iraq Ibn Saud, who has long been ablest Arabian ruler is now the outstan personage in Islam A Moslem Mission from Eg and India has been conferring with him surprise need be felt should he assume Caliphate and seek to restore the power of Is on a Puritan basis, though he may need to w warily and to calm apprehensions that the tation of his fanatical followers have arouse other parts of the Moslem world. With him Br relations have, on the whole, been good, there would seem to be no inherent reason they should deteriorate.

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Military Budgets

The nature of Military budgets is to assu proportions with reference only to fea doubts, established custom and whims amount of preparedness is a guarantee aga foreign agression. Overpreparedness is rathe provocation to others and, as such, a ca of war. Even the British are not over fo of Military budgets as can be seen from following quotation from *The Inqu* London.

We welcome the fact that not in Opposition circles alone but among the Conservatives protests arise from time to time against the assumption that all this expenditure on forces and armaments is necessary to our national safety; the notorious fact being that on the one hand the more the armaments of the nations are increased the greater is the danger of the outbreak of war, and, on the other hand (as the highest experts assure us) there simply is *no* adequate defence against the attacks made possible by modern invention. We are spending these immense sums of money in the purchase of a safety which is illusory.

Italy and France

Europe is once more neck-deep in diplomacy and intrigue Nations are combining and recombining with and against one another in the vain hope of profiting thereby Another period of madness, to be followed by—what? Regarding Franco-Italian relations the *New Republic* says :

Italy is without doubt the chief thorn in France's side at present Mussolini clearly wants to be the head of a great Latin-Slav block, and he is just as clearly getting there, at the expense chiefly of France He has come to an agreement with Jugoslavia which will be very useful to him, provided the present quarrel between the Serbs and the irrepressible Croat leader, Radich, does not end in a revolution He has made, or is about to make, an agreement with Rumania supporting the latter's claim to Bessarabia—an agreement so useful to the Rumanians that it is likely to survive the fall of the dynasty if, as is more than possible that should take place. He may or may not have made the agreement with Pangalos in Greece which the Turks allege. He is known to be firmly allied to the Fascisti in Hungary and Bavaria, two groups both of which are plotting revolutions This leaves France, despite her much-vaunted European hegemony, with only Czechoslovakia and Poland still in the status quo. Is Poland still true? Skrzyinski has just been in Vienna for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of mutual arbitration with Austria Poor little Austria is not worth placating for her own sake, but she is an excellent back door through which to reach Berlin, and if the correspondents are right, it is for just that purpose that Poland means to use her.

Trousers Criticised

Public Opinion Says:

"About one hundred and twenty years ago men began to wear modern trousers. They were instantly condemned as immoral and unworthy of a gentleman. They were the badge of the 'Reds' of the day, the revolutionary sans culottes, it is well-known that the Duke of Wellington was refused admittance to Almack's on the ground that he was wearing trousers," writes Mr. Ramsay Traquair in the Atlantic Monthly.

"At Trinity College, Cambridge, students were notified that those attending chapel or college in the objectionable garments would not be counted present; and in 1820 the English Nonconformists decided that a minister should on no account ascend the pulpit in trousers.

"To-day we retain in our dress all the worst points of the worst period of early *Victorianism* We have indeed fairly banished the tall hat, but from the neck down we are expensive, insanitary, and ugly

"A man's coat is so cut as to weigh heavily upon the spine at the base of the neck with the collar stud pressing firmly on the backbone. An attitude with the head poked forward is the result in most elderly men

"The neck is encircled by a tight band, often of stiffly-starched linen This is patently absurd and unnecessary The soft collar is a boon, yet even that is much too tight Women, who leave their necks free, do not catch more colds than men.

"It is indeed true that men are constitutionally a little more delicate than women, but that is no reason for this swaddling of the neck. Sailors are probably more healthy than business men, yet they expose their necks This appears to be an urgent reform.

"The coat and waistcoat have a curious history. In Caroline times they descended to the knees, *forming a kind of stiff kilt* and effectually preventing the wearer from sitting in an ordinary chair Then they ascended in front until in the days of Napoleon they resembled a chest-protector surmounting a large egg. To-day they have descended to the hips, leaving exposed just that vital region about the waist where so many of our ills originate

"The modern waistcoat leaves the waist unprotected The modern jacket is a pocket-and-dust receptacle. Man has far too many pockets attached to every part of his person, into most of which he dare not put anything for fear of spoiling the suit Even if he uses them, they are so numerous that objects such as letters for the post may be lost in them for weeks

"When a man buttons his jacket, he can with difficulty raise his arms above the shoulder. If he wants to do any work he has to take off his coat. It binds the shoulders and many a man has been drowned by his coat

"Trousers are generally acknowledged to be illogical garments We cannot very well walk without bending the knees so we not only wear garments with no knee-joint, but even insist on a careful crease in just such a position as to make knee-bending as difficult as possible...

"Our clothing should recognise that the human body has joints and bends them Our present clothes are admirably adapted to be worn by dummy figures, they look at their rest in the tailor's window. They hinder us in sitting down and in standing up to a far greater degree than we realise.

"They should leave as much skin exposed as possible, according to the climate Doctors tell us that we cover ourselves up far too much and that direct light is good for the skin This is the particular virtue of the sailor's collar, of shorts, and of kilts.

"It has been noticed that the changes in man's dress have always come from below in society upward. Our dress coat does not come to us

from the courts of kings, but from the riding-coat of the English farmer in the eighteenth century.

"Our trousers come from the French peasant: our soft collars originated in Whitechapel; the jacket is a garment of the common people. knickerbockers were originally worn by the lowland Scottish peasant. We adopt our fashions in dress from the proletariat."

Reasons Why Turkey May Keep Peace at Mosul

War and Peace are not products of momentary impulses Statesmen think more than twice before they go in for either. There are reasons why Turkey should fight for Mosul, but there are yet other reasons why she should not do so. The *New Republic* says

Mosul compels Mustapha Kemal to choose between continued nationalist consolidation and a revival of Ottoman imperialism The choice may not be altogether his own If his opponents at home are unwilling or unable to utilize the Geneva defeat for the promotion of their political fortunes, Kemal may persuade the National Assembly to confine its activities, for the present at least, to a formal verbal protest against the League's award Peace, even without victory, would enable the continuance of social reforms at home without troublesome foreign complications But despotisms have a way of thriving on imperialism and war A successful military campaign for the recovery of Mosul would silence the criticism of opponents, would restore the Ghazi's prestige, and would make possible the more general use of martial law for the suppression of political dissent

In such a war, in the opinion of the writer, Turkey would have nothing to gain and everything to lose Should Mosul be recovered, it would bring with it a crop of minorities problems which would mark a departure from the nationalist policy of Turkey for the Turks and would invite perennial persecution and massacre of the approved Hamidian type Its exposed frontier would be difficult of defense except at a cost of men and of money which would seriously hamper the economic reconstruction of devastated Anatolia. Its oil fields would make Angora a Mecca of concession-hunters and would bring back to Turkey the curse of the country for a century—foreign capital and foreign capitalists, with foreign interference in their train If, on the other hand, a war for Mosul should be unsuccessful, Turkey undoubtedly, would be carved up in the spirit of the war-time secret treaties and the defunct settlement of Sevres. Any war, successful or unsuccessful, would bring down upon Turkey the just condemnation of the western world for having repudiated a solemn pledge to accept arbitration A quarrel with Iraq might be picked on some pretext other than the boundary award, but few would be deceived by the stratagem And there are enough enterprising statesmen in Europe—Mussolini and Pangalos, to mention but two—who would welcome with open arms the opportunity to enforce the verdict of the League.

In a Spanish Train

An amusing account of a journey in a Spanish train is given by Alfred J Brown in the *Chambers's Journal* from which we quote portions :

When we entrained at Jaca for Saragossa, two gendarmes escorting a prisoner entered our carriage and sat facing us A Spanish gendarme is a much more terrible person to look at than a guardsman He is armed *cap-a-pie.* He wears a uniform as splendid as anything in grand opera, and his hat carries a suggestion of tremendous dignity. Even his dazzling yellow shoulder-straps are impressive and his sword dangles alarmingly at his side

The prisoner—a meek, little, unshaven fellow who looked very cowed and innocent—sat between them, handcuffed. All three won our admiration the gendarmes because, inspite of the killing heat they had made an arrest; the prisoner because in the same circumstances, he had summoned up sufficient energy to commit a crime The heat to us was quite a sufficient deterent against crime It was as much as we could do to walk about at all, and the energy required for wrong doing of any kind must have been enormous.

It seemed inconceivable that such a chap-fallen-looking prisoner had exercised it But, unlike our travelling companions we could not satisfy curiosity by asking the gendarmes point-blank what wrong the prisoner had done. As one enters Jaca there is a notice on the walls which, translated reads—

BEGGING AND BLASPHEMY PROHIBITED

It was possible the prisoner had begged but he looked far too solemn and subdued for the effort of blasphemy.

When the train started, one of the gendarmes removed the prisoner's handcuffs and fastened them on to his feet like gyves so that he could smoke

Now, any man who can smoke a Spanish cigarette without making a fool of himself merits attention, but a man who can smoke one successfully with his feet fastened together is worthy of tumultuous applause. More than applause. A man who can smoke Spanish cigarette after Spanish cigarette with gyves on, as that little criminal smoked, should be allowed to leave a carriage without a stain upon his character.

The little prisoner, however, smoked cigarettes until his feet ached, and then, quite rightly, he asked to be handcuffed again. One of the gendarmes who was ferociously chewing a cigar, at once obliged; and his companion, who had been making copious notes ever since he entered (every now and again passing his book to his colleague for approval), nodded his agzreement.

A peasant woman entered Peasants are always entering and causing a commotion. This one prised and pushed an enormous sack of olives into the compartment. We arranged it, and made way for her to enter She pushed another rather larger sack of olives into the carriage, and we arranged that and squeezed up a little further. Then she swung two gigantic baskets of peaches and a crate of melons into the carriage, and at last breathlessly climbed after them.

Then the author changed trains.

In the new carriage which we entered a lottery was in progress A pedlar with a tray full of boxes of chocolates and the like went the round of the compartment, selling tickets When all had been supplied, the draw was made and the winning number announced A very old man with an extraordinary wrinkled face jumped up to claim the prize He danced a fandango of delight when the box was presented to him and then, very gallantly, offered his prize to a sour old woman sitting nearby, who refused it.

At the next stop the lottery-man slunk out of the carriage, and two new and still more awesome gendarmes entered. It was clear they were on the track of the lottery-man They asked searching questions all round, and took a book of evidence the old man keeping very quite through it all and looking rather sick. Not being inspectors, however, the gendarmes could leave the carriage only when the train stopped, by which time the lottery-man had assuredly made his way farther along the train, and it was clear he would never be captured until he attempted to board the engine

With diversions of this kind, long journeys are made light, and even gay

The Stage in Turkey

We take the following from *The Living Age*

We have heard not a little latterly about the political and international affairs of Turkey, but nothing or almost nothing about its literature and art Is it too distressful a country—is it indeed too insecurely a country at all—to have poets and painters? Who are the Thomas Hardys and the Epsteins of Mustapha Kemal's dominions? And is there a theatre in Turkey—at least a Little Theatre?

This last question is answered by a Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who bears testimony to the stirrings of a nascent dramatic art in that city and beyond What should be of chief interest to English observers is the fact that until within the last two years the main obstacle to the development of a theatrical art in Turkey was the veto on actresses parts being taken by Turkish women To appear on the stage a woman would have had to discard her veil and only recently has that been socially possible. Yet it seems never to have occurred to the Turks that boys might take women's parts as effectively as they did on the Elizabethan stage in England If it had, the Turkish drama might have been enriched by a series of roles, such as those of Rosalind and Viola, created with boy actors in mind

What actually happened was that a generation or two ago the Turkish-speaking Armenians of Constantinople formed the idea of organizing public theatrical representations in Turkish, since Armenian women were under no such restriction Unsatisfactory as this must have been to one-hundred-per-cent Turks, it was the basis for a gradual adjustment of the popular mind to the idea of a national drama, and it was not long before more and more natives took to the art of acting The last step was taken when two years ago, a Turkish woman, Mme. Bediar Hanum, appeared before the footlights This lady is the wife of the director of the Dar-ul-Bedai, a national conservatoire and dramatic company The occasion for her appearance was a tour of the company to Smyrna, where owing to the events of the war Armenians were not allowed. 'The company,' says this correspondent, 'met with no protests, though it went on to Trebizond and Samsun, which are considered to be conservative and backward areas Everywhere the advantage of naturalness, not only in pronunciation but even in representation, due to having true Turkish actresses, has been recognized and acclaimed, and there will be no going back from it now'

There are now eight Turkish actresses in the Dar-ul-Bedai and the innovation may be said to have established itself What the theatrical life of the country needs chiefly is funds and dramatic authors It is easy to see why native writers have not hitherto felt particularly drawn to the stage, why Armenian actors—culturally as well as linguistically alien—have not been a great stimulus to potential Turkish playwrights Until very recently the stock-in-trade of the stage in Constantinople has been adaptations, chiefly from the modern French drama The adapting it is true, is usually very freely done, so that sometimes the original finds itself in an almost unrecognizable form; nevertheless the plays that result are essentially derivative and would never constitute an original dramatic literature At the best they could but serve as models for genuinely indigenous plays

'Original dramatic authorship,' says the writer in the *Guardian*, is naturally rare, 'but a number of recent plays have hit the public taste, and there is promise of a school of Turkish drama for the future There have been tragedies, plays of peasant life, and even historical plays in verse On the whole it would seem that the Turkish dramatic mentality tends toward tragedy the adaptations take the lighter line, but most of the original creative work runs at present to serious moralist and even tragic plays'

A Royal Indian "Navy"

It is a doubtful question whether one should call the programme for the construction of a Royal Indian Navy, a Naval Programme It appears, however that some people have taken a serious view of the thing The *Literary Digest* says

Thinking men in India have long desired the creation of an Indian Navy for India, we are told, which should be capable of defending her coasts, harbors, and commerce and now that laudable ambition" is to be realized

Distrust of the Indian Navy project colors some editorial expressions in the Japanese press Thus the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi* remarks that Great Britain has already enlarged her Asiatic fleet, while she has shifted the base of her naval operations to a point in the Mediterranean, and this daily continues. 'In addition, Singapore will be fortified, an Indian

Navy will be created and the Australian fleet will become powerful, thus making British defenses in the East complete Great Britain has her eyes riveted on the East, the peace of which is effectively guaranteed by means of the Four-power Treaty.

"To detect her motive is a question. The object for which she makes good the abrogation of the treaty of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is also a question We must scrutinize whether the intention of Great Britain is internal or international Except for remote futurity, during which unexpected events may occur, it is not difficult for us to answer this question. The object of British policy is no doubt, China and India. To the eyes of Great Britain, China and India are one and the same thing

"What is the reason for this argument? The possible antagonist of Great Britain will be Soviet Russia, as Czarist Russia was for a long time in the past The rival of Great Britain is neither the United states nor Japan insofar as China is concerned, whether this conjecture is to the mark is another question. Britain's policy toward China is based on this possibility. Great Britain's dreadful antagonist over India is also Soviet Russia There are a variety of movements, such as pan-Asianism, constituting menaces to the existence of the British Empire, but the greatest probable threat to the peace of India is, in all likelihood, Soviet Russia To ward off these dangers forms the cause for the orientation of British national defense

The position which Japan occupies in the field of international Politics, the *Nichi Nichi* adds is important to herself as a matter of course, but important also to Great Britain which cannot remain indifferent to Japan As long as the present relations between Japan and Russia between Great Britain and Russia, and between Japan and Great Britain continue, it is asked, how will the triple relations among these three nations develop in the course of time? If the present Russo-Japanese relations should compel the United States to take action similar to that of Great Britain the probable dangers will be aggravated, in the judgment of this newspaper, which goes on to say that "in this sense the creation of an Indian Navy is a great question."

Italy's work of Italianisation

The Literary Digest says :

The violent Denationalization of Italians, French and Slavs by the Germans was the great charge brought against Germany on behalf of those foreign nationals who lived under German rule before the war, but now, we are told by some German editors, it is the turn of the Germans to complain of a similar policy-being carried on by Italy, France and some Slav countries toward German nationals who live in their respective territories. Calling a German out of his name, or making him over into an Italian in South Tyrol, we are reminded, was the cause of the speech-making duel between Prime Minister Mussolini of Italy and Foreign Minister Stressemann of Germany. The Italian "Duce," it will be remembered, delivered a thundering speech, in which he maintained that German newspapers and politicians should not waste their time in criticizing the policy pursued by the Italian authorities in South Tyrol, which [illegible] the war was Austrian. Italy, he said, w[illegible] allow any one to tell her what to do, or [illegible] do, in the regions put under her control [illegible] ternational treaties concluded after the war [illegible] German journals assert that the situation of [illegible] German nationals in South Tyrol is such [illegible] Germany's public opinion must sympathize w[illegible] them, and the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* [illegible] observes

"There is hardly a country in the world w[illegible] the policy of nationalization, or rather of dena[illegible]lization, has been applied with such energy a[illegible] zeal as in South Tyrol What has been done the[illegible] since the advent of Fascism, that is to say, in [illegible] course of three years would, under normal con[illegible]tions, require the work of a great many commiss[illegible] during a great many years "

The inspirer of this policy, according t[illegible] *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, is Ettare Tolomei, w[illegible] before the war was the leader of the Ita[illegible] irredentist movement in the Trentino, but no[illegible] alleged to have changed his role from th[illegible] defender of the opprest into an oppressor, wag[illegible] the "violent Italianization" campaign of South Ty[illegible] We read further

"Ettaro Tolomei declares that Italy will su[illegible] 'in possessing Tyrol' only if she applies the [illegible] radical and energetic methods of Italianizat[illegible] He has succeeded in persuading Fascism to a[illegible] his program Mussolini himself declared in 192[illegible] he considered Tolomei's policy as his policy and considering it, he made it part of the policy of [illegible] Italian Government, Since that time, day by [illegible] this policy has been gradually put into effect

"First of all, the authorities Italianized geo[illegible]phic names, introduced the Italian language [illegible] local institutions and removed elected magistr[illegible] in the larger cities Many local officials w[illegible] ousted or transferred to other province Th[illegible] followed the attack on German inscriptions [illegible] public buildings, on German signs, and, indeed [illegible] any display of German Next came a ser[illegible] measures leveled against the German languag[illegible] general, which was prohibited from the courts [illegible] justice as the official language, with the r[illegible] that the few German judges who still hold off[illegible] are now obliged to resort to the services of in[illegible]preters whenever a case between Germans [illegible] tried From the schools the German language [illegible] practically been expelled, because the hours [illegible] teaching German are reduced by law in the ju[illegible] classes to zero, through the tacit resistance of t[illegible] school authorities But the most painful of re[illegible]strictions is the attempt of political authorities a[illegible] police agents—unjustifiable from a legal standp[illegible] —to prevent parents from giving their child[illegible] chance to learn the German languaged in the hour[illegible] when they are not busy in the Italianize sch[illegible] Private German lessons are permitted only [illegible] groups of not more than two children It is im[illegible]possible to describe Tolomei's work in all [illegible] ramification Day after day, decrees, orders and threats befall the population. All these measures naturally provoke every feeling in Italianized German except love for Italy."

Distance Lendeth Charm

Mr. G. B. Phanse, a contributor to the *Indus*, a student's magazine published from

London, thinks too highly of the Legislative Assembly of India. It is, in fact, not half so interesting an institution as Mr Phanse, admiring it from a distance, believes it to be If set to work properly, we think, the Legislative Assembly could bore the Himalayas from end to end in the course of a single session However, Mr Phanse says

In that most spectacular debating society in the world, wrongly called the Legislative Assembly of India, there recently was held an extremely instructive debate, the subject of which was the desirability or otherwise of extending the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1918 to the North-West Frontier Provinces A proposition in favour of such extension was moved by an admittedly Muslim bloc, so that from the earliest stages the entire discussion was vitiated by the obtrusion of irrelevant considerations A question, whose essence was by no means of a communal character, was sought to be utilised for their own ends by vainglorious politicians anxious to take up a pose to capture the imagination of their constituents. Mr Bepin Chandra Pal, on whom advancing years seem to have bestowed an insatiable thirst for notoriety, made a dramatic gesture, the discussion threatened to become far too acrimonious even for an Indian assembly, and had to be adjourned On its resumption there was an outpouring of speeches from the Hindu, and orations from the Muslim members A hapless Madrasee declaimed for fifty minutes on the disaster that would ensue by the extension of Reforms to a province which was separated from his own domicile by a matter of several hundreds of miles! The Muslim members repeatedly interrupted the speech—following only that growingly popular tradition of their co-religionists, the tradition of abrogating to themselves ten times more good than they are legitimately entitled to—for, 'as' are they not a poor, victimised, angel-faced lamb-natured, milk-fed minority, which is being daily exploited by a rapacious hectoring, bullying, domineering majority!

But I am digressing, I must return to my hapless Madrasee, whose soul-stirring harangue was abruptly cut short by the President of the Assembly The original proposition was then put to the vote and carried. This, however, is quite a minor point, for we are assured by *The Times* correspondent that every one was highly pleased with the result (see *The Times*, March 20) Now perplexed observers will naturally ask the how and the why of this bewildering phenomenon If a man opposes a thing and the thing gets done, why then, the man must be sorry! Well, not quite that in India. Everyone knew, of course, before the discussion began that no matter what its result, it would not affect the Government plans in any degree whatever! The farce was put through, not because it would materially alter the plans made, but just because it supplied yet and more opportunity for educated Hindu and Muslim leaders to abuse one another! The abuse was open, frank, though sometimes it was done under the cloak of defending "principles." Now, whenever an educated Indian politician talks of "principles," depend upon it, there is ground for suspicion; let us, however, console ourselves that we are not the only people on this earth who hide their grudge against personalities behind the tall talk of principles though we are more addicted to this cowardly habit than most other peoples.

Mr. Phanse has many other things to say from which the two following quotations point him out as a person with a keen intellect and a sharp tongue

The Muslims, who are always alive to the danger of the exploitation of a minority provided that they themselves are that minority, show here such lamentable lack of imagination that even an Englishman would be ashamed of it. This reluctance on the part of the Muslims to recognise the rights of any other minority but their own lends weight to the apprehensions of the Pandits

As one reads the debates in the Assembly one realises at once that shorn of all hypocrisy, to the Indian members at any rate, communal considerations were the most important They may masquerade under a benevolent plea for safeguarding the frontier of India or under a long-winded argument about foreign policy But such disguises impose on no one The Government of India chose to keep a discreet silence during the whole debate it had no need to commit itself, all its dirty work was obligingly being done by the Indian leaders themselves 'Let the cocks fight between themselves whichever is killed, we will cook him for supper,' said the innkeeper to his spouse!

Egotism the Prime Virtue

The *Public Opinion* gives the following

That ability in public life and publicity depends on egotism, and that it applies equally to journalists and to politicians was one of the contentions made by Lord Beaverbrook when delivering the Roscoe Lecture at the Royal Institution, Liverpool. His list of the egotists will be read with interest, and the frankness of the utterance will be generally admitted

In the course of the lecture reported in the *Daily Express*, Lord Beaverbrook's own organ, the speaker said—

'The detractors of Northcliffe, while acknowledging his power and his victory, hurl at him with an air of damning and final denunciation the charge that he was an egotist Of course he was an egotist If he had not been an egotist of genius and sincerity he would have achieved nothing For nothing great is done in journalism or in politics without egotism

"Mr J. L. Garvin is an egotist that is why he is the greatest living writer of lead stories this generation has seen Mr Gardiner is an egotist it is his temperament which gives the colour of reality to his strong political convictions In journalism the stringing together of words is nothing It is the egotistic temperament which tells

'Mr. T. P. O'Connor is an egotist but his manner is so charming that he almost invariably manages to conceal the fact even from his greatest friends

'Mr. St. Loe Strachey is an egotist—hence his eminence. He is so kind a man that he makes

us forget the foundation of his reputation ; but it is there.

"Lord Rothermere is the only great publicist who is not also an egotist. If his success in journalism is less absolute than that of his brother (which I do not admit) it is due to his lack of egoism.

"The public misconception on this point is so deep that I almost despair of removing it. But none the less I must bear witness to the fact

"Lord Rothermere is a man who is modest by nature, and is always only too anxious and willing to efface himself. But the curious thing is that the critic and the opponent will never give Lord Rothermere credit for this obvious defect, they invariably treat him as if he were an egotist like the rest of us.

"If you want to see matters as the ordinary man sees them, and yet in a lambent flame of intuition and inspiration—in other words if you want to be a journalist—you have to be an egotist.

"The politicians also must of necessity be exactly what the journalists are Can anything equal the egotism of the average Cabinet Minister? Egotism is, in fact, the hall-mark of the politician. He suffers from egotism to a greater degree than any other specialised class in the community, and I have been in close contact with most of these classes in my time

"I do not think I shall be asked to make out a case to prove that Mr Churchill is an egotist, or, let us say, Sir William Joynson-Hicks either I shall take what might appear to be the more difficult instance of the Prime Minister

"Mr. Baldwin is a shrewd man, but he is an egotist. for he possesses the pride of humility The Pharisee thanked God that he was not as other men are, meaning that he was better Mr Baldwin gives public thanks to Providence that he is not as other statesmen are, meaning that he is not so clever. That is his humility The implication is that he is more virtuous—that is the egotism.

"I am not blaming the politicians for their egotism. My complaint is that the politicians deny their own egotism, and actually have the audacity to charge journalism with this vice, as though it were a special defect of Fleet Street"

The British Coal Problem

R. H. Tawney writes in the *New Republic*. (Before the General Strike)

Of all the industrial problems which have haunted Great Britain since 1918, that of mining has been almost the largest and quite the most insistent, and the historian of the future, who explores the troubled years which followed the Armistice will find them black with coal. There have been two national stoppages, one serious district strike, two occasions on which a national strike has been averted only by the appointment of a Commission. Throughout the whole period the industry has been a laboratory of economic and social theories, At the competing hands of mine-owners, mineral-owners and miners, mining experts, public officials and social reformers, it has been offered incompatible drafts of soothing and violent elixirs And, after a period of unusual prosperity, it entered towards the end of 1920 on a depression so unforeseen, so profound, and so tragic in its consequences, that the observer is tempted to suspend analysis of the disease in pity for its victims. With an interval of something under eighteen months during 1923 and part of 1924, in which a fillip was given to the export trade by the paralysis of production in the Ruhr, the depression has lasted from that day to this.

The climax was reached last August, when the owners gave notice of a sweeping reduction the miners, supported by the whole trade union movement, resisted, and the government averted a crisis by agreeing to pay a subsidy up to the end of April of this year, and appointed a commission (composed of persons of unimpeachable respectability) to explore the conditions, organization and prospects of the industry The report which has just appeared is the fruit of their labors.

In the controversy which has raged round the coal industry in the last seven years, considerations of two separate kinds have usually been confused The first relates to the economics of the industry —what causes have produced the present depression and what are the prospects of its lifting? The second relates to what may be called its politics—is the present system of ownership and organization to be continued and, if not, on what lines is it to be amended? Obviously these questions overlap: the economic condition of the industry depends both on the world's demand for British coal and on its own organization, and it is unintelligent to wring our hands in fatalistic despair, if the present situation is partly due, as competent critics have affirmed, to wasteful and inefficient methods of production and distribution

The immediate causes of the present depression in the coal industry are not recondite Of the total annual output of coal produced in Great Britain about 12 percent is used for domestic purposes about 55 percent is used for industrial purposes at home, and about 33 percent is exported. The demand for the first has been practically stationary since 1913, the consumption of the second has declined, the third has been sharply reduced, the difference between the exports for 1909-13 and 1925 being over 15,000,000 tons, the equivalent of the output of about 68,000 miners. The reduced consumption of coal for industrial purposes at home is due to the general depression, particularly in the iron and steel industries. The reduced export is not primarily due, as is often suggested to the fact that British coal is being undersold in neutral markets by foreign competitors : on the contrary (though the Commission's report does not I think, give the figures) British exports appear to have formed an actually larger proportion of world exports of coal in 1925 than in 1913. The explanation is partly that, owing to the general dislocation of European economic life, the curtailment of industrial development, the diminished output of manufactured goods, and, till recently, currency difficulties, the demand for energy has declined ; partly that part of that demand is now being met from sources other than coal, for example hydro-electric power and oil ; partly that certain countries which previously relied on imported coal, are now developing their own mineral resources.

Such difficulties are serious enough ; but, given energy and intelligence, they are not insuperable and the Commission does not endorse the tragic

view that the days of the British coal industry are numbered, and that the present depression is merely the opening phase of a long decline The real problem is on a different plane. What has happened is that the old days of easy-going affluence when the British coal industry, the spoiled favorite of fortune, found wealth washed to its shores by the mere tide of economic expansion, have finally come to an end It still possesses extraordinary advantages, in the situation and quality of British coal But the impetus derived from mere priority of development has been spent The new economic environment imposes a new economic strategy The days of the pioneer with a nose for money -of joyous scrambling for rising profits—are over What is needed now is science and organization The question is how far the coal industry, as hitherto conducted, satisfies that requirement

Nothing has produced more wrath among mine-owners and in the Conservative press during the last seven years than the miner's allegation that the industry is inefficiently organized, and their repeated insistence that before wages were reduced or hours lengthened, the mine-owners should set their own house in order Their criticisms on the existing organization, though not their proposals for transforming it, are confirmed, with hardly an exception by the Commission The private ownership of coal is pronounced contrary to the public interests and it is proposed that the mineral-owners (who in Great Britain are normally separate from the lessees, the mine-owners) should be compulsorily bought out, the ownership of minerals being thus vested in the state The existence of numerous small collieries is declared to be prejudicial to efficiency, and it is recommended that the state, as mineral-owner, should have power to insist on amalgamations. The distribution of coal at home is declared to be unnecessarily expensive, and the Commission advises that local authorities (i e, municipalities and county councils) should be empowered to undertake the retail sale of coal. The transport of coal, owing to the multiplicity of different interests to whom coal wagons belong and the absurdly small size of many of the latter, is too costly, and suggestions are made for recoganizing it The lack of cooperation among exporters is criticized, and it is urged that cooperative selling agencies shall be established.

The whole thing savours strongly of "nationalisation," but that word is taboo among a large section of conservative Britishers. Says Mr Tawney.

The British practice of making fifty bites at a cherry, while protesting all the time that there is no intention of doing anything so vulgar as swallow it, has its disadvantages. But, provided the patient takes the medicine, it is reasonable that he should be allowed to choose the label on the bottle, and in view of the prejudices of their fellow countrymen, the Commissioners were probably prudent in protesting that they are not as these bold bad men who deal in nationalization.

The situation just before the strike was as follows :

"The miners argue that for seven years they have pressed for improvements in the organization of the industry, that their criticisms have been confirmed by one inquiry after another, and that it is monstrously unfair to make them pay for the refusal of successive governments to carry improvements into effect The mine-owners want a reduction of wages, but hate the reforms which the Commission urges, should accompany it The government naturally does not want to continue paying the subsidy, but it wants a stoppage still less, for a stoppage would probably cost more than the subsidy itself Some Conservatives are indignant at the coquetting with Socialism which they seem to discern in the report, while the trade union movement is alarmed at the threat to wages.

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How Japan Views the Singapore Scheme

M. Ito writes in the *Young East*

A great disturber of the future peace of the Far East is the British scheme to convert Singapore into a strong naval base. This is my strong belief, which is shared by a great many leaders of Japan In fact, for the sake of friendly relations between Great Britain and Japan, I regret it deeply and wish that it had never been conceived

Let us be quite frank It is a fact that all intelligent men of Japan regard the fortification of Singapore as a great disturbing element to the peace of the Far East and entertain a strong feeling of antipathy towards Great Britain in regard to this matter

What are then the reasons for which the Japanese regard the British policy with suspicion? It is impossible for me to enumerate all in this short article, but the following may be pointed out as chief reasons -

(a) Singapore is nearer to Japan than Pearl Harbour by 870 nautical miles While the distance between Yokohama and Pearl Harbour is 3370 nautical miles, that between Sasebo and Singapore is 2560 In other words the menace to Japan of Singapore is 35 percent greater than of Pearl Harbour

(b) The fortification of Singapore is cold water thrown on the warm memory of the Anglo-Japanese alliance It turns two intimate friends into potential enemies, as was aptly expressed by Lord Grey some time ago

(c) Singapore is situated at a point only five degrees out of the limit provided in the Washington Treaty Theoretically it is right to arm the port, but morally wrong Not only that, but is against the spirit and tendency of the present day favouring disarmament

(d) The Singapore scheme will be completed in 1931, the very year when the Four Powers' Treaty expires, It gives rise to a suspicion that Great Britain has no intention to renew the treaty.

(e) Singapore is the base for British aggression in the Far East. What is a great naval port, which will give shelter to the whole British fleet if it is not a base, for some offensive operations in the Far East?

The present Conservative authorities of Great Britain assert time and again that the Singapore base will be nothing more than a defensive organ. This is mere camouflage. No military or naval

organ without offensive equipments can be of use for defensive purposes. An efficient defensive organ may be converted any time into a powerful weapon of offence.

Let me ask a question : Against what country other than Japan does Great Britain intend to fortify Singapore ? Is it against China, or Siam or Annam ? There can be no military preparations which have no party as objective. Against whom does Great Britain intend to arm Singapore by spending as much as ten million pounds sterling and that when the world is at peace and public opinion is in favour of limitation of armament ? I say without hesitation that it is against Japan, for nowhere in the Far East except her has Great Britain any great power to arm against.

Were Japan to ask the British Government the question, "Against whom are you arming," it would at once reply, "Against nobody " If so, why not suspend the Singapore scheme ?

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Indian Words in the Japanese Language

J. Takakusu gives us a list of some words that the Japanese have borrowed from India, in the *Young East* For example

One of the words a foreign visitor to Japan hears most often spoken by rickshaw men salesmen and other persons of lower classes is 'danna' This is an abbreviation of the Indian word danapati (benefactor), and is used in the same sense as master or sahib in India.

A present given to a Buddhist temple is called 'dasshin,' which is a corruption of daksina

Japanese visiting Buddhist temples or Shinto shrines say 'namo' (salutation) when paying homage to the objects of worship enshrined therein

The Japanese word 'tera' meaning a Buddhist temple comes from the Pali word thera (an elder).

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In America, Land of Equality

The following bits are taken from *The World To-morrow*

Recently the "Christian Herald" advertised a trip to the Holy Land for preachers. A minister of the south who had been taking the journal for years wrote and booked passage and paid his fee, but when his passport came in, it was found that he was colored Upon arriving in New York, he was refused passage and his money was refunded with $150 extra for his other expenses

"Wanted. Factory helpers: experienced only, white $24 00, colored $20. 00 Apply—— "

The dentists of an eastern state held a convention in a large city. A few days before the convention met, the colored dentists of the city received word from their professional brethren that they might attend the convention provided they used the fire escape at the rear of the building and sit in seats that would be reserved for them.

In South Carolina a white man stole an auto and was sentenced to thirty days ; on the same day and by the same judge a Negro who stole a bicycle was sent to the chain gang for three year

An educated and gentlemanly colored man returned from serving in France "to make the world safe for democracy" to his home in a northern state. He took a civil service examination for a position in the customs service and was notified by mail that he stood first on the list of candidates, with a grade of 98 5 per cent. When he went to the office to see about his appointment the woman in charge was dumbfounded to discover that he was a colored man "I didn't suppose that would make any difference," he said. "In this case it does," said the woman. "The position puts one in charge of ten white women" The position was given to a white man who rated 75 per cent on the examination

A colored girl on the faculty of a Negro college recently went to stay overnight with her brother who lived a few miles out from the college town. He was a successful farmer whose cotton crop had aroused the envy of some of the white farmers of the neighbourhood There were rumors that his cotton might be burned Late on this particular night the brother and sister heard a disturbance about the out-buildings. He went outside. The sister heard a shot, and as she went out she saw him lying dead As she stood by the side of his body some of the group of white men standing by said, "Let's kill her too." But the sheriff stepped out of the group and ordered them to leave her alone Unaided, she then loaded her brother's body into his truck and drove him to town

A colored man was recently sentenced to death in Delaware for assaulting a white girl Two white men in Alabama were fined $250 each for assaulting colored girls

She is a native of Gulf state who until several weeks ago was on the college faculty. But she attended a Negro student conference and ate several meals with colored students so the president is dismissing her But she said to a friend, "The conference was worth it"

A colored student home from college for vacation was working in his father's store When a white drummer accosted his mother familiarly by her first name, the lad asked the man if he would not use the term "Mrs" The drummer assented, but later the incident got around town, and the mayor with several other men came to the store and threatened the boy. So the parents, fearing for his safety, sent him away that night and have not allowed him to return.

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The Matteotti Trial

The *Review of Reviews* says :

To the crime of having murdered Signor Matteotti, the Fascist system has now added the lugubrious farce of the "trial" of his immediate assassins. Some lingering sense, not of shame but of fear of public opinion, seems to have prevented at the last moment the triumphant acquittal of all the accused and the organisation of festivities in their honour, but after several days' proceedings two of them were found "Not Guilty," while the remaining three were convicted of "unintentional homicide extenuated by the subnormal physical

...istence of Signor Matteotti and by other circumstances." Thus in reality Matteotti was found guilty ... reprehensible weakness in succumbing 'subnormally' to the daggers of the "practical jokers" who ...led him. Upon the chief assassin, Dumini, and ...o of his accomplices a sentence of five years ...even months and twenty days' penal servitude ...s passed, four years having been already remitted ...der the recent amnesty and one year and nine ...onths' simple imprisonment having been served ...hile awaiting trial. They were left with two ...onths and twenty days to tide over before release. ...w closely this result agrees with Professor ...lvemini's forecast in the January number of ...e REVIEW OF REVIEWS, our readers will remember. ...e said the sentence "might be six years—diminished on account of extenuating circumstances—...ppose that five years are given. Four of them are ...vered by reductions under the amnesty, and the ...cused have already spent eighteen months in ...ison." With unconscious irony, Mussolini followed the "trial"—which doubtless took a load off his ...nd—with a speech celebrating the seventh ...niversary of Fascism in which he said "It is ...ol to live and also to die under the shadow of ...e Fascist standard."

Lord Reading

The same Journal says

Lord Reading has left India and Lord Irwin his ...essor in the Viceroyalty, has taken his place. ...ll the credit for the improvement noticeable ...ing the past few years were to be given to the ...going Viceroy, he would be entitled to rank as ...of the great rulers of the Indian Empire. As ...would be the first to admit, he has been lucky ...d he has also been ably seconded. He knew ...en he accepted the appointment, that he was ...ning great risks and the risks attracted him ...us he was as bold as he has been fortunate, and ...e country has no reason to regret either his ...ldness or his good fortune. Luck has sometimes ...en defined as the reward of men who know how ...d when to take risks. Foresight and intuition ...e enter into it as much as chance. In all ...obability, Lord Reading has had more merit than ...entirely dispassionate analysis of his record in ...dia might award to him. If he sometimes ...med to temporise when firm action appeared ...pedient, he can at least claim to have handed ...er to his successor a far more tranquil and ...osperous India than his predecessor bequeathed ...him. He will be welcomed home as a man who ...s done well, and in India, his name will not ...n be forgotten.

As Others See Us

Regarding the Hindu-Moslem situation in ...dia, the American *Current History Magazine* ...ys :

The situation is not hopeless. Professor W. ...rman Brown of Johns Hopkins University states ...e truth when he points out that Hindus and ...slems have more in common between themselves than have either with the alien British Despite all their present-day fanaticism and bitterness, there is really nothing fundamentally antagonistic between the Hindus and Moslems. Sooner or later they will have to merge their differences, as they did under Mahatma Gandhi, and unite as a nation, one and indivisible. Hard knocks and sad disillusionments will show them the folly of committing national suicide and drive them in the arms of each other, never to separate again. There is no other choice. In the meantime the dogs of fanaticism and fratricide are loose, and it is interesting, though painful, to watch developments.

Let us hope that Prof. Brown is right.

Green Lives

Are There Plants Where Plants Are Supreme ?

The following extracts from an article in the *Morning Post* of London under the above caption will convey some idea of the profound impression made by Prof. J. C. Bose's discovery *of the Nervous Reflexes in Plants. These discoveries* 'establish the generalisation that the physiological mechanism of the plant is identical with that of the animal. For there is hardly any phenomenon of irritability observed in the animal which is not also discoverable in the plant. In the multicellular animal organism as higher complexity was attained, it was accompanied by the gradual evolution of a nervous system, by which the different organs are put in intimate connection with each other and their various activities coordinated for ensuring the common good of the organism. Such connecting nervous links had not been suspected in the plant, commonly regarded as distinctly lower in the scale of evolution.

Plant Impulses

The researches described in the present work show that not only has a nervous system been evolved in the plant, but that it has reached a very high degree of perfection, as marked by the reflex arc, in which a sensory becomes transformed into a motor impulse." It was the discovery of the electric response of non-living matter, such as metals, to stimulus, published in 1900 by the International Congress of Science, Paris, which set Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose investigating the problem as then practically untouched, of plant-impulse. As early as May, 1901 in his famous Friday Evening Discourse before the Royal Institution, he was able to show that every plant—i. e., the ordinary plant, which cannot be described as a 'sensitive,' scientifically or poetically—and even every organ of plant, is excitable, and responds to stimulus by electric response of galvanometric negativity, the response being abolished at the death of the plant. It has been a long struggle to remove the *a priori* misconceptions and baseless speculations which checked advances in our knowledge of plant-physiology. The story of the Bengal discoverer's triumphs, culminating in the creation of the Bose Research Institute at Calcutta, which provides a basis of further investigation, is admirably told in "The Life and Work of Sir Jagadish Bose" by Professor Patrick Geddes (same publisher).

Vegetable Worlds

This proof that life in a plant differs not in kind, but only in degree, from that in an animal is of vital importance for the future "It may be confidently expected," writes the famous discoverer, 'that the broader outlook of the unity of physiological mechanism in all life will lead to a great advance in the physiological investigation of the irritability of all living tissues." But can a plant be said to possess consciousness, as much as might be described as an embryo *ego* ? That is one of the fascinating subjects which must be presently explored—for a study of plant-psychology is the inevitable sequel to the study of plant physiology. Here is a task which has already been touched, and may be left for the present to the Director of the Bose Research Institute, who has the poetic imagination possessed by all great scientists, and that being so, naturally dedicates his latest book to his life-long friend, Sir Rabindranath Tagore. On this planet the animal has conquered the plant, turning it into a food supply or a decoration Yet the weird power imminent in vegetation is significantly brought home to the lords of creation by R. L. Stevenson's strange poem on the silent warfare in a sub-tropical forest.

Even our million-mansioned London may some day be re-possessed and changed into green mounds by the green lives which were there before the prehistoric city was first dreamed and even now re-appear wherever a cleared area is left derelict for a short time But, among the innumerable planets which circle about the countless distant suns, there may be vegetable worlds where the plant has become self-portable (we have examples of such) and developed will power and an *ego*, retained the lordship over all living creatures Such a world may exist unseen beneath the unbroken cloud canopy which hides the solid surface of Venus, our nearest planetary neighbour, from the astronomer's assisted eye. Discoveries such as Sir Jagadis Bose's not only add to our pride in the intellectual life of India but also enable the imaginative spirit of man to clap its silver wings and fly through new vistas of thought

NOTES

The Presidency Area (Emergency) Security Bill

Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, addressed the Bengal Legislative Council before the Presidency Area (Emergency) Security Bill was taken up. He gave an exposition of the circumstances which, in the opinion of his Government, had rendered the measure necessary. We have read his speech, from the first sentence to the last, but have not been convinced by what he said Nor has the speech of Sir Hugh Stephenson appeared to us convincing

His Excellency argued that the Executive and the Police had not sufficient powers to deal with emergencies like the recent Calcutta riots and orgies of assassination. That is the official view and also the non-official Anglo-Indian (old style) view. But the Indian non-official view has been for the most part quite different In order to ascertain what the unbiassed non-official view is, it is necessary to pay attention to what was said by Indians before the public became aware of the fact that such a Bill was to be placed before the Council. For, whatever its numerical strength and importance, there is a section of the people which always supports official measures, sincerely, or from motives of self-interest or of expediency

The organs of Indian public opinion which represent the views of the majority of politically-minded Indians complained during and after the riots that the Bengal Government and its Police had not done their duty during the first stage of the riots and that policemen and soldiers drafted to do police duty had looked on while looting and stabbing, etc., went on before their eyes. It will not do to dismiss this and other similar condemnation of the Government as irresponsible utterances of professional agitators For, the resolution passed unanimously at the conference of some Hindu and Moslem leaders held at the British Indian Association coincided with this view of Government's neglect of duty. At the conference there were present men like the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, Sir Abdul Rahim, Sir Probhas Chunder Mitter, etc some of whom had filled the offices of Executive Councillor, Minister, etc, and had direct personal knowledge of the powers and duties of the Executive and the Police under the existing laws. These men, and men like the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, who can

by no stretch of imagination be considered professional agitators or firebrands, joined in condemning the supineness and neglect of duty of the Government. None of them said that Government's failure to do its duty, was due to its not possessing sufficient powers to deal with a situation like the Calcutta riots and assassinations. They were undoubtedly of the opinion that, by the exercise of the powers given to the Executive and the Police by the existing penal laws for preventive and punitive purposes, the riots could have been either prevented or speedily suppressed.

Even after the publication of the draft of the Bill in the papers the majority of Indian papers considered it unnecessary and condemned it. A very small number, *e.g.*, *The Bengalee*, supported its principle but wanted it to be amended in certain vital respects, which was not done before its passage into law.

We do not hold it proved, then, that Government required fresh powers to deal with emergencies like the Calcutta April riots.

It was said at the British Indian Association conference, and it has been observed in both Indian and Anglo-Indian papers, that there were "brains" behind the riots. This we believe to be true. At the conference the Maharajadhiraj gave the broadest possible hint that at the conference hall itself the possessor or possessors of the brains were present. A now famous (or notorious?) speech delivered some three months before the riots, contained a sort of threat that, unless the Hindus gave up their *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movement, there would be a conflagration. Minatory articles, in a certain section of the press calculated to excite hatred against the Hindus, were not also wanting. The questions, therefore, arise, why a Government which can ferret out real or supposed revolutionaries, whose C. I. D. scent political danger where none exists and open and keep photographic or other records of even private correspondence, could not or did not suspect that there would be trouble ahead owing to such published utterances and articles, and why such a Government could not or did not spot these "brains" before or even after the riots. It may, of course, be that the ears and eyes of the Government are so wholly preoccupied with possible dangers to itself that attention can not be spared for taking note of what may lead to religious riots, which are held to strengthen the foundations of British rule and to prove its *raison d'etre*.

In East and North Bengal, the desecration, mutilation and stealing of Hindu idols and the desecration or burning of Hindu temples have been taking place for some time past. Government issued a *communique* some time ago stating that the reports of such occurrences were either exaggerated or inaccurate. Exaggerations or inaccuracies there may have been in some of the reports—we do not know. But the *communique* did not contradict or correct all the reports, but only a few. The obvious logical conclusion would, therefore, follow that the remaining, uncontradicted and uncorrected, reports were true. And after the issue of that one single *communique*, reports of these nefarious deeds have appeared in the papers in more alarming numbers than before. There has not been any fresh *communique*. What is Government doing to put a stop to these cowardly acts of wicked and stupid fanaticism? Or is it waiting for fresh outbursts of communal fury in order that is may be able to claim fresh powers to deal with such emergencies?

We say all this in order to show that Government is not sufficiently careful and energetic to nip evils like communal riots in the bud, though it is more than sufficiently careful and energetic nay, overzealous, in nipping possible political dangers to itself in the bud.

Lord Lytton contended in effect that an emergency having arisen and Government not having been in possession of sufficient legal powers to tackle it, the passing of a new Act to give it such powers was justifiable. We have shown above that the prevailing Indian opinion is that Government did possess sufficient powers to deal with the situation quickly. We assert, in addition, that Government was indirectly responsible for the outbreak of the riots and certainly responsible for their continuance for such a length of time. That such an emergency arose at all is a condemnation of the Government, and proves its lack of foresight. Why could not Government anticipate the possibility of the riots and prevent them? It had sufficient materials before and sufficient powers to do so. Why could not Government at the very first stage adopt all those steps which ultimately it took to put an end to the evil? Why could not Government warn or prosecute the newspapers which in its opinion were guilty of exciting class hatred or of

inciting to violence, early enough ? As a matter of fact, prosecutions were started after more than sufficient mischief had been done.

We do not cherish the diabolical desire that there should be any more communal riots anywhere. But if unfortunately they do occur in future, and if Government fails to do its duty, we shall thank our stars if it does not again demand fresh powers.

The Security Bill was a transparent attempt to whitewash Government's supineness, neglect of duty and failure to protect the lives and properties of the citizens of Calcutta.

"The Dangerous Element Imported from Up-country"

It has been said that the intention of the Bill is mainly to rid the city of the dangerous element imported from up country. With that intention right-thinking men may not have any quarrel. But good intentions are not always sincerely entertained, and the powers taken for the purpose, even when not abused, often produce undesirable results.

Had the Goonda Act been as extensively used and applied as it should and could have been "the dangerous element" from up-country would not have been so large in Calcutta as it is to-day. Moreover, "the dangerous element" does not certainly consist of up-countrymen alone. According to Sir Hugh Stephenson himself, "the registered bad characters in Calcutta" number about a thousand. He did not say in his speech that they were imported by anybody or had themselves come of their own accord from up-country to take part in the recent riots, but he stated that "in times of disturbance they were most dangerous to Calcutta."

"The dangerous element imported from up-country" has been trailed across the path of duty of Bengal politicians as a sort of red herring, making them forget an important principle.

When the Non-Burman Offenders' Expulsion Act was passed by the Burma Council, subsequently when it was urged in the Legislative Assembly that the Governor-General should not allow it to become law, it was urged by Indian politicians in all Provinces of India, including Bengal, that no province of the British Indian Empire should, on principle, be allowed to discriminate against the inhabitants of other provinces in its legislative activities. It was also observed that the Governor-General ought not to have allowed Non-Burman Offender's Bill to be introduced in the Burma Council. In the case of the Calcutta Security Bill, not a single member of the Bengal Council appears to have referred to this principle. So far as we are aware Bengal newspapers also seem generally to have overlooked this principle. The Non-Burman Offenders' Expulsion Act provides for the expulsion from Burma of only those non-Burmans who may be proved guilty of certain offences after trial in open court; still the Act was objected to. But in the case of the Calcutta Security Bill, though there is to be no trial and no appeal to any law-court, though men would be ordered to leave the Presidency Area or the province of Bengal, as the case may be, *for no proved offence*, yet in the opinion of its supporters, it was quite justifiable in principle. We are not jurists and should not be held to be laying down what ought to be the correct principle to be followed. What we desire to point out is, that, whereas in the case of Burma it was considered improper for her to seek to dump her non-Burman *offenders* on other provinces, in the case of Bengal it has not been thought improper for her to dump non-Bengalis, merely suspected by the Police and the Executive of being potentially dangerous, on other provinces. In the case of the Burma Government, it was thought that the Act might be made a wrong use of from political motives, but in the case of the Bengal Government, the supporters of the Security Bill thought that the persons constituting it and its executive and police in the Presidency Area at present and in future were and would be angelic in the accuracy of their information, infallible in their wisdom and inpeccable as regards their intentions and freedom from political and economic bias against individuals and classes.

It is notorious that the police could not (one need not say "did not") protect the lives and property of the citizens of Calcutta in many cases. Mr J. N. Basu said in the Bengal Council, without being contradicted, that some firms wanted police protection during the riots but were told to make their own arrangements. He mentioned other facts to show that the police could not give sufficient help to the citizens. We do not, of course, think the number of policemen

can be so increased at any time in any city as to be able to protect all persons and their property in times of trouble. Therefore, it is necessary that people should have other means of protection. They should be able either to protect themselves, or to engage men who would be able to protect them. That is common sense. But Lord Lytton said that to allow the citizens to arm themselves and become responsible for their own defence would lead straight to the jungle, to the "rule of claw" by which the beasts preserved their lives, instead of the rule of law by which civilised communities were governed. We intend to comment on this statement later on. There remains to consider the alternative of employing a sufficient number of men to protect one's life, limbs and property. The men who would be able to give such protection would necessarily be able bodied men—in some cases they may be particularly strong men. But these are the men who are likely to be considered potentially dangerous. So the alternative of having private protectors may be very risky, both to the men and their employers. For both may come under the clutches of the law. Therefore, this Security Law is also in a sense an Insecurity Law. For, if one is weak and unarmed and without private defenders, his life and property are unsafe. If one is strong, or armed, he is potentially dangerous, and may, if a non-Bengali, have to leave Bengal for a time, and, if a Bengali, may have to leave the Presidency Area for a time. If one has private defenders, he and his defenders may meet with a similar fate.

So the safest (!) course is to be weak and undefended and to depend entirely on the good intention (bought or unbought), the mercy, and the ability of the police to give adequate protection at all times, including times of commotion and danger.

To be emasculated and unmanly is, therefore, a great virtue, and the greatest promoters of pacifism are the emasculated peoples of the earth. Lord Lytton and his satellites should be awarded this year's Nobel Prize for promoting peace, because they may hereafter be credited with having unconsciously set in operation forces and tendencies contributing, to however slight an extent, to the emasculation of the people of some parts of India.

Many up-countrymen come to Calcutta to make a living by unskilled labour. Some of them and others afterwards open a small shop and end by becoming even millionaires. But when they arrive at Calcutta they have no ostensible means of living. Anything which may in the least deter such men, who sometimes have a good physique, from coming to Calcutta, would be a loss to the country as a whole.

We cannot dogmatically assert that the Security Act will certainly produce all the evil consequences apprehended. But neither can it be dogmatically asserted that it will not.

The Rule of Claw and The Rule of Law

Apt alliteration is artful and may be a help to the craftsmanship of poets, but it has not yet been claimed that anything like it develops statesmanship. Therefore, when Lord Lytton referred in his address on the Security Bill to the rule of law and the rule of claw, the antithesis may have adorned his oration, but it did not heighten people's opinion of his statesmanship.

His Excellency will excuse us for reminding him that we do not live entirely under the rule of law, there being so many "lawless laws" circumscribing our liberties. Even on the assumption that the Security Act was required, it cannot but be characterised as another "lawless law", because, under it, it would enable the police and the executive to punish people by depriving them of their freedom of residence and movement without any trial by any court of law, either open or in camera, and without the right of appeal to any law-court. To speak of the rule of law in connection with such an Act was, therefore, an unintended joke which we are unable to appreciate.

The antithesis between claw and law may have served some rhetorical purpose, but Lord Lytton knows that no country has yet arrived at the stage when laws would no longer require some sort of claws to secure obedience to them. Whether such a time will ever come is another question.

The Security Act does not intend to bring about the clipping of all claws, or the total abolition of the rule of claw. What it intends is that within the area of its operation private persons of Indian extraction are not to have claws—in any case, not effective claws, and that it is only the police and men of that ilk who are to have claws. "The jungle" is not certainly fit for "civilised communities" to live in.

But can His Excellency assert that a country where the police alone are considered fit to have and wield arms is fit for manly and self-respecting "civilised communities" to dwell in ? Really manly and self-respecting people cannot but despise a country where an imported or dumped governor can propound unchallenged the kind of political doctrine about law and claw that Lord Lytton has done The jungle where the rule of claw prevails is at least a nursery of self-help and courage But what virtues will the rule of law *a la* Lytton beget ?

Are there any "civilised communities' in any country in which the people have not the right of private defence? "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey", where the police can make or mar and men decay.

Centralization of Power

Wrote a certain British officer,

"I would reward good conduct (of natives) with honour, but never with power

"*Nullam imperium tutum, nisi benevolentia munitum.* The goodwill of the natives may be retained without granting them power, the semblance is sufficient , and although I abhor in private life that maxim of Rochefaucult's which recommends a man to live with his friends as if they were one day to be his enemies, I think it may be remembered with effect by the sovereigns of India."*

This was the counsel of perfection on which the authorities acted after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny in order to consolidate their power. No opening was left in the Army for ambitious and deserving natives of this country. Everything was kept under the control of the foreign bureaucracy in whose hands power was thus centralized, and the interests of the millions of the "heathens" were seldom attended to by men in authority. This led to the destruction of the ancient social hierarchy of India. Major Evans Bell wrote.—

"In almost every province we have done our best, or worst, to sweep away every link between the Government and the tiller of the soil. Over the greater part of the Madras Presidency the Princes, the nobles, the Polygars and the Zemindars,* have sunk and expired under the exactions and confiscations of our system, and we have handed the ryot to the tender mercies of the Cornum and the Tehsildar. The genial relations of landlord and tenant have been dissolved, the ancient social hierarchy has been destroyed and the leisured class has disappeared." *

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832 Vol. V. (Military) pp. 480-483 (Captain P. Page's Memorandum).

X

Enactment of Criminal Law in India

The Charter of 1833 saddled India with a Law Member, the first being Macaulay He prepared the Penal Code, but this was not enacted as long as the East India Company ruled India It was after the abolition of that Company of Christian adventurers, not "gentlemen", and the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, that Macaulay's draft of the Penal Code became the law of the land.

The great Irish orator Edmund Burke described the Irish Penal Code as

"well-digested and well-disposed in all its parts : a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance and as well-fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man

The Indian Penal Code is much worse than the Irish one The principle of the equality of men in the eye of the law has not been observed in it throughout. It has greatly emphasised the color bar in India This with the Criminal Procedure Code has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for an Indian victim of the colorless European criminal to obtain due redress or justice. There can be very little doubt that the enactment of the criminal law was designed to consolidate the Christian Power by depressing Indians by always keeping the sword of Democles hanging over their heads.

Regarding Law in general, an eminent jurist named William Godwin said .—

"Law is an institution of the most pernicious tendency."

Whatever excesses or barbarities the man in authority commits he does it in the name of Law and Order Nowhere is this more evident than in India.

X

Musalman Servants in the Employ of the Hindus

There was a time when, in England, communal riots were no less frequent than they are unfortunately in India. Not only were there fracas between Christians and Jews, but

* Quoted by D. E. Wacha in "Indian Polity." p. 43. Bombay, 1895.

tween Protestant Christians and Roman atholic Christians also. Although such ommunal riots have become things of the past England, yet there is not much love lost tween the Roman Catholic and Protestant ristians in that land A Roman Catholic, far as possible, and if he can help it, will employ a Protestant servant and vice versa The Protestants are divided into ifferent sects, such as, Baptists, Quakers, High Church, Low Church, &c As a rule, man of one sub-sect does not engage the ervices of a servant of a different sub-sect India is a land of toleration A Hindu does not scruple to employ a Musalman for such rvices as he is fit for It is, therefore, that Muhammadans find employment in large numbers in rich Hindus' houses as coachmen, rooms, menials, &c Musalman servants have ot always proved loyal and faithful to their on-Moslem masters. In the Calcutta riots, me of the Moslem servants acted treacherously. X

The Late Sir P. T Chettiar

The first anniversary of the death of Sir P Thiyagaraja Chettiar, leader of the Non-Brahmana Party in Madras, was celebrated in Madras a month ago with great enthusiasm A big procession passed along the streets

Sectarian and communal organisations may, if they try, do good to the groups they represent in the spheres of social and economic progress In politics they have proved a nuisance and an unmitigated evil We are, therefore, prepared to do honour to all leaders of the Non-Brahmana and other sectional movements for what social and economic services they have rendered or may render to their classes But we are against their political activities, and cannot but deplore and condemn the bad blood which has been created by them



The Late Sir P. T. Chettiar

Sir A. R. Banerji

On the occasion of the retirement of Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerji from the Dewanship of Mysore His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore spoke of him in words of fitting



Sir A R Bannerji

praise Sir Albion first made his mark as an administrator as Dewan of Cochin He then passed on to Mysore as a member of its Council, and was subsequently appointed

its Dewan. According to His Highness, Sir Albion became Dewan at a time of financial strain, but was able to leave the finances of the State in a sound condition Reforms and progress in other directions also stand to his credit. It is said, he will seek election to the British Parliament as a Liberal candidate Whatever his British politics may be, his Indian countrymen will hope and expect that a man of his calibre and experience will speak up for India whenever any occasion arises for doing so

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Miss Sonutai Chavan

It is a pleasure to note that Indian women are gradually taking their place in the public life of the country One of the latest to do so is Miss Sonutai Chavan She graduated from the Indian Women's University with credit and was appointed principal of the Kolhapur Ahalya Bai Girls' School She has now become a commissioner of the Kolhapur Municipality If women



Miss Sonutai Chavan

members of municipalities, besides ta[illegible] part in their general work, paid spe[illegible] attention to those departments of work w[illegible] bear on child welfare and women's wel[illegible] they would be able to do much good

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Berhampore Poorland Farm

In 1921, Prof S Sinha of the Krish[illegible] College, Berhampore, purchased a run-d[illegible] farm (area 31 bighas) and named it "Ber[illegible] pore Poorland Farm" When he nam[illegible] his desire was to change its name to "Ber[illegible] pore Richland Farm" when a decent [illegible] would be obtained from it Prof S[illegible]



Chinsurah Green Jute Plants as standing on t[illegible] Berhampore Poorland Farm. Height .... 13.1 on th[illegible] 22nd August, 1925, when the photograph was take[illegible] Height on the 22nd Sept ....19 8"-yield-8½ m[illegible] per bigha

is the capitalist and director of the Farm He has not introduced any improved field machinery into his farm, he has increased the yield of crops by proper application of manure, by planting good seeds, by rotation of crops etc. Here we publish a picture of the "Chinsurah Green" jute plot of the said Farm. The picture and fibre

...re exhibited at the Murshidabad District Agricultural Show, held on the District Agricultural Farm on 9th and 10th January 1926, and were highly praised by the Deputy Director of Agriculture and District Agricultural Officers of Nadia and Murshidabad. Although the farm has been self-supporting and paying, Proof. Sinha does not wish to change its name now to Richland Farm, as the very name "Poorland" has been a Lakshmi to him.

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The Matteotti Trial and Verdict

For the greater part of our knowledge of current foreign affairs, we have to depend on Reuter's agency and newspapers conducted in English by Britishers and Americans. As for commercial and also imperial purposes, a sort of understanding exists between Great Britain and America, the information relating to foreign affairs which reaches India is mostly what can be expected from the British and American points of view. Hence, we try, whenever we can, to show our readers the other side of the shield, without, of course, taking sides ourselves. It is on that principle that we publish in this issue Dr Taraknath Das's article on Mussolini.

It is necessary to know what British and American papers generally charge the Fascists and Mussolini with. These will be clear from some American papers' comments on the Matteotti trial and verdict. In a Baltimore *Sun* article it is stated:

> Matteotti was killed on June 11, 1924, in a motor-car, somewhere in the wild region of the Campagna Romana, north of Rome, having been that afternoon seized and abducted in the open street a few hundred yards from his own door. His body was discovered at Quartarella, close to the Via Flaminia, some fifteen miles from Rome, two months after the crime.
>
> The amazing circumstances of the crime and the splendid character of the victim so seized the popular imagination that it is no exaggeration to state that Giacomo Matteotti after his death, became the object of a kind of religious cult for millions of Italians."

The trial that followed has been regarded in many countries outside of Italy "as a farce. Almost two years have elapsed since the murder.

> In the recent trial at Chieti, in the Abruzzi, point out the Brooklyn *Eagle*, "the Fascisti picked the jurors, chose the prosecuting officers, and terrorized the court." "An unprejudiced trial was therefore out of the question," maintains the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, which sees in this "political crime" a "blot upon the escutcheon of Fascist Italy." "The defense presented will not quiet the belief that Fascist leadership was involved and that the murderers were agents and not principals," believes the Newark *News*. From England, Cesare Rossi, formerly Mussolini's press agent, is said by the Boston *Globe* to declare that the three men who were sentenced at Chieti were members of the Fascist secret police, acting under the orders of Mussolini."



"UNFLINCHING COURAGE"

And patient obstinacy, we are told, were two of the characteristics of Giacomo Matteotti, youthful socialist member of the Italian Parliament, whose death at the hands of political adversaries in June, 1924, threatened for a time the power of Mussolini. Three of the five Fascists charged with the crime have been found guilty.

The Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* of America calls the verdict of the jury in the Matteotti case one of the most ingenious verdicts in Italian jurisprudence. The jury found that:

Three countrymen of the Italian Parliament

Member 'committed homicide, but unintentionally, for cause, with relative complicity and with extenuating circumstances' The extenuating circumstances are said to have consisted of the jury's decision that the Italian Deputy's physical resistance was below normal, that the blow or blows which killed him would not have killed a normally robust man With this finding before him, says the Rome correspondent of the New York *World*,

"The Judge sentenced the three men to five years and eleven months imprisonment He then softened the blow by deducting four years, under the King's amnesty proclamation of last year and another twenty months which the accused had spent in jail awaiting trial. So all three will be free men in June"

It is to be noted that the Italian King's amnesty proclamation was issued after Matteotti had been killed

Henry W Harris writes in a Boston *Globe* article

"The trial which the Italian Government would like to have considered of no moment, is the culmination of a crime which nearly shook Mussolini from power, which caused the whole opposition to withdraw from Parliament which forced the Dictator to suppress all unfriendly newspapers, and which caused him to take complete dictatorial powers into his own two hands"

The Boston *Herald* writes

'Not being able to prove the slayers of Deputy Matteotti guiltless, they did their utmost to make his character appear as black as their own shirts Crown Prosecutor Salucci, officially representing the Mussolini Government, lent aid to the prisoners by expressing belief in the story that they had intended to do no more than abduct Matteotti, and had killed him only when he had made unexpectedly fierce resistance So it would seem he was responsible for his death at their hands because he tried to fight them off when they seized him."

New South Wales Premier's Attitude towards "Imported Governor"

A Sydney despatch of April 6 states that Mr. Lang, Premier of New South Wales, speaking at the Labor Party Conference, made the following significant remark:

' I calmly say that I do not recognize the right of any imported Governor, who is here to-day and away to morrow, to interfere with the functions of Parliament. I do not recognize the right of a non-representative nominee chamber to destroy Labor legislation and I intend to use every constitutional means to abolish the council."

In India "imported Governors" ride rough-shod over the Legislature and veto laws and make laws by using their power of certification. This is possible because Indians are not masters of their country, and this will continue until Indian national lea[ders] unite under a common platform of "I[ndia] First." T. D[.]

"Hindu-Musalman-ki Jai"

The Guardian of Calcutta has publis[hed] a cartoon by Chanchal Kumar Ban[erji] showing how the Hindu and Moslem c[om]-



"Hindu-Musalman-ki Jai"

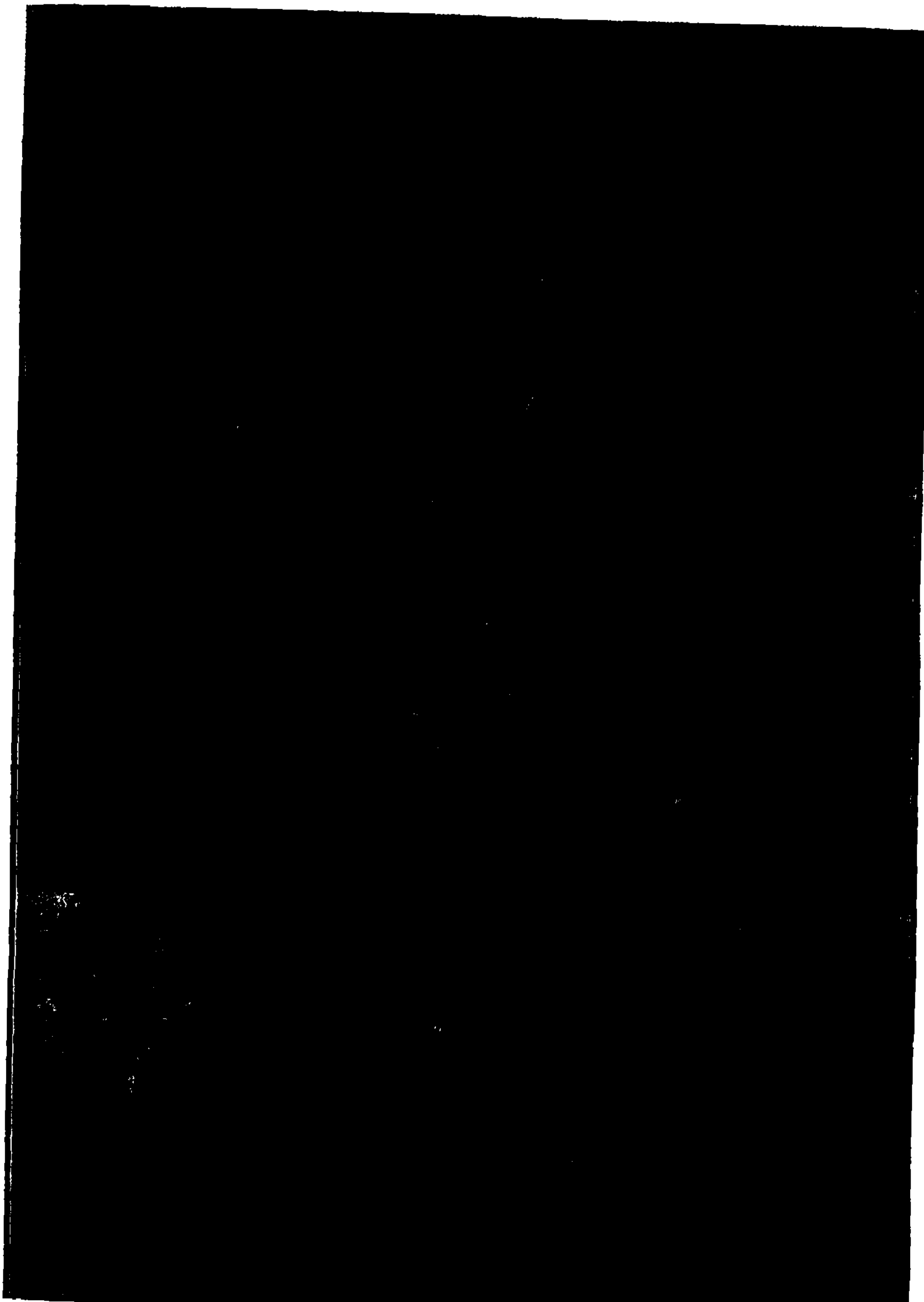
munities have, in a suicidal manner, vind[i]cated their honour and saved their prestig[e] It may be fitly called "Hindu-Musalman-[ki] Jai," "Victory to Hindus and Moslems"

J. L. Garvin on Mussolini

Opinion outside Italy having generall[y] gone against Mussolini, partly; it may [be] owing to national rivalries and jealousies [it] is necessary for the sake of fairness to n[ote] at least fragments of what has been said [in] his favour by foreigners But so far as [we] are aware, nobody has attempted a *mo[ral]* justification of what Mussolini and the Fasci[sts] have done

The Observer of London prints a l[ong] article on "the real Mussolini" by J L Garvin in its issue of April 11. We give [a] few extracts from it below. Referring t[o] Mussolini, Mr Garvin says —

The younger man, as near a divinity to [his] followers as mortal may be, sways at his will [the] solidly dominant forces of a great nation b[oth] practical and passionate. They hail him w[ith]



RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Born, May 30, 1865

From a Photograph taken at Santiniketan by Krishnalal Ghosh

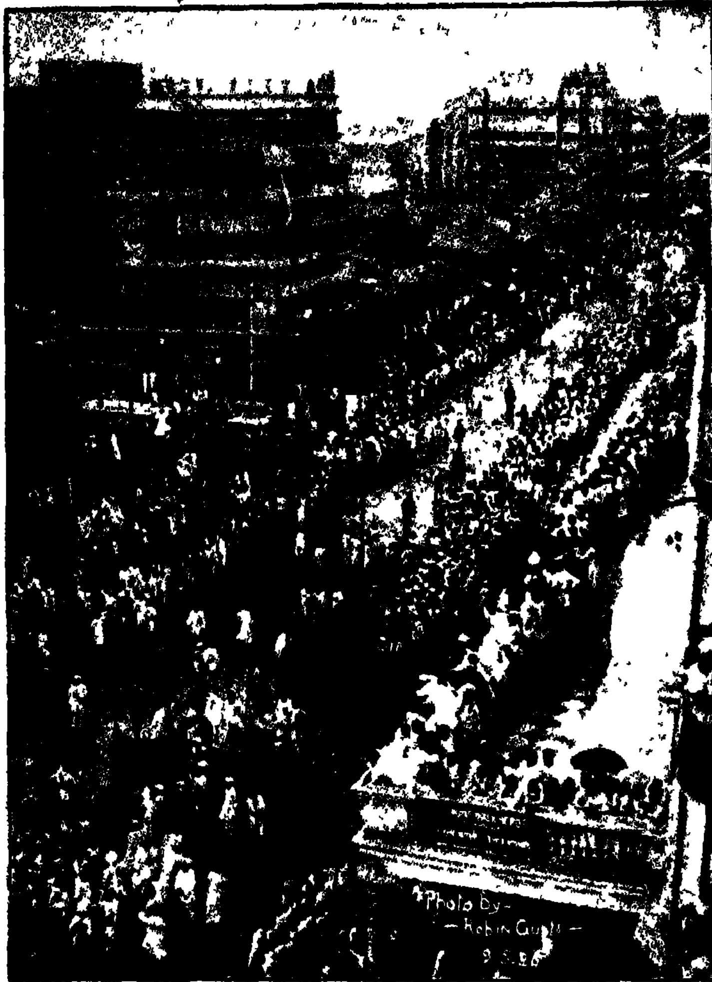
PRABASI PRESS CALCUTTA

and began firing upon the mob Unfortunately the two heroic young men were shot dead. Their heroism and self-sacrifice will remain enshrined in the hearts of their countrymen. Funds continue to be raised to help their families

—

The Sikh Procession in Calcutta

It is a matter for satisfaction that the postponed Sikh procession, which was to have been held in April, passed off last month without any untoward incident The Sikhs were able to repair a desecrated and damaged *Sangat* and keep in it a copy of the *Granth Sahib*, replacing the one damaged by a Muhammadan mob.



The Sikh Procession in Calcutta

Some newspapers and some people seem have considered the day of the S procession a day of national trium . But it was in fact a day of nation humiliation For, the procession could pass peacefully, not because of any amicable understanding between the religious communities whose feelings have been embittered, but because of the presence the police and the military who a servants of an alien power which holds leash or release the dog war at its will

—

Mr Frankau on Anglo-American Union

A recent issue of the *Chicago Tribune* informs us that Mr Gilbert Frankau, the British novelist, is in America for a lecture to cement Anglo-American Union He "*urges the union of America and England to preserve peace by means world benevolent* force He also favours '*making safe English speaking commerce banding together of Brit and American authors preach commonsense with the fluff and politics removed*

We are inclined to think that England and America are already united in using their enormous "benevolent force" The policy of anti-Asianism which prevails the British Empire and the American Empire makes us shudder at the thought further and closer Anglo-American union "for the peace of the world" The people of Asia must realize that as long as they will continue to live in their present servile condition, perpetuated by civil war as it exists China and communal strife as it exists India, they will continue to be victims of "benevolent force" used "to make the world safe for English-speaking commerce."

T D

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Adaptation

Adaptation is a law of nature on which great stress has been laid by evolutionists since the days of Darwin and Wallace In the struggle for existence, it is the fittest who survive Fitness consists in adapting oneself to the environment After the Indian Mutiny, some natives of England came to realize the importance of adaptation in consolidating their power in India *The Calcutta Review* (Vol XXX, p 32) wrote

> We trust that adaptation may be the keynote to our future Indian policy There is a wide gulf between the Oriental and European mind it lies in the *nature of things* in climate, race association historical reminiscences,—these we cannot alter do what we can, and in the vain attempt to do so we might be like the frog in the fable who burst in the attempt to make himself like an ox There may be union without unity as for forcing acts of uniformity", whether in religion or language in India all past history shows it to be vain The gulf between the Oriental and European mind must remain but there may be two useful bridges thrown over it—Christianity and knowledge English ideas to tell on the country must be cast in the native mould and given in forms suitable to the Oriental mind

They remembered that it was by adapting themselves to their environment in India that the French succeeded in making themselves popular there Heber wrote in his well-known Travels

> I took this opportunity of inquiring in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India where for so many years together, it was paramount I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious, but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English Sahibs Many of them, indeed .. had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs and most of them were free from the exclusive and intolerant spirit which makes the English, wherever they go, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours Of this foolish, surly, national pride I see but too many instances daily and I am convinced it does as much harm in this country We are not guilty of injustice or wilful oppression, but we shut out the natives from our society, and a bullying, insolent manner is continually assumed in speaking to them '

But when the English discovered that they could not colonize India, they bade good-bye to adaption. Nothing more was talked about it as a means of consolidating their power in the country. X

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Soviet Canned Goods Win Exposition Prizes.

(*By United Press*)

Copenhagen.—For toothsomeness and skilful seasoning the canned goods of the Soviet Republic walked off with nine honorary diplomas at the International Exposition of the Canning Industry here

This triumph has greatly surprised the canned goods experts of Europe who had not counted upon Bolshevist competition

This news-item will serve as food for thought to the critics of the Soviet regime in Russia who only harp on its negative, destructive and dark side It may be said without any fear of contradiction that the Soviet Government, inspite of its desperate economic position, has done much for the cause of education of the masses T D

—

Extra-territorial Patriotism of Indian Khilafatists

A recent Beirut report to *New York Herald* (Paris edition) states —

> Local newspapers report today that a Druse leader recently received from an Indian caliphate committee [illegible] Druses it is reported have decided to send a deputation, headed by Kassab, to India to raise more funds

The people of Syria have the right to be free and independent In all struggles for national independence, foreign aid and external contact often form a very vital element Thus the Druses are justified in seeking aid from the Khilafatists of India But this question may be asked to Indian Pan-Islamist leaders "Would it not have been better for India if such a large sum of money as is being sent out to aid the Moslems abroad were spent for the education of Moslem children in India ? The Moslem leaders of India are bitten with the bug of extra-territorial patriotism and communalism, and apparently they cannot think in terms of Indian nationalism and Indian solidarity

"Money is the sinews of war and extending financial aid to a party fighting a friendly nation is a violation of neutrality We all know that the British Government will be pleased to see France, her real rival in Europe, eliminated from the Near East But when the British Government allows the Khilafatists of India to extend financial aid to the Druses who are fighting the French it is establishing a dangerous precedent The British Government complains against the Third International spending money for anti-British propaganda in the Orient she cannot justly do so until she prevents Indian Moslems from carrying on anti French activities. T D

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Progress in Turkey

A new Turkish civil code, forbidding polygamy and abolishing certain traditional laws forbidding marriage between Mussulmans and Christians, has been recently passed by the Turkish National Assembly The new legislation allows every citizen to make a free choice of his religion

Another very sensible thing has been inaugurated in Turkey. It is the boycotting of the wedding-gift practice. From New Turkey the people of India can learn a great lesson on national solidarity as well as emancipation of women T D

Imperial Conference and Australian Statesmanship

Recently speaking at Braidwood the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bruce,

"announced that he would personally attend the Imperial Conference, which is due to be held in London next October

Australia, he said, wanted to have the right to influence Imperial decisions He had a great regard for many British statesmen But he absolutely refused to leave Australian interests in the hands of any British statesman or body of statesmen"

Six millions of Australians are so conscious of their self-interest that they refuse "to leave Australian interests in the hands of any British statesman or body of statesmen" and they are determined "to influence Imperial decisions" The project of establishing the great naval base at Singapore has been the result of Australia influencing Imperial decisions. Similarly, the "White Australia Policy," "the White Africa Policy" or in other words, Britain's anti-Asian policies, are furthered by Australia, Canada and South Africa The impotency of Indian statesmanship and the Indian nation became evident when the Indian leaders in the Legislature agreed to entrust the interest of Indians in South Africa to the so-called Indian Government. 320,000,000 Indian people can revolutionise world politics and play a dominating role in British Imperial politics. But to-day the majority of Indian leaders lack world-vision. T D.

First Negro Woman at Bar of Supreme Court

"The first negro woman lawyer ever admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of the United States has become a member of that bar.

She is Violette N. Anderson, of Chicago was admitted upon a certificate which showed she had practised for more than three years before the highest court of Illinois."

This is a great achievement, because there are not many white American women who enjoy the privilege of practising before the U. S Supreme Court But if we consider the fact that a little over sixty years ago, the Negroes were slaves and had no opportunity for education, then the achievement of Mrs. Anderson becomes much more significant as an index of the progress of the Negroes in America. Negroes in America are making progress at an astonishingly rapid pace, and to-day about 70 per cent of the Negroes can read and write Negro women are qualifying themselves as physicians, lawyers, nurses, and teachers We Hindus often speak of our ancient civilization and mention instances of highly cultivated Hindu women, but we are doing less for the education of women than the Negroes in America, under the most adverse circumstances, are doing for their women As long as early marriage remains something like a sacred institution for the Hindu society, there is no great prospect for the education of women to a higher degree

T D

"Asian Circle" Is Formed In London

London, Apr 2—For the purpose of furnishing more informed views on affairs in Asia a new group called the "Asian Circle", made up of men who have a large experience and knowledge of the East, has just been formed in London Its president is the Right Hon. Lord Meston.

Members of the organization announced, they would contribute, as far as possible, to the "Asiatic Review", a publication which gives a monthly survey of affairs in the orient.

Mr Stanley Rice, writing in the April number of the review, explains the reasons for the organization of the circle in this way :

"A few men have been impressed with the importance of Asia and the outcome of their conferences has been the formation of an "Asian Circle" the aim of which is to widen the scope of knowledge in England on Asiatic subjects through periodical articles These articles may deal with any aspect of Asiatic affairs in any country in Asia. *We, many of us, at least have yet to realise that Europe is not the world and that the future of the British empire rests in larger measure on the development of the natural resources of the unexploited countries than upon the avoidance of the continual quarrels in Europe.*"

The above news-item is of great significance to those Indian statesmen and scholars who are alive to estimate the real position

of India in the British Empire, in relation to the British Empire's future in Asia and the rest of the world. It is needless to say that Indian statesmen and scholars have less first-hand and thorough knowledge of Asian countries than British statesmen and scholars. There are many Indians who are members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other organizations who have not travelled beyond the borders of her own land. We hope that a large number of Indian scholars will in future visit Asian lands to establish intellectual contacts It will not be out of place to form an "Asian Circle" in Calcutta to promote better understanding between Asian countries There are responsible Chinese, Japanese, Persians, Turks and others in India who may aid such a movement to success.

T D

Bishop Fisher on Christianity in India

Rev. Bishop Fisher of Calcutta during his recent visit to New York was a guest of honor in a dinner given by New York Hymn Society at the Town Hall Club. He had much to say about India's future. We reproduce two sentences from his speech as quotedby the *New York Times* The Bishop said,

"Unless you want revolution in India and revolution in China, and unless you want the security of the British Empire imperilled and our economic system as carried on in India imperilled, do not preach Christianity in the Orient 50 per cent of the personnel of the Indian National Assembly being Indians, this would bring about a move for general change looking to India's status as a dominion, and lead to Britain's eventual withdrawal"

Bishop Fisher thinks that the teachings of Christianity will bring about revolution in the Orient, particularly in India We should be very sorry if the British authorities in India, scared by the possiblity of a revolution by Indian Christians, started a crusade against mission schools, colleges and proscribed the Bible as revolutionary and seditious literature!

T. D

How America Meets Flood Menace

Floods have caused incalculable loss of life and property in various parts of India, but practically nothing has been done to prevent such havoc in future. Devastating floods occur in America, too. But the Americans do not think that disasters caused by floods cannot be prevented. With characteristic hopefulness and energy they try to prevent such havoc On previous occasions we have drawn attention to some American engineering works constructed to meet the menace of floods. We shall notice another such feat in this note

In June, 1921, the river Arkansas overflowed its barks and devastated the area of Pueblo, Colorado

"As matters stood then, the city was indeed hard hit, with the heart of its business district wrecked apparently beyond repair And that was not all Stretching west to the mountains was the drainage basin of the Arkansas River, a triangle containing 1800 square miles of mesas and foothills, with steep slopes and impervious soil, subject to the cloudbursts of the mountain country. From the same source would come other floods, greater, perhaps, than the one just past, and in time the disaster was sure to be repeated"

By the date of the fourth anniversary of the flood the devastated area had been rebuilt along better lines, with no evidence of the disaster except an occassional high-water mark on some brick building. For dealing with the peculiar flood situation that has menaced the city from the days of the first settler, a protection system, capable of taking care of the biggest flood the Arkansas can ever send down the valley, has been brought into existence.

The first problem which the engineers had to face was to determine the greatest flood that could come out of the region west of the city. The next, was to design and build protection that would take care of that flood with a liberal margin of safety.

"The matter of cost made it impracticable to resort to the simplest solution -a channel big enough to deal with any flood that might come. The key features of the protection which were finally worked out are a channel through the city, capable of carrying a flood one and a half times as great as that of 1921, and a retarding dam, or barrier, west of the city, for cutting down the peak flow of greater floods

"The peak flow of the 1921 flood was slightly less than 100,000 cubic feet per second or 'second-feet,' as commonly called, this stage being reached at one o'clock at night.

"The old river channel had a capacity of only 38000 second-feet. There was only one possible result, and for several hours swift currents swept through the streets at a depth of from 9 to 14 feet. The new channel has a capacity of 125,000 second-feet when filled to a depth of 27 feet, and at this depth the velocity of flow will be 23 feet per second.

"Owing to the liberal freeboard and the extra capacity given by a parapet wall that tops the north bank for a distance of 6000 feet at the lower end,

the channel in an emergency could carry a flood of 150,000 second-feet. But that would be its limit.

"In their study of the situation the engineers found that the old river channel was not only too small but that it was too crooked and was in the wrong place. Accordingly, the river was moved half a mile across town to a comparatively straight course along the foot of the Mesa bluffs, where an expert city planner would probably have located it in the first place."

For other details and illustrations, those who are interested in the subject are referred to *Scientific American* for May, 1926, to which we are indebted for the extracts

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Learned Japanese Count Finds America a Nation of Hypocrites

Count M. Soyeshima, former member of the House of Peers and one of the prominent publicists of Japan, who recently returned after lecturing at the University of Chicago, views America unflatteringly, according to a recent article written by him for the Taio (Sun), a Tokio monthly magazine.

"I was not very favorably disposed toward America and the Americans," he said. "I did not like the Americans, because most of them are in fact most arrogant imperialists, while they have constantly justice and humanity in their mouths. While they set themselves up as ardent champions of justice, they really are the devotees of the outrageous and brazen-faced Monroe Doctrine.

"While Americans are kind-hearted on the one hand, they are extremely selfish on the other Theirs is an extremely complex character. Intense advocates of humanity and philanthropy, they are at the same time extremely selfish, unjust, inhumane as their crafty underhand foreign policy shows.

"They are in favor of the independence of Corea, while they are most strenuously opposed to the independence of Hawaii and the Philippines. While they publicly identify themselves with justice and humanity, they tolerate the existence of the Ku Klux Klan for the persecution of Negroes and otherwise discriminate against the colored nations.

"While the military authorities of America are so busily engaged in the amplification of armaments, however, it appears that the majority of American people are opposed to the idea of war and in my opinion this is quite as it should be, for a war between America and Japan would be like a fight between a tiger and a shark.

"However strong the tiger may be, it cannot attack the shark; nor can the shark fasten a quarrel on the tiger, whatever hatred the former may conceive against the latter. Neither of the two powers can take the aggressive with any prospect of success." New York World—Feb. 4,1926.

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Character of Woodrow Wilson's "Idealism"

We are often told by Europeans and Americans that Orientals lack honesty in political life. But when the real truth comes to light about European and American political life, one trait often becomes apparent—duplicity and double dealing. Woodrow Wilson has been painted as a great idealist and a devotee of the cause of Truth, Justice, Liberty and Peace. A new light has been thrown on the life, character and international policy of this great American President by the publication of Colonel House's *Intimate Papers*, which has been edited by Prof. Seymour of Yale University One of the leading New York dailies editorially comments thus on Woodrow Wilson's and the Democratic Party's foreign policy before America entered the World War against Germany :—

Colonel House's Intimate Papers have shattered many historical legends. They have furnished a means of correcting current impressions of what was going on before the public by revelations of what was going on behind the scenes.

One dramatic disclosure is that of the pathetic unreality of the issue on which President Wilson was re-elected in 1916 In the mind of the convention which renominated him and of the vast majority of the voters who supported him, the President stood for strict neutrality as between the Allies and the Central Powers and for a resolute avoidance of belligerency. "He kept us out of war" was the slogan of the convention and of the Democratic campaign orators.

Colonel House shows that this slogan was a pure myth. All through 1915 and 1916 he had himself labored to bring about an understanding with the Allies under which the United States would enter the war on their side if Germany refused the the House-Grey terms. He was thoroughly pro-Ally. The President was also Pro-Ally, though to a less degree.

T. D

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Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha

Reports of 242 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab), throughout India in the month of April 1926. The total number of marriages held in the current year, i. e. from 1st January 1926 to the end of April 1926, has reached 865, as detailed below —

1. According to caste :—

Brahmin 158. Khatri 95. Arora 88. Aggarwal 141. Kaisth 27. Rajput 79. Sikh 112 Miscellaneous 165. Total 865.

2. **According to Provinces ;—**

Punjab and N. W. F. P. 569 Sind 36. Delhi 23. U. P. 180. Bengal 35 Madras 1 Bombay 1. C. I. 6. Assam 2. Behar and Orissa 12 Total 865.

3. **Voluntary donation received during the month is Rs. 85-10-0 and the total amount during the year is Rs. 257-9-0.**

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On Romain Rolland

[The friends and admirers of Romain Rolland, from different parts of the world, greeted this friend of Humanity on the occasion of his 60th birth-day (January, 1926) by publishing their thoughts and sentiments in a magnificent volume *Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland* (Rotafel-Verlag, Zurich-Leipzig) Extracts are given below from some of the striking utterences of the contemporaries of Romain Rolland. Kalidas Nag].

From ALBERT EINSTEIN—

HONOURED MASTER,

With my fleshly eyes I have seen you once only, fresh under the impression of the outbreak of the European war—a lonesome observer, suffering inexpressibly with your fellow-beings, oppressed with the consciousness of not being able to bring forth light that would redeem all. That through your sublime art and through your words you could influence the finely organised souls, was never a consolation to you ; you wanted to help the human creatures who were tormented with the miseries of their own creation.

The raw mass of people move and act under the influence of dull passions, to which they and the State that incorporates them are slaves. In their madness they rage against one another and drive each other to catastrophy , they, however, do not suffer to any great extent from inner conflict The few, however, who do not partake in the feelings of raw humanity, and who, uninfluenced by these passions, cling to the ideal of human love, carry a heavier burden If they do not indulge in acts against which their conscience rebels,and do not remain cowardly silent over what they see and feel, they are expelled from human society and are treated as lepers. You, honoured master, have not kept silent, but you have fought, suffered and defied, like a great soul.

The present age, so shameful for us Europeans, has shown that intellectual athletics is no protection against littleness of soul and barbarous sensibilities. I do not believe that noble human dispositions thrive more in the Universities and Academies than in the working places of dumb unknown human beings

To-day the congregation of those who see in you a radiating ideal, greet you It is a community of lonely individuals who are immune from the epidemic of hate, who work for the abolition of war as a first step in the moral convalescence of the people—which to them appears as incomparably more important than the special interests of their own particular state or nation

From T G Masaryk (*President of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia*)—

It is a great pleasure to me that I have been allotted a place in the *Liber Amicorum Romain Rolland* I have known Romain Rolland before the war , his Europeanism was sympathetic to me, and I was attracted by his rousing call to the intellectual Europe to a heroic life

As the war broke out, and I decided at Geneva, the place of Rolland's residence, to join in it, I reconsidered once more the ideas of Tolstoy and Rolland against it. All the fighting nations, it seemed to me, had responded to Rolland's call to heroic action , heroism was opposed to heroism, heart against heart, intellect against intellect—and in this lay to me the tragedy of the World War

After the war was over, it was my privilege to come to know Rolland personally , while in Switzerland I sought out the recluse of Villeneuve.

Every cultured person has a number of chosen spirits out of the world literature with whom he forms an inner circle of friends. Rolland is one of my authors and authorities, with whom I am in intellectual intercourse I believe, therefore, I can claim a small place in the *Liber Amicorum*

[*Translated from the original German by Professor Dr D. M Bose, Ph D. (Berlin)*]

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To our Contributors

We have to inform our contributors that as we have a good many long and short articles in our hands, we regret it is not possible for us to promise immediate or early publication to most of them Many topical articles also are delayed in publication owing to this cause. For this reason we are reluctantly obliged to say that if any of our contributors want their MSS. back, we shall return them with thanks.

Those writers who wish to contribute

to this Review will kindly bear in mind that it is always difficult to find space for long articles. Sometimes when, for some reason or other, we publish long articles, we have to print extra pages and incur additional expense. We should be obliged if writers did not exceed the limit of 3500 or 4000 words for a single article

N. B. Writers are particularly requested not to send us any MSS which they have already sent or intend to send to other journals. We want to publish only those articles which are meant exclusively for this Review.

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An Empire Adrift

India was never governed by the British on any consistent policy It was unknown in the history of India under the East India Company. But this became so glaring that it led the cynical Marquis of Salisbury to declare that

"We have not the power to give permanent force to a new policy. Can we enact that our successors shall do exactly that which we are not doing—forbear from altering their predecessor's work? Sir Louis Mallet notes a long series of inconsistencies in the course of the Indian Government. Have we any grounds for thinking they will cease? They are not merely subjects of reproach, they are a warning of the fashion after which our Indian Government is made. By the law of its existence it must be a government of incessant change It is the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years. Whatever power exists in England is divided between a council of which the elements are fluctuating, and a political officer whose average existence amounts to about thirty months. It would be absurd to expect from this arrangement a persistent and systematic policy, if the policy is to depend on the will of the Government. We might indeed commence a new policy with some confidence, if the state of opinion in the services and among Anglo-Indians here was such as to give assurance that it would be sustained: but of that security there is no appearance. Any sharp change of measures would not be a natural development. It would be "Octroye" by the present Government, and would be at the mercy of any succeeding Government to set aside: and another link would be added to the chain of inconsistencies that would present themselves to future criticism."—*Notes on Indian Land Revenue.*

Thus it was considered the best means of consolidating the Christian power in India to govern it on no consistent policy. But the only consistent policy in governing India was what the same peer indicated by saying, "India was congested and must be bled." X

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Some Lessons of the Recent Calcutta Riots

The recent communal riots in Calcutta are replete with lessons for all sections of the community, some of which may be summarised thus :

(1) Between some well-known communal leaders and dancing dervishes the difference lies only in outward polish and a superficial veneer of culture. (2) The cult of hate preached in season and out of season by intellectual *goondas* who disseminate poisonous ideas has been carried into effective practice by their less sophisticated *confreres* (3) From communal leadership to leadership, by easy stages and fine gradations, in the gentle art of manslaughter is only a step (4) Mad mullahs and red pamphlets spring up like mushrooms in the rainy season entirely among one of the rival factions in such troubled times. (5) Public life suffers an unspeakable degradation at the hands of such communal leaders and every cultured citizen must hang down his head in shame at the result of their activities. (6) It is self, pure and simple, that they think of;—before their own personal advancement and the satisfaction of their political ambitions, the lives of their countrymen, even of coreligionists, weigh as nothing in the balance. (7) The denser the ignorance of the community, the fiercer the communal zeal. (8) Action is invariably followed by reaction, and hate begets hate, and communal organization is a game which both the rival communities can play at, and if Mahomedans of all parts, including Peshawaris and Kabulis, can combine, Hindus, be they Bengalis, Hindustanis, Marwaris, Jains, Brahmos, Arya Samajists or Sikhs, may also do so when the cry of 'religion in danger' is raised, and the most horrible crimes may be committed in the name of the most sacred of causes

Some other lessons of more immediate practical consequence may also be noted

(1) Where police protection fails, self-help and self-confidence develop, and, practised on a large scale, they are a national gain (2) Self-defence, and defence of one's hearth and home, is a sacred and inalienable right, for exercising which every man should be prepared at all times (3) Daggers and choppers, with which every loafer will arm himself, should be placed under a strict ban, while revolvers and pistols, for which a license, difficult to obtain, is necessary, should be made more easily available to respectable gentlemen. (4) Mob-violence is effective only in its first onslaught, and can be seriously checked by a little organisation, in which

brains and power of economic endurance play a more prominent role than mere physical strength. (5) Even brutal and dastardly attacks by secret assassins can be repulsed by a little courage, concerted action and presence of mind (6) *Goondas* are bullies and cowards, whose keen enthusiasm for a short cut to paradise by murdering unbelievers cools down to zero at the display of a little determination. (7) A united stand is often all that is necessary to repulse the attacks of frenzied mobs, whose fanatical fury usually melts away as soon as it meets with organised opposition. (8) Habitual indulgence in bombastic fustian by the semi-educated fanatic who translates into action the communal leader's veiled threats for the benefit of the multitude, gives him an exaggerated sense of his own importance, and the time has come for a little plain speaking on the part of the sober section of our publicists with a view to prick the communal bubble and bring down these fussy mischief-mongers from their high pedestals.

The distribution of the loaves and fishes of office on the communal basis has filled the educated sections of the major community in Bengal with high hopes as to the potent virtues of communalism But their laugh will be on the other side of the cheek when they find that on the population basis, their number in the public services of a neighbouring province like Bihar and Orissa should be considerably reduced, if the same test be applied by an impartial Government everywhere. That would soon bring them back to their senses, and make them feel that even on the low plane of material interests, efficiency and capacity are the ultimate tests of success, and communalism is the deadliest enemy of progress.

Those among the ruling class who think it a huge joke to stand by and let the rival communities indulge in a little game of blood-letting, will find anon that it is a grim business which has its serious side The communal manouvres, if their object be to separate the Moslems from the Swarajists and the creation of a new loyal Moslem party in the Council under the banner of a well-known communal leader who is constitutionally incapable of thinking in terms of the nation, will not in the long run foster loyalty, for when the rival factions grow wiser by their experience, as grow they must, all their hatred will be focussed on those who set the less educated and tolerant faction by the ears and fomented the dissensions for political purposes, and then will come the day of reckoning It is a true English saying that, though God's mill grinds slow, it grinds exceedingly small, and sinister advocates of the divide and rule policy will do well to note this Then the utter futility of the law and order theory, which has been so ruthlessly applied to keep down our intellectuals, made manifest in the recent riots, when official indifference reached its acme presumably because no European lives were lost, as in the Punjab before the Jaliwanwallah Bagh massacre, is bound to tell with deadly effect against those who are never tired of putting it forward as the sole sufficing justification of foreign rule

The European press in Calcutta has displayed an attitude which would be amusing, if it were not so sad So long as murderous assaults with lethal weapons which only *goondas* seemed privileged to carry, were the order of the day, and innocent Indian lives were lost, they did not betray the slightest anxiety for stiffening up the administration, nor did they object to the head of the province enjoying himself in the cool heights of Darjeeling But as soon as the effect of the riots was visible in the scarcity of meat and foodstuffs in the Municipal Market, and the fear of pestilence from unswept streets and decomposed Indian corpses became serious, and the dislocation of trade owing to the shortage of coolies in the godowns and clerks in the offices became imminent, they suddenly woke up to the necessity of vigorous measures and began to demand the presence of the Governor in his capital And it dawned even on the *Statesman*, what should have been apparent from the very first, that

"a beginning may be made with the task of rooting out the *goondas* Although most of the men are known to the police [which makes it all the more surprising why they were not rounded up so long] it will not be sufficient to deal merely with the blackguards who stab and loot During these riots there has been ample evidence of an organization behind the *goonda* and using the *goonda* for its own purposes The leaflets which have been distributed in thousands, the meetings that have been held, the harangues that have been delivered, all suggest that somewhere in the background is somebody with funds and brains and a rudimentary kind of organization which is much more dangerous to the community than any gang of *goondas*."

The main business of the administration should now be to get at these intellectual *goondas*, fired with communal hatred, who

inspire the mullahs and pamphleteers. But will the police dare to do it?

'MAN IN THE STREET.'

Muhammadans or Marwaris

In the course of the debate on the Security Bill a rather irrelevant question, *viz*, which community started the recent Calcutta riots, was asked, and answered by different speakers differently. Whichever may have started them, nationalists of all communities should feel ashamed of them and regret their occurrence But when

> Mr. Kader Bux asserted that the Marwaris and not the Mohammedans were primarily responsible for the riots, as all the disturbances had always originated in the locality inhabited by Marwaris

his reasoning was faulty All dacoities take place in the houses or rich or well-to-do men But for that fact, it is the dacoits who are to blame, not the possessors of property Similarly, it is not entirely or mainly religious zeal, but expectation of loot also which takes hooligans mostly to localities inhabited by Marwaris, because the latter are men of substance

In East and North Bengal, it is mostly wretches who disgrace the Muslim community by calling themselves Moslems, who abduct, kidnap and ravish widows and some other women also One might as well blame these unhappy victims of brutality for these dastardly crimes as blame the Marwaris for the acts of violence and plunder committed by hooligans against them in the quarters inhabited by them

How the Bengal Government has Broken the Swarajya Pact"

An impression prevails among Moslems, to which a Muhammadan contemporary has given expression, that under the Goonda Act more Muslim goondas have been expelled from Bengal than Hindu ones. It is a wrong impression. Sir Hugh Stephenson said in the course of the Security Bill debate:—

> The Government had used the Act successfully; 88 men had been externed under its provisions and, in order that there might be no question of communalism, he might mention that 45 were Hindus and 43 Mohammedans, while ten cases were pending.

Of course, if the Bengal Government had observed the "Swarajya Pact" according to which Moslems in Bengal ought to have had a greater share of all advantages than Bengali Hindus, it would then have taken care to extern 54 per cent of Muslim *goondas* and 44 per cent of Hindu *goondas*. It is a legitimate grievance of all Bengali Swarajists particularly of the Muslim variety, that the Bengal Government broke the pact before its recent annulment at Krishnagar.

'Divide et Impera" and Discrimination against Up-countrymen.

The Security Bill provides for the externment of Bengalis also. But as, according to the pro-Government *Statesman*, "the burden of his [the Governor's] speech was that steps must be taken to rid Calcutta of the dangerous element imported from up-country," there is little doubt that the Act is intended to be used mainly against non-Bengalis By all means let dangerous persons, to whatever province they may belong, be suitably dealt with But no animus or bias should exist or be created against outsiders from any quarter In the defensive measures adopted and the defensive steps taken during the riots, Bengalis and non-Bengalis often worked together. This growing solidarity ought not to be allowed to be broken—whether intentionally or unintentionally, does not matter

Sir M. O'Dwyer on the Riots and the "Reforms."

The recent riots have given many British lovers of India, who love India as mutton-eaters love sheep, the occasion to draw various morals Sir M O'Dwyer is one of them. He would make the introduction of democratic or representative government (God save the mark!) in the shape of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, responsible for the riots. Of course, the Reforms are no more democratic than the crocodile is a fish Nor is the ex-proconsul of the Punjab right in thinking that the Reforms have diminished the authority and prestige of British civil servants, and resulted in riots, etc. The real truth is that the 'steel-frame' not only remains intact, but has been strengthened

What is true is that the Reforms were given to India with a strong admixture of the poisonous principle of distribution of political

[adv]antages, *e.g.*, votes, seats in the legislative [bo]dies, etc., and of appointments in Govern[m]ent offices, along communal lines. This has [ag]gravated the communal rivalries, jealousies, [an]d hatred, which existed from before the [da]te of the Reforms Their genesis need not [b]e discussed here. Some Mussalman leaders [an]d journalists have exploited the situation [fo]r promoting their own interests Hindu [co]mmunalism and fanaticism have in conse[q]uence begun to be diverted to the field of [p]olitics.

As real democracy or representative [go]vernment does not take into account men's [c]reeds, it should not be made responsible for [th]e riots. What is responsible for them is [th]e communal virus in the Reforms.

"Heads We Win, Tails You Lose"

On Maulvi Abdul Gaffur's Resolution for [th]e amendment of the Bengal electoral rules [fo]r the election of representatives to the [B]engal Council in proportion to the numeri[c]al strength of the different communities of [th]is province, Sir A. Rahim said in part

"..We the Muhammadans seek no undue [ad]vantage for ourselves, but all we do wish is to [s]afeguard our interests We are ready to concede [th]e same to all other communities similarly situat[e]d The Muhammadans happen to be in numerical [m]ajority in Bengal and in the Punjab In the [re]st of India they are undoubtedly in a minority, [b]ut even in Bengal and the Punjab what is the [m]ajority? It is a majority of 4 or 5 only out of a [1]00 seats, But anyone who knows anything about [th]e working of representative government will not [fo]r a moment think that it is possible for a [m]ajority of that character to carry on the govern[m]ent defying the wishes of the minority. It is [i]mpossible.. It has been said by some eminent [H]indu politicians that what we are seeking is Heads we win, tails you lose—that is a mere [tr]avesty of our position According to the then [c]ensus (when the Franchise Committee sat), the [p]ercentage (of Moslems in Bengal) was 54, but [it] has now fortunately gone up to something like [5]6 per cent.."—*Official report of the Bengal [L]egislative Council*, Vol. XX No. 1. Twentieth [S]ession, 1926, pp. 140-42.

Sir Abdur Rahim knows very well that [n]o resolution carried in the Bengal Council [c]an be applicable outside Bengal So, if Bengal [M]uslims obtained any advantages in pro[p]ortion to their numbers in Bengal, that [w]ould not affect the advantages enjoyed by [M]uslim minorities elsewhere in excess of what [t]hey would be entitled to in consideration of [t]heir numbers there. Hence he could say [w]ithout any risk that, 'Heads we win, tails [y]ou lose" was a travesty of the Muslim position It is *not* a travesty but a fact Let Sir Abdur Rahim mention a single province where the Moslems are in a minority and have expressed themselves willing to have seats in the Legislature and posts in Government offices in exact proportion to their numbers in the province and we shall admit that he is right. Or, better still, let him call a conference of the political leaders of Moslems in all provinces and get a resolution passed there to the effect that Muhammadans throughout India would be satisfied to have only their numerically proportionate share of political advantages and "loaves and fishes" of office.

We do not know on what data Sir Abdur based his statement that Moslems now constitute 56 per cent of the population of Bengal—probably the addition of Sylhet to Bengal has increased their proportion But his exultant reference to the fact shows what great importance Moslems attach to increase in their numbers It was known all along—at least to us, that Sylhet was a district where Muhammadans were in a majority, but in spite of that fact, Hindus did not object to its re-inclusion in Bengal. *That ought to convey a lesson to Moslems.*

Bengali-speaking Areas outside Bengal

Sylhet was not the only district where Bengali is spoken and which once formed part of Bengal. The *Manbhum district in Chota Nagpur and* some other areas now included in Bihar are Bengali-speaking and formerly formed part of Bengal for administrative purposes. These should be again given back to Bengal There should be a movement both in these areas as well as in Bengal for their re-inclusion in the mother province Even if they were re-included, the Moslems would remain a majority in Bengal In any case, the question of communal majorities and minorities ought not to stand in the way of the observance of the higher principle of recognising linguistic ties, approved in the Montagu Chelmsford Report and practically given effect to in the case of Sylhet.

"Cooch Behar Affairs"

We are obliged to again refer to Cooch Behar affairs A correspondent has written to

us a letter from Cooch Behar which will be found in the Comments and Criticism section. He calls in question the accuracy of some of the statements made by the Cooch Behar State authorities What have the latter got to say now ? If they have any answer, let them also fortify themselves by mentioning the date of the late Maharaja's death.

The Riff Struggle for Liberty

The Riffs of Morocco who have lost after a long struggle for freedom under their heroic leader Abdul Karim present as noble an example of the undying love of liberty which inspires the human heart, as the joint endeavour of France and Spain to crush these gallant people is an ignoble example of imperialistic greed The conduct of Spain and France shows that neither Christianity nor republicanism, nor a combination of both, can suffice to really civilise a people

U. P. University Standards

A recent U P. Government resolution on the Public Instruction Report of that province draws attention to the widely different standards which prevail in its universities. In a certain examination one university is stated to have passed a little more than 50 percent of the candidates whilst another has passed more than 90 per cent. This itself does not, of course, *prove* that the standard of the latter is lower than that of the former. In a small teaching university which is non-affiliating, it is not very difficult to make the teaching so efficient as to secure a high percentage of passes.

The complaint that university standards are low in India is very often heard. But a high percentage of passes is not by itself a sufficient proof of the allegation. There must be other corroborating facts.

As regards one U. P. university, which we will not name, we know of one such significant fact. In a certain examination of this university in a certain subject, *all* the candidates failed to secure pass-marks. But when the results of the examination were announced, all were found to have passed. We had this piece of information at first from a college professor, and subsequently the examiner himself bore testimony to its correctness. We are not authorised to mention names.

In India the United Provinces are one of the most backward tracts in education. The number of students there is comparatively small. At the same time these provinces have more universities than any other. Hence there may be is a temptation to attract students by lowering standards. Such harmful competition is probable. But whether any of the U. P. universities have succumbed to such a temptation is more than we can say.

The Lamp-lighters of Calcutta.

During the riots and cowardly assassinations the lamp-lighters of Calcutta kept their colours flying—they regularly lighted all the street lamps at great risk to themselves If they had not done this, the horrors of those April days would have greatly increased All honor to these heroes in humble walks of life If the officers and subordinates of the conservancy and road-watering departments had emulated the example of the lamp-lighters, instead of neglecting their duties for weeks, they would have risen greatly in the estimation of their fellow-citizens

Bengal Provincial Confernce at Krishnagar

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr B. N. Sasmal, President of the Krishnagar session of the Bengal Provincial Conference felt obliged to vacate his office. It is not always possible for the president of such a conference to hold and express opinions identical with those of his audience. The delegates present may in case of such difference of opinion, if serious, pass a resolution expressing their dissent. But it need not take the form of or be practically a vote of censure on the president.

It is some satisfaction, however, that the conference was held under the presidency of Mr. J. Chaudhuri, who is a well-known public man.

At this conference, the Swarajya pact, entered into in the palmiest days of Mr C. R. Das's influence, was annulled. It has not been annulled too soon.

Admission to Medical Colleges in Bengal.

The country stands in need of a much larger number of trained medical men than it has. It is necessary, therefore, to increase the number of medical schools and colleges. But the authorities are not only unwilling to add to the number of medical institutions themselves, but are also very reluctant to recognise institutions started by private bodies and possessing buildings, some funds and a qualified staff. The Bankura Medical School is a case in point.

Admissions to medical colleges and schools should be made with the strictest justice and with sole regard to the qualifications of the candidates for admission. But so far as the Government Medical College of Calcutta is concerned, this does not appear to be done always Owing to this reason, there is no doubt that sometimes very deserving students are shut out. We will give an example Some half a dozen years ago a student named Jogesh Chandra Banerji sought admission into the Calcutta Medical College. He was at first refused admission It was with the greatest difficulty that he could afterwards obtain admission. At his final M. B. examination this young man obtained in due course a First Class First. Similar brilliant success had marked his academic career at the Medical College throughout. Consequently he has been also the recipient of about two dozen medals, prizes and scholarships. Who knows if young men of similar ability, have not been denied medical education, in spite of their seeking it ? So, it behoves the selection boards of medical institutions to be very careful and impartial in their work.

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Public Instruction in Bengal in 1924-25

The report on public instruction in Bengal for the year 1924-25 is an informing and interesting document, of which we shall make fuller use hereafter In the meantime we note a few facts.

The great disparity in the spread of education among boys and girls will appear from the fact that,

"Of the total number of pupils studying in all classes of institutions on 31st March 1925, 1,770,472 were males, and 380,470 were females, in the preceding year the corresponding figures were 1,692,688, and 364,374 respectively."

The backwardness of Muhammadans in collegiate education will appear from the following figures —

"The number of students reading in arts colleges for men increased from 20805 to 21919 of whom 18697 were Hindus, 2853 Muhammadans and 369 were of other communities The corresponding figures for the previous year were 17656, 2756, and 393 respectively"

The Director of Public Instruction is right in observing that "the condition of secondary schools in general and high schools particularly continues to be unsatisfactory,"

In primary education Muhammadans, who are in the majority in Bengal, are doing better than in higher education: they are making more rapid progress than Hindus, as the following paragraph will show —

"Primary schools for Indian boys were attended by 597265 Hindu and 687,399 *Muhammadan* pupils on 31st March 1925 The corresponding figures for 1923-24 were 575637 and 657204 respectively Thus the number of Hindu pupils rose by 21628 and of Muhammadan pupils by 30195 during the year under review Of the total Hindu male population 5·6 per cent. and of the total Muhammadan population 5·3 per cent were in boys' primary schools on 31st March 1925 the percentages for the preceding year were 5·5 and 5·07 respectively.

In the chapter devoted to unrecognised institutions, Mr. Oaten's remarks on Santiniketan are as follows

In the latter, the founder (Dr Rabindra Nath Tagore) is attempting to combine the oldest Indian traditions with the best features of modern education. Santiniketan devotes considerable attention to the inculcation of religious and moral principles, manual and farm work art, music, social service and self-help generally. *The institution, which bears on every aspect of its work*, the impress of the culture, the spirituality and the idealism of its founder, values its independence of control as essential to its work Without in any way surrendering that independence it has recently made *arrangements* to present such of its pupils as desire it at the examinations of the University of Calcutta. A special feature of its work is the co-education of boys and girls and its system of open air class work under trees The visitor has something to criticise and much to praise, but he will *agree* with wholehearted assent that its library is a scholar's joy, its spirit of unity an oasis of peace in a desert of jarring disharmonies, and that whatever the future may hold in store for it, Santiniketan has already achieved in three main directions, viz, its deparment *of advanced oriental research, in* which *foreign* savants have co-operated, its art school, under the direction of Mr Nanda Lal Bose, and its village industrial and social service work, in which it has had the skilled assistance of Mr Elmhurst.

—

New Session of Visva-bharati

Information relating to the new session of Visva-bharati will be found in an advertisement of the institution printed elsewhere. In deciding to join this institution or not, students may take into consideration the remarks of Mr. Oaten, Director of Public Instruction of Bengal.

—

Swarajist-Responsivist Agreement Not Ratified

The agreement between Swarajists and Responsivists provisionally drawn up at Sabarmati in April at a conference of the leaders of the two parties, was subsequently submitted, as previously arranged, to the executive of the two parties for ratification It is to be regretted that it could not be ratified. The construction which Pandit Motilal Nehru sought to put upon the agreement was, in our opinion, one which it cannot bear.

—

The Recent Strike in Great Britain

Though the recent great strike in Great Britain, originating in disputes between the miners and the owners of coal-mines in realtion to wages and hours of work, has had to be called off, harmonious relations, have not yet been established between the labourers and the capitalists concerned. British Labour is organised to a far greater extent than Labour in India. But the capitalist Government of Great Britain is still better organised This fact seems to have had not a little to do with the collapse of the strike. Labour also appeared to be to some extent like a house divided against itself, as large numbers of women dependent on labour were against any strike.

It may be observed incidentally that the strike gave rise to many serious riots, and also to the deliberate wrecking of trains attended with loss of life and property. These similar disturbances, when they take place in India, prove the unfitness of Indians for self-government. But happening in Great Britain, they preve the necessity of further democratisation of Government and industries!

—

Indian Teachers and Western Students of Modern Science

At present, so far as modern science is concerned, Indians are generally learners and occidental scientists the teachers. Speaking generally this state of things is likely to continue for many years yet, though in the case of a great scientist like Sir J C Bose, some foreign students and scientists have, no doubt, expressed a desire to work under him in his Institute.

Such being the case, we are glad to note that an advanced student of the University of West Virginia in America, named Le Roy V. Clark, has expressed a desire to work at the chemical laboratory of the University of Allahabad under Professor Dr. Nil Ratan Dhar, the head of the chemistry department. "The numerous articles under the head, 'Studies in Absorption', which have appeared in the *Journal of Physical Chemistry*" and which were contributed by Dr Dhar, have led this American student to inquire if assistantships or work of that nature may be had under Dr Dhar.

It is a very small matter, but we notice it because it suggests the possibility of Indian scientists becoming teachers in some branches of modern science to foreign students

—

How Some Indian Chiefs Reul.

Progressive government in a few of the larger Indian States should not blind us to the neglect of their duty to their subjects of which large numbers of Indian ruling chiefs are guilty. *The Subodha Patrika* of Bombay writes .—

> The state of Khairpur in Sind is one the present ruler of which has been using the whole of the state revenue for his personal luxury and this state of things has been going on for many years past. The extravagance of the Alwar Maharaja is not less on a par with that of Khairpur. Out of a total revenue of fifty lakhs no less than 45 lakhs go to satisfy the thirst for luxury of the Maharaja. Many other states have the same tale to tell.

The Servant of India gives the following figures for the Jodhpur State :—

		Expenditure on		
Year.	Revenue.	Education.	Medical	Motor garage
1921-23	1,20,01,738	1,76,427	1,80,785	1,41,305
1922-23	1,25,05,506	2,13,825	1,79,039	3,12,530
1922-34	1,72,77,498	2,84,492	1,96,077	3,25,398

The same paper says :—

A Correspondent writing in the *Princely India* April 26, says that in Patiala this year after many years a budget has been framed and that Mr. K. L. Datta, the financier who was employed as Accountant General of Patiala, resigned his post, as the Maharaja would not cut down his personal expenditure to reasonable limits.

It asks ; "why cannot the Patiala State stand a conscientious Accountant General ?"

Those who waste their subjects' money in extravagance and vice are unfaithful servants of their people and worse than thieves, whatever high-sounding names they many have.

Regarding the Nizam's Administration in 1923-4, the *Mahratta* writes :—

The administration of any State has to be judged by its progress in the matter of advancement in education, in political power and in the peace that the subjects enjoy. The report records abolition of 113 primary schools of the experimental type but it gives no reason for this drastic action The percentage of scholars is only 107. There is a distinct fall in the number of schools for girls as well as depressed classes. No thought seems to have been given to the technical and industrial education at all, Regarding the progress on the political side, even the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have left the administration cold. Democracy is a far off cry but even the ordinary rights of representation are denied to the people inspite of the best efforts of the people The Muslims boast of their spirit of democracy, only it is not translated into action outside their community or in political matters. Further, the increase of revenue and the surplus by hundred and fifty percent over the estimates coupled with the fall of remissions is a standing stigma on the administration, because the year being a famine year, it shows that the exactions from the ryots were made most cruelly. Those who advocate communal representation, and the Mahomedans are the loudest in their demand in this respect, ought to express their opinion on the disparity or rather the rarity of Hindu representation in the public services in the Nizams dominions. Eighty-six percent of Hindus have practically no representation while fourteen percent of the Muslims monopolise the public services.

—

South African Colur Bar Bill.

Whether the South African Colour Bar Bill, which has been passed by the Union Parliament, will at present or in future affect Indians in South Africa is not the only or main question which ought to concern us. It is a monstrous piece of legislation which intends to prevent the coloured indigenous population of South Africa from ever earning a livelihood by skilled labour in mines, etc. This effort to keep human beings in the position of cattle for ever, is bound to fail. We have no hope that the Imperial British Government will negative this legislation

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South Africa and the Empire.

Inspite of the Color Bar Bill, some of our countrymen are determined to hope against hope that the South African Government will listen to the voice of reason and justice and modify Dr Malan's bill for "reducing the Indian population to a minimum" in South Africa Some even expect help from the British "Home" Government ! They do not know the temper of the South Africans. General Hertzog declared in the S A. Parliament on April 22 that

in his view the Union stood on an equal footing with Great Britain It was no longer a question of fighting for an independent status They had that now. It was question of assuming more and more rights which they were entitled to assume He felt convinced that if they openly took up the attitude before the whole world that South Africa was independent all the difficulties which had arisen in the past would disappear

General Hertzog added

We say that a free nation must recognize only one authority—the will of its own people. As far as I am concerned, it must be clearly understood that this country takes its place in the affairs of the world as a nation free and on an equal footing with the rest of the world "

From a letter of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas published in the London *Times* of April 20, we learn that Sir Thomas Watt, an ex-Cabinet Minister of the Union of South Africa, has said on the Indian question :—

"This matter is to us in South Africa such a vital and fundamental matter that no ethical considerations, such as the rights of man and equal opportunities for all non-Europeans, will be allowed to stand in the way. It is a question of self-prevation with us "

On this Sir Purshotamdas observes in part —

In other words, right or wrong, Sir Thomas Watt will stop at nothing to reach what he considers to be his goal, right or wrong, he hopes for the Mother Country's sympathy and support in the task he sees before his country, but he says that if that is withheld South Africa "will not be deterred "

He definitely says that the natives must not be given "full political and other rights" if the Europeans are to remain there He unequivocally declares that if by this policy the white settlers of South Africa "are committing a great wrong to a people for whom they are trustees : they must be left to manage or mis-manage their own affairs."

South Africa is a member of the League of Nations, I wonder what the League will think of this conception of trusteeship by one of its members? The Union of South Africa is the mandatory for South West Africa. One is constrained to inquire whether, with so clear a declaration of policy as that enunciated by Sir Thomas Watt, the mandate is in safe hands.

Khilafat Conference at Delhi

We are very sorry that members of the Khilafat Conference at Delhi indulged in so much 'frightful' talk and paid such little regard to truth It will harm them more than anybody else. We would not have written even these few lines had they not been fellow-creatures and fellow-countrymen.

Agricultural Improvement in Bengal

That agriculture should be improved in Bengal and the raiyats' condition also should be bettered, admit of no doubt. Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta has stated in our present issue how this may be done. It would be helpful if the landlords stated how they would bring about the same results

The principle that the raiyats should be made proprietors of the land, because it is they who do the actual work of cultivation, admits of wider application. In soap factories, glass factories, cotton mills, etc, the capitalists do not do the actual work of production ;—some do not pay sufficient attention to the works, and even follow wasteful methods. It may be argued that, for these reasons, the labourers ought to become proprietors of these factories. But even the Soviet method in Russia has not been able to eliminate capitalists. And landlords are after all capitalists of a sort The case of Ireland is not similar to that of Bengal.

The editor of this Review is neither a zemindar nor a raiyat · he does not own even a square yard of land. He may, therefore, claim to be somewhat unbiassed.

We do not say that the lordlords cannot be eliminated. But would that be a sufficient remedy ?

Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta says .—

It would also be necessary to pass appropriate laws against alienation of lands to non-agriculturists and fixing the minimum size of holdings. An effective anti-alienations law would be to lay down that when land is purchased by a person which he does not cultivate himself or by hired labourers, the person actually cultivating the land should be deemed to be the actual proprietor subject to a rent-charge.

A law against alienation of land to non-agriculturists was passed some years ago in the Punjab. But our impression has been that its results have not been satisfactory Recently we learnt on enquiry from a very well-informed and trustworthy person that the working of the Punjab Act has not given general satisfaction.

Japanese Opinion on the so-called Indian Navy

Distrust of the Indian Navy project colors some editorial expressions in the Japanese press. Thus the Tokyo Nichi Nichi remarks that Great Britain has already enlarged her Asiatic fleet, while she has shifted the base of her naval operations to a point in the Mediterranean, and this daily continues

"In addition, Singapore will be fortified, an Indian Navy will be created and the Australian fleet will become powerful, thus making British defenses in the East complete. Great Britain has her eyes riveted on the East, the peace of which is effectively guaranteed by means of the Four-Power Treaty.

"To detect her motive is a question. The objective for which she makes good the abrogation of the treaty of the Anglo-Japanese Allience is also a question. We must scrutinize whether the intention of Great Britain is internal or international Except for remote futurity, during which unexpected events may occur, it is not difficult for us to answer this question. The objective of British policy is, no doubt, China and India. To the eyes of Great Britain China and India are one and the same thing.

"What is the reason for this argument ? The possible antagonist of Great Britain will be Soviet Russia, as Czarist Russia was for a long time in the past The rival of Great Britain is neither the United States nor Japan, insofar as China is concerned. Whether this conjecture is to the mark is another question. Britain's policy toward China is based on this possibility. Great Britain's dreadful antagonist over India is also Soviet Russia. There are a variety of movements, such as Pan-Asianism constituting menaces to the existence of the British Empire, but the greatest probable threat to the peace of India is, in all likelihood, Soviet Russia. To ward off these dangers forms the cause for the orientation of British national defense"

ERRATUM

The Modern Review, May, 1926,

Page 539, Column 2, Line 61 for "duty" read "deity".

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